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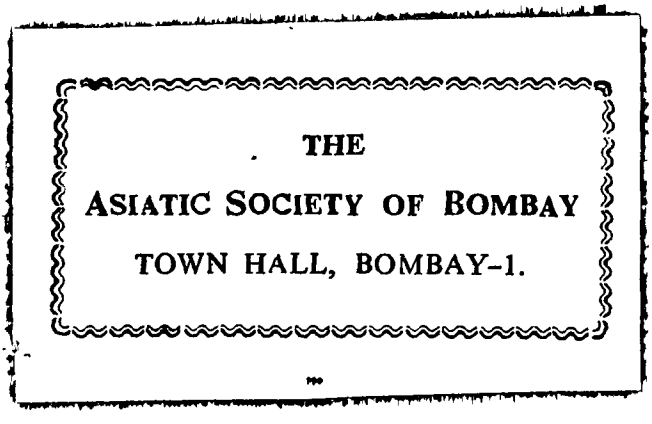

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D. C. 12

THE DECADES

OF

HENRY BULLINGER,

MINISTER OF THE CHURCH OF ZURICH.

TRANSLATED BY H. I.

111658

D .C. 12

THE FIFTH DECADE.

EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

BY THE

REV. THOMAS HARDING, A.M.,

OF WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND VICAR OF BEXLEY, IN KENT.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE

OF

HENRY BULLINGER.

[To avoid multiplying references it is here generally stated, that the following abstract of Bullinger's life has been compiled from a Diary of Bullinger's, in the Library of Zurich (Acta Eccles. Mscr. F. 106); from a memoir of Bullinger, in the 1st volume of Miscell. Tigur. part 2; from the biographies of Simler, Melchior Adam, and Pastor Hess; and from D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, (Books VIII. XI. XV. XVI.), where much use has been made of Bullinger's own "Chronick."]

HENRY BULLINGER, the fifth child of Henry Bullinger and Anna Widerkehr[1], was born on the 18th of July, 1504, at Bremgarten, a small town, of which his father was parish-priest and dean, about ten miles west of Zurich. In his childhood he was preserved several times from imminent perils: once from the plague, and risk of premature interment; again, when by a fall in the street a whistle which was in his hand was driven into his neck; and again, when the enticement of a beggar would have stolen him from his home and friends.

His earliest education was commenced in his fifth year in the school of his native place: but such was his fondness for learning, application, and forwardness, that in his twelfth year, June 11, 1516, his father sent him to a grammar-school at Emmerich on the Rhine. There he continued three years, and made rapid advances, especially in his Latin studies. Meanwhile his pecuniary resources were kept so straitened, that he was obliged to beg for a livelihood from one neighbour's door to another with singing. This severe discipline his father exercised, not out of necessity, nor from covetousness, but (as he thought) to train his son to moderation in his own habits, and to sympathy with the sufferings of the poor[2].

[1] They were not *formally* married until December 31, 1529, at the cathedral in Zurich.—Bullinger's Diary. Miscell. Tig. Tom. I. par. 2. p. 4.

[2] Bullinger drily observes in his diary: "Intra hoc triennium secundo me vestivit parens; dedit præterea aureos 33."

Nor was this hardship, connected as it was with the superstitious notions of his day, uncongenial with young Bullinger's own temperament: rather he has left it on record, that he already purposed with himself to become after a few years a *Carthusian* monk, because it was the most strict of all the orders.

From Emmerich Bullinger was removed to the university of Cologne; and entered July 8, 1519,[1] at the college *Bursæ-Montis*. There the works of the school-divines, and chiefly of Peter Lombard and Gratian, soon engrossed his attention; and, in the providence of God, were converted into instruments for detaching him from the religion of Rome. For in this course of reading meeting with frequent extracts from the fathers, he felt an earnest desire quickened within him to peruse their entire writings. Accordingly, he solicited and obtained admission to a well-stored library of the Dominicans; and there studied with intense ardour several treatises of Chrysostom, Ambrose, Origen, and Augustine. Simultaneously the earlier tracts of Luther, especially his "Babylonish Captivity" and treatise "On Christian Liberty," with the "Loci Communes" of Melancthon, came into his hands. He procured for himself also a copy of the New Testament[2], and devoted days and nights to the perusal of it, with the aid of the Commentaries of Jerome. The result of these pursuits was, that Bullinger's mind and heart opened gradually to the knowledge and reception of the gospel in its purity[3].

In this transition state, and having taken his bachelor's degree in October 1520, and his master's in February 1522,[4] Bullinger returned in April of the last-mentioned year to his father's roof at Bremgarten. There he devoted himself to the study of the Bible with still greater eagerness; and joined to it the writings of Athanasius, Cyprian, and Lactantius, and

[1] In this same year Bullinger's father set himself to oppose Samson, the preacher of indulgences, at Bremgarten.—D'Aubigne, Hist. of Ref. Book VIII. chap. 7.

[2] Of the ignorance of scripture among the priests of this time Bullinger affirms in his preface to the Epistles:—inter trecentos non reperti sunt triginta qui ordinarie Biblia legerint.

[3] — totus a papistica doctrina abhorrere incipio.—Bullinger's Diary.

[4] — In recipiendis titulis una cum aliis insaniebam, ut tum erat moris.—Bullinger's Diary.

several of Luther's treatises, especially "On the Abrogation of the Mass," and "On Vows." These occupations powerfully promoted, under God, his improved views of christian truth[5].

But his profiting was not to be for himself only. The Cistercian abbot of Cappel, Wolfgang Joner, since his elevation in 1519, had laboured much to improve the moral and intellectual condition of his convent. Having heard therefore of Bullinger's excellent character, studiousness, and abilities, he sent an invitation to him early in 1523, to become lecturer and teacher of the monks and other students in his monastery; and as the offer was disconnected with any constraint of vows, profession, or observances, that could interfere with his enlightened conscience[6], Bullinger consented to enter (17th January) upon the proposed duties. The engagement, however, was a further development of God's gracious providence toward him[7]; and as it allowed him to discourse on the holy scriptures, with the writings of the fathers and Erasmus and Melancthon, it was a signal means to himself and his hearers of advancement in sound christian doctrine[8], notwithstanding severe oppositions even to the risk of life. Six years were passed by Bullinger in this useful retirement; where also he composed, principally for his own practice and improvement, more than fifty treatises, mostly on religious topics: of which the larger part remained in manuscript[9]; but some were either published afterwards, or incorporated in his later writings, or distributed among his friends[10].

During the same interval Bullinger formed an intimate

5 See Bp Cox's testimony; Zurich Letters, A. p. 244.

6 Bullinger testifies in his Diary: "Abbas quidem non dominus mihi erat, sed præstabat mihi patrem."

7 Ego vero indies magis atque magis abstrahebam a superstitione ad veram religionem.—Bulling. Diar.

8 In the course of the years 1525 and 1526 images were removed from the church, and the mass was superseded by the Lord's supper, at Cappel. The abbot also married in 1527.—Bulling. Diar.

9 In his "Ratio Studiorum," p. 45, Bullinger gives a detail of some of these compositions, and says concerning them: "ne literam quidem inter tot chiliades eo animo scripsi ut ederetur." Several of these treatises, in Bullinger's hand-writing, are yet extant in the library at Zurich; and a few were in the possession of Hottinger, when he wrote his "Schola Tigurinorum Carolina," A.D. 1664, where also the titles of most of them are to be found.—Append. I. p. 88.

10 Biblioth. Tigur. Mscr. F. 106.

acquaintance with Zwingle and Leo Judæ, and was much influenced by the religious sentiments of the former, especially on the subject of the eucharist[1]. Indeed, in the end of June 1527, he obtained from his abbot leave of absence for five months, to attend Zwingle's lectures at Zurich; where also he availed himself of the opportunity to perfect his acquaintance with Hebrew and Greek literature.

In December of the same year, the senate of Zurich deputed Bullinger to accompany Zwingle to the important disputation at Berne[2]. On his return he was prevailed on to undertake the pastoral office[3]; and preached his first sermon on Sunday, June 21, 1528, at the village of Husen, near Cappel.

A new sphere of usefulness now opened on Bullinger; and, yielding to the advice of his relatives and patron[4], and to the solicitations of the inhabitants, he went back to Bremgarten, June 1, 1529, and by incessant preachings and expositions there and in neighbouring places greatly furthered the spreading cause of the Reformation[5]. On the 17th of August he was

[1] In a letter to Crodelius, March 12, 1545, Bullinger writes of himself: "Circa finem anni 1523 primum vidi Zwinglium, nihildum de eucharistia disputantem: ubi vero inciperat corpoream Christi præsentiam et manducationem oppugnare, expendi hominis argumenta, ac veritatem apertam, firmius assertam scripturis, et jam ante imbibitam priusquam novissem Zwinglium, non illibenter recepi, et me partibus ejus junxi, scribendo, docendo, disputando, prædicando, veritatis causam juvans."—Hess, p. 28.

[2] See Orig. Lett. p. 718, note 1.

[3] Bullinger's own account of this *ordination* is: "In Junio convocata est Tiguri synodus, in quam ipsequo vocabar; ubi ex pastoribus præsidebat Huldr. Zuinglius, Leo Judæ, Heinrich Engelhard; et e senatoribus Diethelmus Roestius, consul, Rodolph Binderus, plebis tribunus, et alii. His rogatus solenne illud juramentum præstiti, atque ita ad prædicandum evangelium Christi vocatus, recusare amplius, quemadmodum feceram hactenus, non potui.—Bulling. Diar.

[4] Bullinger was greatly attached to his abbot, Wolfgang Joner, and constantly in his writings refers to him as "Mæcenas ille noster, omniumque studiosorum patronus." He was slain with Zwingle at the battle of Cappel.

[5] In February of this year Bullinger's father had publicly proclaimed at Bremgarten his conviction, that he had hitherto, in the time of darkness, misled his parishioners; but that now he would endeavour to guide them in the right way of life, out of holy scripture alone, and through Jesus Christ, our only Saviour.—Hess, Le-

united in marriage in the church of Birmenstorf, a small village near Bremgarten, by his brother John, the curè, to Anne Adlischweiler, to whom he had been pledged during his visit to Zurich two years previously, and who had formerly been a nun in the convent of Œtenbach, where daughters of the first families in Zurich were received[6]. During the two years of this residence at Bremgarten, Bullinger composed some of his Commentaries on parts of holy Scripture; and disputed in public often, and largely wrote against the prevailing errors of the anabaptists.

In consequence of the disastrous defeat of the protestant confederates at Cappel, October 11, 1531,[7] Bullinger was compelled to remove with his family and parents into Zurich for safety[8]. There he settled on the 21st of November; and on the 9th of December following (at the same time that the senate of Bale applied for him as successor to Œcolampadius, and the senate of Berne solicited him for a pastor[9]) he was appointed by the authorities of Zurich[10] to supply the vacancy in the preachership of their cathedral, which had been created by the melancholy death of Zwingle[11]. In this important post Bullinger continued for the remainder of his long life, labouring with most assiduous diligence and wide-spread influence. For several years, from 1531 to 1538, his preachings

bensgeschichte Bullingers, Vol. I. p. 9. Zurich. 1828. He died at Zurich, April 8, 1533, aged 64 years.

[6] Six sons and five daughters were the fruit of this marriage.—See Zurich Letters, A. p. 30, note 2.

[7] Sleidan. Comment. de Stat. Relig. Lib. VIII. p. 204. Francof. 1610. Orig. Letters, ed. Park. Soc. p. 552, note 1.

[8] In this unhappy crisis Bullinger had always recommended less warlike measures, and most publicly in a sermon preached at Bremgarten, before a general diet in the summer of 1531.—D'Aubigne's Hist. of Reform. Book XVI. chap. 5.

[9] See letters of application in Biblioth. Tig. Mscr. F. 106. No. A. fol. 32, dated Nov. 27 and 28, 1531, from Basle; and fol. 33, dated Dec. 6 and 11, from Berne.

[10] —piissimus Tigurinorum senatus . . . mandabant ne vel Basileam vel Bernam proficiscerer.—Bulling. Diar.

[11] Of Bullinger's first sermon at the cathedral of Zurich, preached three days after his arrival, Myconius wrote to a friend: "Talem concionem detonavit, ut multi putarent Zuinglium non defunctum, sed ad phœnicis modum renatum esse."—Hotting. Helvet. Hist. Eccl. Tom. III. p. 602.

were daily, sometimes twice in the day; his publications, of which many were suggested by passing events, were voluminous[1] and frequent; his pastoral and synodical, civil and ecclesiastical, engagements were unceasing and very various; his correspondence was exceedingly extensive and critical: and his house was always open, and his interpositions ready to shelter and befriend especially refugees from every country where religious persecution raged[2]. And during the protracted efforts to effect a reconciliation between the Lutherans and the church of Zurich on the sacramentarian question, his moderation and sincerity were eminently conspicuous[3].

In the middle of January 1536 Bullinger was deputed with Leo Judæ to attend the conference of deputies from all the Swiss reformed churches at Basle[4]. There he assisted in drawing up the first Helvetic Confession of Faith, and commenced a personal acquaintance with Calvin. His hospitalities also were liberally experienced at Zurich by Englishmen, John Butler[5], Nicolas Partridge[6], and William Woodroofe, in the month of August of the same year. Bartholomew Traheron[7] joined them in September of the year following[8].

A fatal plague in 1541 deprived Bullinger of his aged mother (August 16) and one of his sons (September 30); and in the next year, of his beloved colleague Leo Judæ (June 19), in the midst of his invaluable labours on the Biblia Tigurina[9].

[1] It is stated sometimes, that Bullinger's writings are published in ten volumes. But this is a mistake. For his own convenience Bullinger collected the principal of them into ten volumes (Biblioth. Tigur. Mscr. F. 98. no. 6); but they have never been published in any complete form. See also Hottinger, Schola Tigur. Tig. 1664. Append. 1. p. 75; and Gesneri Biblioth. Tigur. 1583.

[2] "That common father of the afflicted," is Pilkington's feeling description of Bullinger.—Orig. Lett. ed. Park. Soc. p. 135.

[3] Melch. Adam. in Vit. Bullingeri. p. 483. Francof. 1653. Hess, Lebensgeschichte H. Bullingers, Vol. 1. p. 360. This moderation sometimes exposed Bullinger to unkindly suspicions.—See Orig. Lett. p. 611.

[4] Orig. Lett. p. 611, note 3.

[5] Ibid. p. 311, note 2; and p. 621, note 2.

[6] Ibid. pp. 608, 124. [7] Ibid. pp. 316, 623, 624.

[8] Mentioning in his diary Traheron, and Partridge, and Eliot, Bullinger observes, "exposui illis multa Isaiæ capita."—Cf. Orig. Lett. pp. 623, 619.

[9] Orig. Lett. p. 235, note 7. Hess, L. H. B. Vol. 1. p. 382.

The preface to this translation, which Bibliander had principally completed, was written by Bullinger in February 1543.

In his extant diary Bullinger has marked March 29, 1547, as the day when Hooper and his wife, in their exile[10], accomplished their long-cherished desire of visiting him[11]; and March 24, 1549, when they left him for England with their daughter Rachel, his god-child[12]. In the end of May of the last-mentioned year also Calvin and Farell came to Bullinger, and a "consensus" or agreement was completed on the subject of the Lord's supper, between the churches of Geneva and Zurich[13]. At the same instant, as appeared by various decrees in the year following[14], the whole weight of the papal party, imperial and ecclesiastical, was combining to condemn Bullinger and all his writings. But nothing turned him aside from his steady course of usefulness; and early in 1554 the largest influx of English refugees enjoyed his sympathy and interest. Among them were Parkhurst, Jewel, Horn, Pilkington, Lever, Humphrey, and Cole[15]. Italian exiles from Locarno also sought and obtained like shelter in Zurich, through his interventions, in the spring of the year following[16].

From 1556 to 1564 Bullinger's time and exertions were largely and painfully consumed in combating the errors of Joachim Westphalus[17], Stancari[18], George Blandrata[19], Bren-

[10] Orig. Lett. p. 35, note 2. [11] Ibid. pp. 34, 42, 254.

[12] Ibid. pp. 48, 50, note 1.

[13] Ibid. pp. 88, 121, note 2. 267, 479, 493.

[14] Hoc anno (1550) missa sunt ad me edicta: primum ex Italia, ubi apud Venetos legatus S. Pontificis me et libros meos damnavit... secundum, ex inferiori Germania, ubi damnavit libros meos Theologus Lovaniensis: Ipse Cæsar Carolus V. me una cum multis aliis decreto vulgato et ipse damnavit. Tertium, ex Gallia, ubi Theologi Parisienses me et libros meos condemnarunt.—Bulling. Diar. A testimony to the value of Bullinger's Commentaries in Italy is found in Orig. Lett. p. 358.

[15] Orig. Lett. pp. 126-131, 136-7, 751. Zurich Lett. A. p. 87.

[16] Orig. Lett. p. 148. M'Crie's History of Reform. in Italy, p. 283. Lond. 1833.

[17] A minister of Hamburg, who revived the sacramentarian controversy.

[18] An Italian, who, besides approving Lutheran sentiments offensively to the Swiss, advocated dangerous opinions concerning the two natures of Christ.

[19] A physician of Savoy, and a partizan of Socinus.

tius[1], and Ochin[2]: while in the last-mentioned year a pestilence deprived him of his wife[3], and his second daughter, married to Lavater; and in the year following, of two other daughters,—his eldest, the wife of Zwingle jun.; and his third, who had married Josiah Simler[4]. By the same plague he had himself also been brought to the brink of the grave[5]; and not long after his sufferings from the stone commenced, which embittered the remainder of his days[6]. Notwithstanding declining health, family bereavements, and public trials, however, Bullinger's manifold labours continued unabated; and in the year 1571 he exerted himself most indefatigably in relieving his destitute country people during a very grievous famine.

Early in October 1574, his last and fatal disorder attacked him[7]. In the first instance, indeed, the severity of the seizure yielded so far to the remedies that were applied, that he was able to resume his public duties. But the disease returned on the 24th of May in the year following with excruciating violence, and lasted until the 17th of September: when, after exhibiting a bright example of christian patience, and having taken a touching personal farewell of all his colleagues, and written a letter to the senate of Zurich, to be delivered after his decease—(one object of which was to commend to them Rodolph Gualter as his successor),—he expired, in the exercise of much prayer and in the peace of the gospel, in the 71st year of his age[8].

His remains were deposited in the cathedral of Zurich, amid the sincere and lively regrets of all classes of his townspeople.

[1] A chief advocate of the Ubiquitarian doctrine.—Zurich Lett. A. p. 108, note 8.

[2] Bernard Ochin, an Italian, of Siena, dangerously advocated polygamy, and is said to have impugned the doctrine of the Trinity.

[3] Zurich Lett. A. pp. 144, 171.

[4] Ibid. pp. 142, note 1; and 171, note 3.

[5] Ibid. pp. 142, 3. 151.

[6] Ibid. pp. 212, 216, 314. Cœpi hoc anno (1569) ex ischia ægrotare, cui calculus accessit.—Bulling. Diar.

[7] See Zurich Lett. A. p. 317.

[8] See Bp Cox's beautiful letter on Bullinger's death, Zurich Lett. A. p. 318. See also B. p. 268.

His principal works, in the chronological order in which they were written or published, are the following:

1. Vergleichung der uralten und unser zeiten Ketzereyen, zu warnen die einfältigen Christen. ["A comparison of the heresies of ancient and of our times, a caution to plain Christians." This was Bullinger's first printed treatise. It was published, 1526, under the name of Octavius Florence.]

2. Ratio Studiorum, sive De institutione eorum, qui studia literarum sequuntur, &c. 12mo. Tigur. [This treatise was one of those which Bullinger composed at Cappel, in 1527. The MS. was given in 1532, by the author, to his great friend Berthold Haller of Berne, and preserved among his connections until published in 1594, by Ulrich Zwingle, jun.]

3. De Origine Erroris in negotio Eucharistiæ ac Missæ. 4to. Basileæ, &c. 1528. [There is added, "Appendix de Romani Pontificis authoritate, quando, a quibus, quave arte, in tantam imperii gloriam subvectus sit." This treatise also was composed at Cappel by Bullinger, after the model of Lactantius, and is dedicated to Wolfgang Joner, Peter Simler, and Andrew Curian. Œcolampadius saw the treatise on Bullinger's visit to Basle in 1527, and was so pleased with it that he prevailed to have it published. It was printed also in German at Heidelberg. Zanchi (Epist. lib. II. p. 278. Opp. Tom. VIII. Heidelb. 1613) gives a pleasing testimony to the usefulness of this book. The anecdote is quoted by M'Crie, Hist. of Reform. in Italy, p. 320, note, 2 ed. See below, No. 23.]

4. De hebdomadis quæ apud Danielem sunt, opusculum. 8vo. Tigur. 1530. [This treatise Bullinger composed at Bremgarten; but afterwards retracted it in his Homilies on Daniel. This book was forbidden in England in 1531. Foxe, Vol. IV. p. 669. Lond. 1837.]

5. Von dem unverschampten &c. leeren der selbsgesandten Widertöuffern, 12mo. &c. [This treatise against the Anabaptists was also composed by Bullinger at Bremgarten, in the end of 1530, and published at Zurich 1531. It is written in the form of a dialogue, between Simon, an anabaptist, and Joiada, his opponent. Two tracts follow; the former on the lawfulness of interest; the latter, dedicated to his brother John, on tithes. This treatise, enlarged with additions from Zwingle's "in Catabaptistarum Strophas Elenchus," was translated into Latin by Leo Judæ, and published in four books, in the year 1535.[9] Of these treatises, Zwingle says in his

[9] Ames mentions (Vol. III. p. 1461,) "Three Dialogues between the seditious libertine or rebell Anabaptist, and the true obedient Christian: wherein obedience to magistrates is handled. By Hen. Bul-

Annotations on Jeremiah, published March 11, 1531: "Scripsit nunc de ea (re, i. e. usura, &c.) germanice Heinrychus Bullingerus, frater ac conterraneus noster, juvenis acris ac solertis ingenii, qui contra Catabaptistas disputationem, velut δᾶδα, ex nostris sumpsit manibus. Deo gratia." p. 149. Tig. 1531.]

6. De prophetæ officio, et quomodo digne administrari possit, oratio. 8vo. Tigur. 1532. [This sermon, which was circulated among the clergy of the canton of Zurich, because the troubled state of the time prevented their assembling to hear it, contains an encomium on Zwingle, and a defence of his death on the field of battle.]

7. Auff Johansen Wyenischen Bischoffs trostbüchlin, &c. Tig. 1532. [An answer to Faber bishop of Vienna, who boasted that the Zurichers had been defeated at Cappel because they had forsaken the true church.]

8. In Epistolam Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ Canonicam Commentariolus. 8vo. Tig. 1532.

9. Commentarius in Ep. Pauli ad Hebræos. 8vo. Tig. 1532. [The dedication to Philip, landgrave of Hesse, contains a defence of Zwingle's death and of the reformed religion. In the course of the commentary on chapter x. Bullinger also gives an account of the mode of celebrating the Lord's supper at Zurich.]

10. Expositio in sanctissimam Pauli ad Romanos epistolam. 8vo. Tig. 1533. [In his dedication to Berthold Haller Bullinger addresses him as "hujus mei operis maxima causa."]

11. In Acta Apostolorum Commentariorum libri VI. 8vo. Tig. 1533. [This work is dedicated to the senate of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, "qui mox" (Bullinger notes in his diary) "honorificas misere literas ac aureos numeros 12, quos ego senatui obtuli, qui pauperibus in xenodochio legavit." It was republished in fol. with corrections and additions in 1540.]

12. In D. Petri Apostoli Epistolam utranque commentarius. 8vo. Tig. 1534. [Dedicated "omnibus per Germaniam fratribus nomine Christi evangeliique afflictis et exulibus."]

13. In priorem D. Pauli ad Corinthios epistolam commentarius. 8vo. Tig. 1534. [In his notes on chap. XIV. Bullinger describes the public lectures in the church at Zurich since the Reformation.]

14. De Testamento seu fœdere Dei unico et æterno brevis

lynger, and translated out of Latin by John Veron, printed at Worcester, &c. 1551." But Lowndes also notices; "An holsome Antidotus agaynst Anabaptistes, newly translated by John Veron," and published in 1548; and "A Dialogue between the seditious Anabaptist and the true Christian, about obedience to Magistrates," printed at Worcester, in 1549.

expositio. 8vo. Tig. 1534. [This treatise was appended to the edition of Bullinger's Commentaries on the Epistles, 1537, and translated into German in 1539. (Von dem einigen und ewigen Testament oder Pundt Gottes... kurtzer bericht, &c.) It was composed against those who rejected the authority of the Old Testament among Christians. See Vol. II. p. 299, note 6.]

15. Utriusque in Christo naturæ tam divinæ quam humanæ, contra varias hæreses, pro confessione Christi catholica, assertio orthodoxa. 8vo. Tig. 1534. [Also added in 1537 to the Commentaries on the Epistles. This discourse was delivered in the convocation of the clergy of the canton of Zurich, on the festival of the martyrs, Felix and Regula, (see Decade III. p. 106,) chiefly in consequence of the Socinian doctrines of Claude of Savoy, who was in Zurich at that time. Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 555, note 6, ed. Soames.]

16. In posteriorem D. Pauli ad Corinthios Epistolam Commentarius. 8vo. Tig. 1535.

17. In D. Apostoli Pauli ad Galatas, Ephesios, Philippenses et Colossenses epist. Commentarii. 8vo. Tig. 1535.

18. In D. Apostoli Pauli ad Thessalonicenses[1], Timotheum, Titum, et Philemonem epistolas Commentarii. 8vo. Tig. 1536. [The Commentary on the epistles to Timothy is dedicated to Werner Steiner, to whom Bullinger had promised such a work (he says) ten years before, and who lodged him and his family for some weeks in 1531, when Bullinger came from Cappel to settle in Zurich.—"The Sum or Substance of the Second Epistle of St Paul to the Thessalonians, by H. Bullinger, translated by R. H," was printed in 8vo, in 1538, by James Nicholson. Ames, Vol. III. p. 1450.]

19. In Epistolas Divi Jacobi Apostoli, et in secundam et tertiam Joannis Apostoli, et unam Judæ, Commentarii. 8vo. Tig. 1537. [In this same year, 1537, Bullinger published all his Commentaries on the Epistles together in one volume, fol. with a general preface.]

20. Das der Christen gloub von anfang der wält gewart habe, &c. 4to. Basil, 1537.—[This treatise was afterwards published at Zurich in 1539, under the title, "Der alt gloub."—It was composed by Bullinger against the boast of the papists, that the defeat at Cappel had proved theirs to be the true and ancient religion.—Cellarius translated it into Latin, and published it in 1544, with the title "Antiquissima Fides," &c.—Coverdale translated it (as it should seem, from the German original) into English. See Coverdale's

[1] The greater part of the Commentary on the second chapter of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians was published separately, in German, by Melchior Ambach, at Frankfort, in 1541, with the title, Vom Antichrist und seinem reich,—Of Antichrist and his kingdom.

Works, ed. P. S. "The Old Faith." See also Decade III. Serm. VIII. Vol. II. p. 299, note 5.]

21. De Scripturæ Sanctæ authoritate, certitudine, firmitate, et absoluta perfectione; deque Episcoporum, qui verbi Dei ministri sunt, institutione et functione, contra superstitionis tyrannidisque Romanæ antistites; ad sereniss. Angliæ regem Heinrychum VIII. Heinrychi Bullingeri libri duo. 4to. Tig. 1538. [These treatises were composed, and dedicated, at the suggestion of some of the Englishmen who were then sojourning in Zurich.—An English translation of the former of these treatises, made by William Gybson, and dedicated to the duke of Somerset, exists in MS. in the British Museum. (Biblioth. Reg. 18. B. XXVII. p. 101.)—See also Orig. Lett. ed. P. S. pp. 611, 618; and Decades, Vol. II. p. 15, note 6.]

22. Bericht der krancken. 12mo. Tig. 1538. [Translated into Latin "per studiosum quendam" in 1540, with the title, "Quo modo cum ægrotantibus ac morientibus agendum sit." Bullinger composed this treatise during the prevalence of a plague in Zurich. Hottinger. Schol. Tigur. Append. I. p. 77.]

23. De Origine Erroris, libri duo. 4to. Tig. 1539. [An enlarged edition of the treatise, No. 3. It was translated into French, 1560; and into German, 1574. It was also published in folio, at Zurich, 1568. Of the usefulness of this treatise to Bp Grindal, see Zurich Letters, A. p. 182, also pp. 207-8.]

24. Orthodoxa et erudita D. Joachimi Vadiani, &c. epistola, &c. Accesserunt huic D. Vigilii Martyris et Episcopi Tridentini libri V. 12mo. Tig. 1539. [Bullinger published these treatises on the two natures in Christ, with a preface, life of Vigilius, and summaries of each of his books.]

25. Expositio de omnibus sanctæ Scripturæ libris, eorumque præstantia et dignitate. 8vo. Tig. 1539. [This treatise Bullinger enlarged, and published in fol. 1543: and prefixed in 1544 to the Biblia Tigurina.]

26. Der Christlich Eestand. 12mo. Tig. 1540. [This treatise was translated into English by Coverdale, under the title, "The Christian state of Matrimony; when, where, how, and of whom it was instituted and ordained; what it is; how it ought to proceed; what be the occasions, fruit, and commodities thereof. Contrariwise, how shameful and horrible a thing whoredom and advoutry is. How one ought also to choose him a meet and convenient spouse, to keep and increase the mutual love, truth, and duty of wedlock; and how married folks should bring up their children in the fear of God." It was printed by John Goughe, 1543, (see Works of Becon, ed. P. S. Vol. I. p. 29, note 2,) and was among the forbidden books in Eng-

land in the reign of Henry VIII. Foxe, Vol. IV. p. 679. It was also translated into Latin by John ab Ulmis, and presented to lady Jane Grey; (Orig. Lett. ed. P. S. pp. 406, 422,) and parts of it were by her translated into Greek, (ibid. p. 427.)]

27. In Sacrosanctum Jesu Christi Domini nostri Evangelium secundum Matthæum Commentariorum libri XII. fol. Tig. 1542. [The treatise on the Resurrection at the end of these Commentaries, (Lib. XII. foll. 267—279,) was translated by Frisius into German, with the title, "The Hope of the Faithful," and published August 18, 1544. It is this treatise, and not Wermuller's, which is placed under the same title in Coverdale's Remains, ed. P. S. p. 135, &c.[1] Hence the reference in p. 181, note 1, of that volume, should be to the Commentaries of Bullinger on the Epistles of St Paul. See also Orig. Lett. ed. P. S. p. 224. The Commentaries were published in August.]

28. In divinum Jesu Christi Domini nostri Evangelium secundum Joannem Commentariorum libri x. fol. Tig. 1543. [The preface to this Commentary, "De vera hominis Christiani Justificatione," is dated in August. This Commentary was especially commended by Melancthon. Corp. Reform. Tom. v. col. 342.]

29. Ad Joannis Cochlei de canonicæ Scripturæ et catholicæ Ecclesiæ authoritate libellum pro solida Scripturæ canonicæ authoritate tum et absoluta ejus perfectione veraque catholicæ Ecclesiæ dignitate Heinrychi Bullingeri orthodoxa Responsio. 4to. Tig. 1544. [This was a reply to Cochlæus' attack on Bullinger's treatise, No. 21. See Orig. Lett. ed. P. S. p. 244.]

30. Brevis Anti*βολη*, sive Responsio secunda Heinrychi Bullingeri ad maledicam implicatamque Joannis Cochlei de Scripturæ et Ecclesiæ authoritate Replicam, una cum expositione de sancti Christi catholica Ecclesia, ad illustrissimum Principem et Dominum D. Ottonem Heinrychum Palatinum Rheni et utriusque Bavariæ Ducem, &c. 4to. Tig. Nov. 1544.

31. In sacrosanctum Evangelium Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Marcum Commentariorum lib. VI. fol. Tig. 1545. [The preface, "De Jesu Christo pontifice maximo, et rege fidelium summo regnante in ecclesia sanctorum," is dated in August.]

32. Absoluta de Christi Domini et catholicæ ejus ecclesiæ Sacramentis tractatio. [This treatise was *composed* in the year 1546; and sent first to Calvin, who approved of it; and then to John-a-Lasco, and by him published at London, "An. 1551. Men. Apri." with a dedication to the princess Elizabeth. This English edition is extremely rare. The Rev. W. Goode has a copy of it, which he

[1] Qu. Is this the book referred to in Orig. Lett. p. 245?

obligingly lent to the editor, and which seems to have been a presentation copy from John-a-Lasco to the bishop of Ely. The substance of this treatise was embodied by Bullinger in his Decad. v. Serm. VI. VII. See also Orig. Lett. ed. Park. Soc. pp. 497, 681. The printing of this treatise Abp Cranmer encouraged, although he had not read it, saying, that Bullinger's writings needed no examination. Gerdesii Scrin. Tom. IV. par. 1. pp. 470-2.]

33. In luculentum et sacrosanctum Evangelium Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Lucam Commentariorum lib. IX. fol. Tig. 1546. [The preface, "qua demonstratur, Deum Patrem in Filio suo unigenito—omnia dedisse ecclesiæ suæ, quæ ad vitam et salutem hominis pertinent," &c., is dated in August. See Orig. Lett. ed. Park. Soc. p. 255.]

34. Series et digestio temporum et rerum descriptarum a beato Luca in Actis Apostolorum. 4to. Tig. 1548.

35. Sermonum Decas prima et secunda. 4to. Tig. 1549. [Published in the beginning of March. See Orig. Lett. p. 266. The ninth sermon of the 2nd Decade was published in English with a dedication to Edward VI. by Walter Lynne, with the title, "A Treatise or Sermon of Henry Bullinger, much fruitful and necessary for this time, concerning magistrates and obedience of subjects, &c. Made in the year of our Lord 1549." A copy of this book is in the British Museum. See Orig. Lett. p. 396, note 1.]

36. Sermonum Decas tertia et quarta. 4to. Tig. 1550. [The second *volume* of the Decades, of which the former part was dedicated in March, and the latter in August, to Edward VI. See Orig. Lett. pp. 269, 560; 141, 483, 665, 673. The former part was translated into English immediately, by Thomas Caius; Orig. Lett. p. 415.]

37. Sermonum Decas quinta. 4to. Tig. 1551. [This decade was dedicated in March to lord Grey. Orig. Lett. pp. 3, 121, 436, 493, 498, 574. Extracts from this decade, and the dedication, with a few passages from the second Decade, were published in English with the title, "The Judgment of the Reverend Father, Master Henry Bullinger, &c. in certain matters of religion being in controversy in many countries, even where as (where) the gospel is taught." 1566.]

The Decades were published together, in folio, in 1552; and have been translated into German and Dutch, under the name of Hausbuch, (Zurich Lett. Second Series, p. 118), French, and English.

38. Die rechten opffer der Christenheit. 12mo. Tig. 1551. [The true Christian Sacrifice. A sermon from Hebr. xiii. preached by Bullinger, 14 August, at Zürich, and dedicated to Conrad Pellican.

Of this sermon Bullinger has noted: "Hunc sermonem Latinum fecit D. Johannes Parkhurstus, Nordovicensis in Anglia episcopus: sed non est, quod ego sciam, excusus." Hottinger. Schola Tigur. Append. I. p. 79.]

39. Brevis ac pia institutio Christianæ religionis ad dispersos in Hungaria ecclesiarum Christi ministros et alios Dei servos scripta. [This treatise was written in 1551, but *printed*, "Ovarini," in 1559, 8vo.]

40. Antithesis et compendium evangelicæ et papisticæ doctrinæ, &c. 8vo. Tig. 1551. [Composed at the desire of George, count of Wirtemberg; and written also in German.]

41. Perfectio Christianorum, sive de Jesu Christo, Christianorum perfectione unica, demonstratio. 8vo. Tig. 1551. [Written in German also, (Der Christenheit rechte volkommenheit, &c.) and dedicated in the month of September to Henry II. king of France, when with several of the princes of Germany he sought the liberation of the duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse.—Sleidan, Comment. Libb. XXIII. XXIV. See also Orig. Lett. p. 6.]

42. Ecclesias Evangelicas neque hæreticas neque schismaticas, sed plane orthodoxas et catholicas esse Jesu Christi ecclesias, Apodixis ad illustrissimum principem et dominum D. Georgium comitem Wirtenbergen. et Montis Bellgardi, &c. 8vo. Tig. 1552. [The preface is dated in February. The treatise was also published in German, Das die Evangelischen Kilchen, &c.]

43. Von der verklärung Jesu Christo: et vom waaren Messia. 12mo. Tig. 1552. [Two sermons from Matth. xvii. 1—8, preached at Zurich by Bullinger, in October 1552; but *not published* till 1556.]

44. Von dem heiligen Nachtmal, &c. Zwo predginen. 12mo. Tig. 1553. [These two sermons were preached by Bullinger at Zurich; and afterwards translated into Latin, and published "a studioso quodam," with the title, "De Sacrosancta Cœna Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qua forma, quo ritu, et in quem finem eam instituerit; quomodo item ad ipsam nos præparari oportet." A translation of this book was made out of a French version in English "by J. T.," and dedicated to "Thomas [Bentham], bishop of Covehtry and Lichfield." It was "imprinted at London, nigh unto the Three Cranes in the Vintry, for William Ponsonby." A copy is in the library of Lambeth Palace: no date.—Qu. Is this treatise the book which Lever mentions, Orig. Lett. Let. LXXIX. p. 156?]

45. Dispositio et Perioche historiæ Evangelicæ per IIII. Evangelistas contextæ, necnon Actorum Apostolorum, Epistolarum quoque Pauli XIIII. et Canonicarum VII. ex commentariis H. Bullingeri petita et in formam Enchiridii redacta. 8vo. Tig. 1553.

46. De gratia Dei justificante nos propter Christum per solam fidem absque operibus bonis, fide interim exuberante in opera bona, libri IIII. ad sereniss. Daniæ regem Christianum, &c. large 8vo. Tig. 1554. [This treatise was composed by Bullinger with the object of conciliating in Denmark a greater confidence in the Swiss Reformation. Melancthon was much delighted with this work.—Corp. Reform. Tom. VIII. col. 523. See also Orig. Lett. p. 744.]

47. Von dem zytlichen Gut, &c. zwo predigten. 12mo. Tig. 1554. [These two sermons of Bullinger's, on the right use of worldly possessions, were composed by him in Latin, and published in this German translation by John Haller.]

48. "A treatise of the cohabitation of the faithful with the unfaithful. Whereunto is added a Sermon made Of the confessing of Christ and his Gospel, and of the denying of the same. Anno 1555. Apocal. xviii. 'Come away from her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, that ye receive not of her plagues.'

A Sermon of the true confessing of Christ and the truth of the Gospel; and of the foul denying of the same: made in the convocation of the clergy at Zurich, the 28. day of January, in the year of the Lord 1555, by H. B."

[This book has neither place, nor printer's name, nor date. The type is foreign, and the spelling bad. A copy of it is in the British Museum. Ames, Vol. II. p. 1581.]

49. Das jungste Gericht, &c. 12mo. Tig. [These two sermons on the last Judgment, from Matt. xxiv. 31—46, are dedicated by Bullinger to Wolfgang Waydner of Worms, in February 1555, but appear not to have been published at Zurich until 1559.]

50. Von dem heil der gloübigen &c. 12mo. Tig. 1555. [A sermon preached by Bullinger, at Zurich, May 26, 1555, On the setting forth of man's salvation always by the word of God and the sacraments.]

51. Summa Christlicher Religion, &c. 8vo. Tig. 1556. [This treatise was published also in the same year in Latin, with the title, "Compendium Christianæ Religionis x. libris comprehensum." It is a kind of epitome of the Decades. It was published in English[1], January 1572, by George Byshop, under the title of "Commonplaces of Christian Religion compendiously written," &c. The translator, John Stockwood, "Minister of Battel," dedicated the work to Henry, earl of Huntingdon. A copy of the book is in the British Museum. Bullinger's original treatise is dedicated to William, landgrave of Hesse.]

52. Apologetica Expositio, qua ostenditur Tigurinæ Ecclesi

[1] Ames, Vol. II. pp. 1007, 1147.

ministros nullum sequi dogma hæreticum in Cœna Domini, &c. 12mo. Tig. 1556. [This treatise was also published in German in 1557. It was written in consequence of the revival of the sacramentarian controversy, and the bitter denunciations of several of the Lutheran party and of Westphalus.]

53. In Apocalypsim Jesu Christi, &c. conciones centum. fol. Basil. 1557. [These sermons are dedicated "Ad omnes per Germaniam et Helvetiam, Galliæ, Angliæ, Italiæ, aliorumque regnorum, vel nationum Christi nomine exules," &c.; and the dedication is acknowledged on the part of some English refugees at Arau and Frankfort, in Orig. Lett. pp. 169, 763. The sermons were delivered by Bullinger in lectures at Zurich during the years 1555 and 6. See Orig. Lett. p. 158. The work has been translated into German, French, and Polish. In England a translation was made and published by John Daus of Ipswich, in 1561 (Zurich Lett. p. 99); and another revision, "faithfully corrected and amended," in 1573. Both editions were printed by John Daye[2]. Bp Parkhurst ordered his clergy to procure copies of this translation, or of the original Latin sermons. Zurich Letters, p. 99.]

54. Conciones XXVI. in cap. vi. Jeremiæ. 8vo. Tig. 1557.

55. De fine sæculi et judicio venturo Domini nostri Jesu Christi, deque periculis nostri hujus seculi corruptissimi gravissimis, et qua ratione fiant innoxia piis; orationes duæ, habitæ in cœtu cleri per Heinrychum Bullingerum. Basil. 1557. [These sermons on Matt. xxiv., Dan. vii., and 2 Tim. iii., were preached, the former 12 Sept. 1555, and the latter 28 January, 1557. They were "englished by Thomas Potter;" and "imprinted at London, at the long shop in the Pultrie, by John Allde." A copy of this book is in the Library of Lambeth Palace: no date. But Ames gives the date 1596. Vol. II. p. 892.]

56. Sermones in vii—xiv. capp. Jeremiæ. 8vo. Tig. 1558.

57. De Cœna Domini Sermo. 8vo. Tig. 1558.

58. Festorum dierum Domini et Servatoris, &c. sermones ecclesiastici.—Accessit illis præterea præfatio de Sabbato et Feriis Christianorum. fol. Tig. 1558. [These discourses, dedicated to the palatine of Wilna, were composed and published by Bullinger at the request of his colleagues, to promote an improved style of preaching. See Orig. Lett. p. 700.]

59. Sermones XXXII. in capp. xiv—xxx. Jeremiæ. 8vo. Tig. 1559.

60. Bericht wie die so von wägen unsers herren Jesu Christi, &c. ires gloubens ersücht, &c. antworten und sich halten mögind, &c. 12mo. Zurich, 1559. [This treatise was composed by Bul-

[2] Herbert's Ames, Vol. I. p. 634.

linger for the benefit of persecuted protestants in Bavaria. It was published in a Latin translation in 1560, by Josiah Simler, with the title, "Institutio eorum qui propter Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum de fide examinantur et variis quæstionibus tentantur[1]." It was also translated into English. Zurich Letters, A. p. 278. See also p. 110.]

61. Catechesis pro adultioribus scripta. 8vo. Tig. 1559. [This Catechism was composed by Bullinger at the request of the ministers of Zurich; and about the year 1578 was recommended by statute to be used in the University of Oxford, "for the benefit of youth, and the informing them in true religion." Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of Univ. of Oxford. Vol. II. part I. p. 193. ed. Gutch. Oxf. 1796. Cardwell's Document. Ann. Vol. I. p. 300. Oxf. 1844.]

62. Der Widertoufferen ursprung, &c. in VI. bucher. 8vo. Tig. 1560. [This improved treatise of Bullinger's on the Anabaptists (see above, No. 5) was immediately translated into Latin and published by Josiah Simler, with the title, "H. Bullingeri adversus Anabaptistas libri VI." &c. See Zurich Letters, A. pp. 87, 95, 96, 110.]

63. Von den Conciliis. 12mo. Tig. [This treatise was composed in November 1560, and published early in 1561. It was also published in 1561 in Latin with the title, "De Conciliis &c. brevis ex historiis commemoratio." See Zurich Letters, A. pp. 97, 208.]

64. Tractatio verborum Domini, In domo patris mei mansiones multæ sunt, &c. 12mo. Tig. [This tract was written by Bullinger in December 1560, and published in 1561, at Zurich. It was also translated by Lavater into German.—It was composed against the Ubiquitarian doctrine. See Zurich Letters, A. p. 92, note 1, and p. 98.]

65. Sermones LXXIV. in caput XXX. Jeremiæ ad finem. 8vo. Tig. 1561.

66. Threnorum seu Lamentationum Jeremiæ explicatio. 8vo. Tig. 1561.

67. Gegenbericht Heinrychen Bullingers uff den bericht herren Johansen Brentzen von dem himmel und der gerachten Gottes, &c. [This treatise against Brentius was composed by Bullinger in December 1561. It was published also in Latin in 1562; Responsio, qua ostenditur sententiam de cœlo et dextera Dei, &c. Bullingeri &c. non esse eversam, &c. See Zurich Letters, A. pp. 108, 110, 121.]

68. Vester grund, &c. 8vo. Zurich, 1563. [Another treatise of Bullinger's against the errors of Brentius. It was published also

[1] See Gerdesii Scrin. Tom. IV. par. 2. p. 440.

at the same time in Latin with the title, "Fundamentum firmum, cui tuto fidelis quivis inniti potest," &c. See Zurich Letters, A. p. 131.]

69. Repetitio et dilucidior explicatio consensus veteris orthodoxæ catholicæque Christi Ecclesiæ, &c. de inconfusis proprietatibus naturarum Christi Domini in una indivisa persona permanentibus, &c. 8vo. Tig. 1564. [Another treatise against the errors of Brentius.]

70. Von rächter hilff und errettung in noten. 12mo. Zurich, 1564. [This sermon, on deliverance in affliction, from Matth. xiv. 22—33, was preached by Bullinger at Zurich, 12 July, 1564.]

71. Daniel sapientissimus Dei propheta, qui a vetustis Polyhistor, id est, multiscius est dictus, expositus Homiliis LXVI. &c.—Accessit huic operi Epitome temporum et rerum ab orbe condito ad excidium usque ultimum urbis Hierosolymarum sub Imperatore Vespasiano. fol. Tig. 1565. [See Zurich Letters, A. pp. 145, 150, 151, 220. B. p. 164.]

72. Isaias excellentissimus Dei propheta, &c. expositus Homiliis CXC. &c. fol. Tig. 1567. [Zurich Letters, A. pp. 172, 191, 194, 220; B. p. 164.]

73. Reformationsgeschichte. [This history of the Reformation in Switzerland, extending from 1519 to 1532, was finished by Bullinger, 10th Nov. 1567: but was never published until 1838 and 1840.]

74. Von der bekerung dess menschen zu Gott und dem waaren glouben; VI. predigen, &c. [These six sermons on Conversion, from Acts viii. 27, &c. were published by Bullinger in October 1569. See Zurich Letters, A. pp. 220, 224.]

75. Ad Testamentum D. Joannis Brentii nuper contra Zuinglianos publicatum Responsio brevis necessaria et modesta a ministris Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ universis fidelibus ad judicandum proposita. 8vo. Tig. 1571. [This reply was written by Bullinger in the name of all the pastors of Zurich. It was published also at the same time in German. See Zurich Letters, A. pp. 241, 243, 258, 266; B. p. 245.]

76. De Scripturæ Sanctæ præstantia et dignitate. 8vo. Tig. 1571.

77. Bullæ papisticæ ante biennium contra sereniss. Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hyberniæ reginam Elizabetham, et contra inclytum Angliæ regnum promulgatæ, refutatio, orthodoxæque reginæ et universi regni Angliæ defensio, Henrychi Bullingeri. S.—Londini, apud Johañem Dayum, Typographum. Small 4to. 1571. [This treatise was composed by Bullinger at the suggestion of some of

his friends among the English bishops. (See Zurich Lett. A. pp. 221, 244; B. p. 179). It was also published in English, (Zurich Lett. A. pp. 242, 3, 258, 266, 269; B. pp. 183, 192,) and in 1578 was translated into German, and published by John Conrad Ulmer, preacher at Schaffhausen.]

78. Vermanung an alle diener des Worts Gottes &c. 12mo. Zurich, 1572. [An exhortation of Bullinger's to Christian concord and agreement. It was translated by Josiah Simler into Latin, with the title, "Adhortatio ad omnes in Ecclesiâ Domini nostri Jesu Christi verbi Dei ministros, ut contentiones mutuas deponant, &c. (Zurich Letters, A. p. 270) and was also translated into English by John Cox, and published 1575. Ames, Vol. II. p. 890.]

79. Von der schweren langwirigen verfolgung der heiligen christlichen Kirchen, &c. 12mo. Zurich, 1573. [This treatise was composed by Bullinger on occasion of the St Bartholomew massacre in France. It was translated into Latin and published the same year by Josiah Simler, with the title, "De Persecutionibus Ecclesiæ Christianæ." It appeared in English, in 16mo. under the title of, "The Tragedies of Tyrants[1], exercised upon the Church of God from the birth of Christ unto this present year 1572." &c. London, 1575. The translator was Thomas Twynn: and his translation is dedicated to Parker, archbishop of Canterbury. A copy of the book is in the British Museum.—See Zurich Letters, A. pp. 300, 303, 308.]

80. Zwo predigen über den CXXX. owch CXXXIII. psalmen Davids durch Heinrychen Bullinger, &c. 12mo. Zurich, 1574. [See Zurich Letters, A. pp. 303, 308.]

81. Antwort Heinrych Bullingers &c. uff D. Jacoben Andresen über die siben klagartickel erinnerung. 12mo. Zurich, 1574. [This answer to James Andreæ[2], who took up the defence of Brentius, was translated into Latin by Josiah Simler, with the title, "Ad septem accusationis capita, quæ hodie maxima importunitate per calumnias summaque cum injuria quidam inquieti, scriptis illis suis, in capita coacervant ministrorum Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ, quos per contumeliam Zuinglianos nuncupant, Heinrici Bullingeri &c. Responsio."—See Zurich Letters, B. p. 245.]

Besides the above works, Bullinger drew up the Confession of the Church of Zurich on the Lord's Supper[3] against the misrepresentations of Luther in 1545. (Warhaffte Bekantnuss, &c. Rodolph

[1] Ames, Vol. II. p. 775.

[2] See Zurich Lett. A. p. 302, note 1. B. pp. 98, 100, 274.

[3] Orig. Lett. p. 681. See John-a-Lasco's opinion of it, Gerdesii Scrin. Tom. IV. par. 2. p. 460.

Gualter translated it into Latin; "Orthodoxa Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ ministrorum confessio," &c. See Orig. Lett. P. S. p. 681.) Several of his letters also and admonitions to his son Henry, and grandson Felix Lavater, have been published in Miscell. Tig. Vol. I. par. 3, and in Merkwürdige Züge. H. Bulling. Bern. 1828.[4] In a letter of Martin Micronius (Orig. Lett. p. 560) Bullinger's *Decades on the Kings* are mentioned: but no such Decades were published. The Latin must have been "decades ad *regem*;" and the reference is to the second volume of the Decades, which Bullinger dedicated, and a copy of which he specially sent, to Edward VI. (See Orig. Lett. pp. 662 and 88).

Besides English translations of some of Bullinger's writings mentioned in the foregoing list, there was printed in 1548, in 12mo. "at London, by Robert Stoughton," "Two Epistles: one of H. Bullinger, with the consent of all the learned men of the church of Tigury; another of John Calvin, chief preacher of the church of Geneva: whether it be lawful for a christian man to communicate or be partaker of the mass of the papists, without offending God and his neighbour or not:" (dated "Tiguri, Feb. 18, 1541,") which probably was among the books alluded to in Orig. Lett. p. 396. Another edition came out in 1549. (Lowndes; and Ames, Vol. II. p. 750.)

N. B. The Editor cannot close this list of Bullinger's publications without acknowledging his great obligations to M. Horner, the librarian of the Zurich Library, for the great facilities which he afforded him in making needful researches in that invaluable collection of books and documents.

THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF BULLINGER'S DECADES.

THERE were *three* editions of the English translation[5] of Bullinger's Decades; viz. in the years 1577, 1584, and 1587. The Parker Society has reprinted the latest edition.

Copies of any of the editions are seldom perfect. In most cases the title-pages are *fac-similes*, extremely well executed,

[4] Hottinger also mentions a tragedy of Bullinger's, "Brutus sive Lucretia," which was published (but without his name) and acted at Basle, A.D. 1533.—Schola Tigur. Append. I. p. 88. Tig. 1664.

[5] Made, says Strype (Ann. II. ii. p. 144. Oxf. ed.) by a "person of eminency in the church."

but bearing another date than that of the edition to which they are prefixed; and leaves of different editions are found supplied in one copy. On page 1085 of the old editions also (Vol. IV. page 437 of this reprint) variations in the text of all the copies (whatever the edition) occur, which can be accounted for only on the supposition, that, for some unexplained reason, the publisher cancelled former or printed new leaves.

In a copy of the ed. 1587 (as the editor has been informed by the Rev. G. C. Gorham), which is in the possession of Dr Bayford, there is a remarkable addition in the last lines of the title-page, as follows: "Imprinted at London by Raph Newberie, dwelling in Flete-Street, a little above the Conduit, *who hath store of these bookes for those that want them, both in Latine*[1] *and English.* Cum gratia et privilegio Regiæ Majestatis, 1587." The added words are here given in italics, and are not found in other copies of the same year.

On the debated question of the degree of authority which was given to these Decades of Bullinger in the reign of queen Elizabeth in the English church, the Editor deems it most consistent with the principles and practice of the Parker Society, that he should confine himself to *facts*, and leave *conclusions* to be drawn from them by others. These facts may most conveniently be presented under the following heads:

1. The earlier registers of the Convocation of the province of Canterbury were destroyed in the great fire of 1666.[2]

2. But in archbishop Whitgift's Register, at the archiepiscopal palace of Lambeth[3], there are found, "Orders for the better increase of learning in the inferior ministers, and for more diligent preaching and catechising:" which had been introduced, it appears, into the upper house of Convocation on the second day of December, 1586, by the archbishop, and which contain the following directions:

"I. Every minister having cure, and being under the

[1] In 1586 Newbery had a licence to print Bullinger's Decades in Latin.—Ames, Vol. II. pp. 918, 1134.

[2] Cardwell's Synodalia, Preface, page i.

[3] Tom. I. fol. 131. a. Cardwell's Synodalia, Vol. II. page 562.

degrees of master of arts, and batchelors of law, and not licensed to be a public preacher, shall before the second day of February next provide a Bible, and Bullinger's Decads in Latin or English, and a paper book, and shall every day read over one chapter of the holy scriptures, and note the principal contentes thereof briefly in his paper booke, and shall every week read over one sermon in the said Decads, and note likewise the chief matters therein contained in the said paper; and shall once in every quarter (viz. within a fortnight before or after the end of the quarter) shewe his said note to some preacher nere adjoyninge to be assigned for that purpose.

"II. Item, The bishop, archdeacons, or other ordinary, being a publick preacher, shall appoint certaine grave and learned preachers, who shall privately examine the diligence, and view the notes of the said ministers, assigninge sixe or seaven ministers, as occasion shall require, to every such preacher, that shall be next adjoyning to him, so as the ministers be not driven to travell for the exhibitinge of their notes above sixe or seaven miles (if it may be), and the said preacher shall by lettres or otherwise, trulie certifie to the archdeacons, or other ordinarye of the place, themselves being publick preachers, and resiant within, or nere to their jurisdiction, and for want thereof, to the busshop himself, who do performe the said exercises, and how they have profited therein, and who do refuse or neglecte to perform the same; the archdeacons and others receiving the said certificates, shall signifye the same, once in the yere, to the busshope, and that about Michalmas.

"III. Item, Such as shall refuse to perform the exercises, or shall be negligent therein, and shall not after admonition by the bishop, archdeacon, or other ordinary aforesaid, reform himself, if he be beneficed, shall be compelled thereunto by ecclesiasticall censures; if he be a curate, shall be inhibited to serve within the jurisdiction."

"VIII. It is concluded that the exercises above written, and no other, shall be henceforth publicly or privately used within any parts of this province."

Afterwards, in the seventh session of the same Convocation by prorogation, on March 10th, "the prolocutor" of the lower house "prayed that the articles agreed on by the bishops for the increase of learning in inferior ministers might

be read; which was done. And then the archbishop exhorted all the clergy to do their duty[1]." And in archbishop Whitgift's register a letter to the archdeacon of Canterbury[2] (William Redman) is inserted, in which the archbishop, under date March 29, 1587, transmits to him the Orders above mentioned to be observed throughout the whole diocese; and Strype records, in his Life of Bishop Aylmer[3], that "the bishop's pious and painful son, Dr Theophilus Aylmer, now archdeacon of London, the 6th of January ensuing, called for the clergy (as he frequently used to do) intending this meeting chiefly for such ministers as were not preachers, but of the inferior sort: for the bringing forward of which were these particulars enjoined.... 2. Every person to have Bullinger's Decads. 3. Each to have his paper book, and therein to write the quantity of one sermon every week," &c.

Yet in archbishop Whitgift's Register[4] again, a copy of a letter is extant, apparently designed as a circular to the bishops[5] of his province, dated Nov. 1, 1588, in which the archbishop writes: "After my right hearty commendations to your lordship. Where secundo Decembris, when we were assembled in the synod kept in the year 1586, it was thought fit and necessary to me and to the rest of my brethren then present in that synod, although not as a judicial act or conclusion by the authority of the convocation, that the articles of the tenor of the copy herein enclosed should be put in execution by your lordship and all the rest of my said brethren the bishops of this province; forasmuch as it is like it will be looked for at this next parliament, how the same articles have been accordingly used, and likewise how the canons agreed upon by all our consent in the convocation holden the xxiiii of November, in the year of our Lord 1584, and allowed by the queen's majesty, have been observed; &c." and in the margin of the register this letter is described, "A copy of my lord grace his letters for the exercises:"—so that *the "Articles,"*

[1] Strype, Whitgift, Vol. I. page 499.

[2] Tom. I. fol. 132.

[3] Strype's Life of Bp Aylmer, p. 83. Oxf. 1824.

[4] Tom. I. fol. 151. a.

[5] Strype gives this letter as addressed *to the bishops*,—Whitgift, Vol. I. page 531. It appears in Wilkins' Concil. as directed to the bishop of London.—Vol. IV. p. 338. Lond. 1737.

which the archbishop here mentions, are *the "Orders"* quoted above.

3. In her majesty's State Paper Office, also, a contemporary copy of archbishop Whitgift's "Orders" is preserved; and a duplicate copy of them, made, for greater security, by Sir Joseph Williamson in the reign of Charles II.: but these papers are only endorsed, "Orders for the discipline of the Church;" no signature of a Secretary of state, nor any memorandum whatsoever, is to be traced upon them; and the Editor is informed at the Office, that the preservation of these documents among the State papers is no proof, of itself, that they had received any state or royal sanction.

4. The edition of the Decades of 1587 had on its title-page, "Cum gratia et privilegio Regiæ Majestatis;" an inscription, which neither of the former editions presented. But these words only declared a licence to publish; and did not intimate that the book had received any regal sanction and authority.

The "Epistles" of Bullinger "concerning the Apparell of Ministers and other indifferent things[6]," which were added to the English edition of the Decades, 1587, and which are mentioned in the title-page, are not inserted in this reprint, as they are found among the Zurich Letters, A. Append. Let. III. and IV. ed. Park. Soc.

[6] Ames, Vol. II. p. 697.

FIFTY SERMONS

DIVIDED INTO

FIVE DECADES.

THE FIFT AND LAST

decade of sermons,

WRITTEN BY

Henrié Bullinger.

The third Tome.

IESVS.

This is my beloued Sonne, in whom I am well pleased. Heare him. *Matth.* 17.

THE

FIFTH DECADE OF SERMONS,

WRITTEN BY

HENRY BULLINGER.

¶ OF THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH; WHAT IT IS, HOW FAR IT EXTENDETH, BY WHAT MARKS IT IS KNOWN, FROM WHENCE IT SPRINGETH, HOW IT IS MAINTAINED AND PRESERVED, WHETHER IT MAY ERR. ALSO OF THE POWER AND STUDIES OF THE CHURCH.

THE FIRST SERMON.

THE order and course of things[1] so leading us, next after God, the workman and author of all things, we come to speak of his most excellent work, to wit, the church. For so great is the goodness of our good God and most loving Father, that not he himself is desirous to live happily and blessedly alone, but moreover to bestow and pour upon us men, his beloved creatures, all kind of blessedness[2]; and that we should enjoy his goods by all means possible. And for that intent he chooseth men to himself who live in this world, that he may once[3] translate unto himself: in whom also (even while they live here) he may dwell, whom he may enrich with all his goods, in whom he may reign; and that they should be called by his name, to wit, a people, a house, a kingdom, an inheritance, a flock, a congregation or church, of the living God. Of which church I will speak (being aided with your prayers) such things as the Lord of the church shall grant unto me to utter.

This word *Ecclesia,* which signifieth a church or congregation[4], is a Greek word, used and received among the

Ecclesia, a church or congregation.

[1 rerum cohærentium, Lat.: of things mutually related to each other.]

[2 et bona sua omnia, Lat. omitted: and all his good things.]

[3 aliquando, Lat.] [4 which—congregation: not in Lat.]

Latins, signifying, as I said, a congregation, communion, or assembly (in the Dutch tongue, *Ein Gemeind*), or a people called together to hear of matters of the commonwealth: for so it is found that St Luke used this word in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. But it was translated to an holy use, and began to be called a congregation, assembly, or company of the faithful, calling upon the name of the Lord. St Paul saith that he persecuted the congregation or church of God: who in another place saith, "I received authority from the high priests to bind all those that call upon the name of Christ[1];" for now doth he term them such as call upon the name of Christ, or Christians, whom before he named the church. Or else this word *Ecclesia*, the church or congregation, is so called of calling forth together: for in the Greek tongue ἐκκαλέω signifieth to call forth. For God calleth forth from all parts of the wide world, and from the whole congregation of men, all believers together with their seed[2], that they may be his peculiar people, and he again may be their God; that is to say, that they may be the church of the living God. In times past the congregation or assembly of the Jewish people, being God his flock, was called a synagogue; for this word synagogue signifieth as much as *Ecclesia*, the congregation. But because of the stubbornness of the Jews, and the unappeasable hatred which they bear towards christian religion, this word synagogue is not esteemed, but is almost quite grown out of use. But we will not dispute by due and right order of the churches either of the Jews or the Turks, or of other strange churches of the Gentiles[3], whereof we know there are many sorts and kinds. We will speak of the christian church and congregation of the faithful: which the Germans do call *Die kirch*, alluding peradventure to the Greek word κυριακή. For they call κύριακὴν anything belonging to the Lord, to wit, a house or a people; as the Germans do call *Die kirchen* both the people of God themselves, and also the place wherein they assemble together to worship

1 Cor. xv.
Acts xxii.
Synagogue.

[1 Ananias says this of Saul. Acts ix. 14.]

[2 ex hoc mundo, Lat. omitted: out of this world.]

[3 vel aliarum exterarum gentium, Lat.: or (of the churches) of other nations that are without.]

God. But first of all we will describe a little plainlier[4] what the church or congregation is.

The church is the whole company and multitude of the faithful, partly being now in heaven, and partly remaining yet here upon earth: where it doth agree plainly in unity of faith or true doctrine, and in the lawful partaking of the sacraments: neither is it divided, but joined and united together as it were in one house and fellowship. What the church is.

This church was usually[5] called catholic, that is to say, universal. For she bringeth forth[6] her branches in all places of the wide world, in all times of all ages; and generally doth comprehend all the faithful of the whole world. For the church of God is not tied to any one region, nation, or kindred; to condition, age, sex or kind: all the faithful generally and each one specially, wherever they or he be, are citizens and members of this church. St Paul the Apostle saith: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bondman nor free, neither man or woman; for ye be all one in Christ Jesu." The catholic church. Gal. iii.

The church is distinguished into the triumphant and the militant. The triumphant is that great company of holy spirits in heaven, triumphing[7] for the victory gotten against the world, sin, and the devil, still[8] enjoying the sight of God, wherein consisteth all fulness of all kind of joy and pleasure: whereupon they set forth God's glory, and praise his goodness for ever. This church doth St John the Apostle set forth very notably[9] in his Revelation[10], saying: "After this I saw, and, behold, a great company which no man was able to number, of all nations, peoples, and tongues, standing before the throne, and in the sight of the Lamb, clothed in white raiments[11], and palms in their hands: and they cried out with a loud voice, saying: Salvation belongeth to him that sitteth on the throne of our God[12], and to the Lamb." And a little after he saith: "And one of the elders answered The distinction of the church. The triumphant church. Rev. vii.

[4 paulo rudius, Lat.] [5 solet, Lat.: is usually.]
[6 profert, Lat.: sendeth forth into.]
[7 modo, Lat. omitted: now.] [8 still, not in Lat.]
[9 graphice, Lat.] [10 Revelations, ed. 1577.]
[11 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, white *garments*.]
[12 So Erasmus: and Bibl. Lat.: Tigur. 1544; and Tyndale, 1534; and Cranmer, 1539.]

and said unto me: These which are clothed in white garments, who are they? or from whence come they? And I said unto him, Thou knowest, Lord. And he said unto me, These are they that have come out of great affliction, and have spread abroad[1] their garments, and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb: therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve[2] day and night in his holy[3] temple. And he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell over them[4]. They shall neither hunger nor thirst henceforth any more: neither shall the sun shine[5] on them, or any heat: because the Lamb, who sitteth[6] in the midst of the throne, shall govern them, and bring them to the springs of the water of life[7]. And the Lord shall wipe away all tears from their eyes." Brethren, ye have heard a notable[8] description of the triumphant church in heaven, and that too triumphing truly through the blood of Jesus Christ, by whom they conquered and do now reign. For Christ is that "Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world;" by whom all which be sanctified are sanctified, and shall be sanctified, and do live, from the first creation of the world unto the end of all times. St Paul, in a certain place giving unto us also a notable description of this church, telleth that we which as yet are busied[9] in the militant church shall sometime be translated to the same, and be made fellows with the[10] angels of God, received among the orders of the patriarchs, and placed in the company of the blessed spirits, with the most high God himself and the mediator our Lord Jesus Christ. For he, preaching the greatness of God's grace brought unto us by the gospel, and exhorting us to receive the same with a true faith, "Ye came not (saith he) unto mount Sina, to a fire, to a whirlwind, a stormy tempest, and

Whence perfect holiness proceedeth.

Heb. xii.

[1 So Bibl. Lat. Tigur. and Tyndale and Cranmer, "and made their garments large." Mea autem sententia rectius et simplicius legere videtur codex Compluten. et Aretas, Et ἔπλυναν, quod et vetus Interpres vertit, Abluerunt.—Bullinger. in Apoc. Conc. 36. p. 103. Basil. 1570.]

[2 serviunt ei, Lat.: serve him.] [3 holy, not in Lat.]

[4 Super eos, Lat.: super illos, Bibl. Lat. Tigur. 1544. and Vulgate, and Erasmus.]

[5 cadet, Lat.] [6 est, Lat.]

[7 ad vivos fontes aquarum, Lat.] [8 elegantissimam, Lat.]

[9 qui versamur, Lat.] [10 sanctis, Lat. omitted: holy.]

darkness; but unto mount Sion, to the city of the living God, to heavenly Hierusalem, and to the innumerable company of angels, and to the church or congregation of the first-begotten which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of the perfect just, and to the mediator of the new Testament, Jesus Christ[11], speaking better things than the blood of Abel spake[12]." And therefore all the saints in heaven do belong unto our company, or rather, we belong unto their fellowship; for we are companions and fellow-heirs with the saints from Adam unto the end of all worlds, and God's household. Which containeth the greatest comfort of all man's life, and moveth most of all to the study of virtue: for what more worthy thing is there, than to be of God's household? Or what may be thought more sweet to us, than to think ourselves fellows with the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, of all angels and blessed spirits? This benefit, I say, Christ hath bestowed on us. To him therefore be praise, glory, and thanks for ever and ever. Amen.

The militant church. The militant church is a congregation of men upon earth, professing the name and religion of Christ, continually[13] fighting in the world against the devil, sin, flesh, and the world, in the camp and tents and under the banner of our Lord Christ. This church is to be considered[14] two ways. The holy church. For either it is to be taken strictly, comprehending them only which be not only called but are in very deed the church, the faithful and elect of God, lively members, knit unto Christ, not[15] with bands and other outward marks and signs[16], but in spirit and faith: and oftentimes by these means[17] without the other: of which matter we will speak hereafter. This inward and invisible church of God may be well named the elect spouse of Christ, only known unto God, who alone knoweth who are his. When we be first taught to know this church, we confess her with the Apostles' creed,

[11 and to the blood of sprinkling, omitted by Bullinger.]
[12 loquebatur, Lat. and Bibl. Lat. Tigur. 1544. and Erasmus.]
[13 et adhuc, Lat.: and still.]
[14 rursus, Lat. omitted: again.]
[15 non modo, Lat.: not only.]
[16 rather, with outward bands or marks.]
[17 duntaxat, Lat. omitted: only.]

I believe the holy catholic church.

saying[1]: "I believe the holy catholic church, the communion of saints." And in these few words we comprehend that there is a church, also what is the church, and what manner one it is. For first we confess that there hath been, and is, a church of God, and that it shall continue for ever. Then, professing what it is, we add this, "The communion of saints." That is to say: We believe the church to be nothing else but the company of all those saints that are, have been, and shall be, as well in this present age, as in the world to come, who enjoy all good things in common granted unto them by God. Also we express what manner of thing the church is, to wit, holy, even the spouse of Christ, cleansed and blessed.

1 Cor. vi.

For St Paul calleth them holy, which are cleansed with the Spirit and blood of our God, of which a great part have received crowns of glory[2]: the residue labour here upon earth, hoping to receive them in heaven. And truly, in consideration of the church, the chiefest matter is that through the grace of God we be made the members of Christ's body, and partakers of all heavenly gifts with the angels[3]; for we confess none to be more holy than our own selves[4].

The church doth comprehend the wicked.

Or the church more largely considered comprehendeth not only those that are the very faithful and holy indeed, but also them who although they believe not truly or unfeignedly, neither be clean or holy in the conversation of their life, yet do they acknowledge and profess true religion with the true believers and the holy men of God: yea, they speak well and allow of virtues and reprove evil, neither do sever themselves[5] from the unity of this holy church militant. In which consideration, not so much as the wicked and hypocrites (such as we read to have been in the church in the time of Christ and the apostles, as Judas, Ananias and Sapphira, Simon Magus, also Demas, Hymenæus, Alexander, and many other) are excluded and put from the church; which church may well be called the outward and visible church.

[1 Hanc in primis confitentes symbolo edocti apostolico dicimus, Lat. Confessing this church especially we say, as we are taught by the Apostles' Creed.]

[2 of glory, not in Lat.]

[3 cum sanctis omnibus, Lat.: with all the saints.]

[4 Rather, for we confess none more than ourselves to be holy.]

[5 adhuc, Lat. omitted: as yet.]

But this church, whereof we speak, is to be accounted of[6] either by reason of some part thereof, or else of the whole; for it is to be considered generally and particularly. And the particular church is that which is comprised in a certain number, and is known by some sure and certain place: for of the place it taketh the name, being called after the names of cities, as the churches of Zurick and Bernes, &c. The Greeks called those particular churches παροικίας[7], which we commonly call parishes[8]. And we call[9] that a parish, which hath dwelling-houses and streets joined together in neighbourhood. But in cities and towns[10] unto certain portions are usually ascribed both churches and parish priests to serve them, and all that whole circuit is called a parish[11]; in the Dutch tongue, *Ein barchi*[12], *oder pfarkirch, oder ein kirchhory*. And in the old time the parish priest was a provider; for he provided and gave necessaries to strangers, and chiefly salt and wood[13]. Some called him the maker of the feast, other call him a preparer of virgins[14]. Therefore because the pastors of churches be as it were preparers of virgins for the Redeemer and head of the church, which is Christ, bringing unto him a chaste and undefiled virgin; and to be short, because they themselves provided things most necessary for the people of God, and also prepared heavenly meats and banquets, the pastors of the Lord's flock are very well called parish priests, or the curates of souls[15]. Of the particular church the Lord speaking in the gospel saith: "If he that offendeth the church will not regard when he is warned, complain unto the church."

The particular church.

Parish and parish-priest.

Matt. xviii.

[6 rursus, Lat. omitted: again.]

[7 Bingham's Antiq. Book IX. chap. II. § 1.]

[8 Vulgus dicit parochias, alii et rectius dixere parœcias, Lat.]

[9 vocant, Lat.] [10 et in agro, Lat.: and in the country.]

[11 Pacii Isagog. in Decretal. Lib. III. tit. 29. de parœciis.]

[12 parochie, Dutch translation, 1567.]

[13 Parochus (πάροχος), qui legatis et aliis iter facientibus necessaria (nominatim salem, lignum, fœnum) publico sumtu *præbenda* suscepit vel redemit. Idem Latine a *præbére* (παρέχειν) apud Ciceronem Offic. I. 15. dicitur *præbitor*.—Doering. in Hor. Sat. I. 5. 46.]

[14 paranymphum, Lat. The bride-man, as he rode in the carriage with the bride and bridegroom, was sometimes called the πάροχος. —Smith, Dict. of Antiq. p. 599. Lond. 1842.]

[15 Bullinger seems here to have borrowed from Polydor. Vergil. De Rerum Inv. Lib. IV. cap. 9.]

But it is not possible that the universal church through the whole world should assemble and come together, that the rebellious and obstinate should be brought before it: wherefore judgment is referred to be given on the stubborn by the particular churches. To conclude, the universal church consisteth of all the particular churches throughout the whole world, and of all the visible parts and members thereof. This is the same which we shadowed out of late, when we spake more at large thereof.

The church of God hath been, and shall be, for ever.

But the catholic church of God doth abide with us[1] (as we began to tell a little before) continually from age to age from the beginning, and is at this time dispersed throughout the whole world, both visibly and invisibly; and the Lord's people and God his house shall continue upon earth unto the world's end. For there was never yet any world[2], neither shall be any age, wherein God hath not sanctified or will not sanctify some unto himself, in whom he will dwell, and that they shall be his flock and holy house: for the testimonies[3] of ancient prophets do record that the church is perpetual. For thus we find it written in the 132nd psalm: "The Lord hath chosen Sion, he hath chosen her for an habitation for himself. This is my resting-place for ever and ever; here will I dwell, because I have chosen her." And again: "I have sworn unto David in my holiness, his seed shall remain for ever, and his seat shall continue before me as the sun." But who knoweth not that all this is to be understood of Christ, the Son of David, and of his throne and spiritual Sion, which is the church? He also, signifying the continuance of the church, saith in the gospel: "I will remain with you continually unto the end of the world." And again: "I will ask of my Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, the Spirit of truth, that he may abide with you for ever." To this belongeth also that saying in the gospel: "And the gates of hell shall not prevail against the church." Which saying truly is a great comfort to the faithful in so many and so great persecutions intended to the utter destruction and overthrow of the church.

[Ps. lxxxix. 35, 36.]

Matt. xxviii.

John xiv.

Matt. xvi.

The church of the devil and anti-christ.

But as Christ had always his church here upon earth, hath now, and for ever shall have; so likewise the devil, as

[1 ad nos usque decurrit, Lat.] [2 seculum, Lat.]

[3 etiam, Lat. omitted: also.]

long as the world shall continue, shall never want his people in whom he may reign. This church of the devil took her first beginning of Cain, and shall continue to the last wicked person, comprehending also all those evil peoples that have been in the meantime and shall be betwixt the beginning and the ending. But they, living here on earth, have society and common with them that are tormented in hell. For as all that be godly, being under one head Christ, do make one body; so all the wicked, under one head Satan, are one incorporate body. This may right worthily be called the wicked church[4], Sodom and Gomor, Babylon, the congregation of Chora, Dathan, and Abirom, a synagogue, a school, and a stews of the devil, the kingdom of antichrist, or any other of like sort. In this church are reckoned up all such as are wicked and infidels, separating themselves from the society of our holy mother the church, or forsaking the communion thereof: and specially such as are mockers of God and his holy word, blasphemers and persecutors of Christ and his church. Such in these days are the heathen, Turks, Jews, heretics, schismatics, and generally all such as are professed enemies to christian religion. And to these also we may add hypocrites; for it is no small offence that the Lord himself in every part of the gospel[5] doth so earnestly persecute and blame. Among other things he saith: "The Lord of that servant shall come in the day wherein he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he shall not know of, and shall divide him, and shall give him his portion with hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." Out of all doubt he signified the greatness of the offence by the sharpness of the punishment. This church doth follow the motions of the devil, and the devices or imaginations of her own heart, and is busied and exercised in all kind of blasphemy and wickedness, wherein she excelleth herself; and at last sinketh down to hell, that she be not in any place separated from that head whereunto she hath so diligently or rather obstinately joined herself.

Matt. v. vi. xxiii. Matt. xxiv.

I know right well that ye will object against me, for that I have reckoned the hypocrites to be in the outward communion and fellowship of the militant church, and now again to account them of the company of the devil's church. Moreover

How hypocrites are, or may be accounted in the church of God.

[4 ecclesia malignantium, Lat.: Psalm xxv. 5. Vulgate.]

[5 in sancto evangelio, Lat.]

you will say, That it is impossible that the same hypocrites may take part of both churches differing betwixt themselves[1]; for that the Lord saith: "Either make the tree good and the fruit good, or else the tree naught and the fruit naught." And St Paul also saith, that there is no "fellowship betwixt Christ and Belial, twixt light and darkness, twixt truth and lying;" and that hypocrisy is lying and darkness.

Matt. xii.

2 Cor. vi.

Here therefore I perceive a fit place to shew, by what means and how far I may account hypocrites to be of the congregation of the church. First we make a distinction or difference of hypocrites. For there are certain hypocrites that put their confidence in their human justice and equity, doing all their works openly that they may be seen of men, firmly trusting and stiffly standing to men's traditions. To these it is a custom and property not only to fly from the church which teacheth the righteousness of Christ, but also to curse, detest, and to persecute it with all cruelty. Such kind of people were the Jews and Jewish Pharisees, with whom our Lord Jesus Christ had much contention, and with whom even at this day the church contendeth and maketh wars. These be the plain and visible members of the devil's church, and they are not to be counted of the outward[2] church, yea, they are not once worthy to be named in the church of Christ. Again, there are some kind of hypocrites that are dissemblers, which neither give any confidence to their own righteousness and justice, neither yet do greatly regard the traditions of men. These kinds of people neither hate the church, nor fly from it, nor persecute it; but outwardly they agree with it, professing the same faith, and participating the selfsame sacraments: but inwardly and in mind they neither believe unfeignedly and sincerely, neither do they live holily. Of this sort, some of them for a season will cleave to the fellowship and company of the church; and having any occasion given they will fall from it, as heretics and schismatics are wont to do, and such as of friends are become enemies. Other there be again that never fall from the church, but keep themselves in the fellowship of the church all their lifetime, outwardly pretending and feigning religion; but inwardly giving themselves up to their own errors, faults, and wickedness: unto whom without doubt the

Hypocrites.

[1 diversissimis inter se, Lat.]

[2 vel exterioris, Lat.: even of the outward.]

outward behaviour and fellowship profiteth nothing at all. For we ought to live for ever and to participate all heavenly gifts with them that desire them, to join in fellowship[3] with the church of God not only by outward and visible society, but by inward communion and fellowship, wherein consisteth life and salvation: of which matter we will speak in convenient place. Such hypocrites or dissemblers, hanging[4] on the ecclesiastical body, are called members of the body, and are said to be of the church. Which matter that it may the better be understood of you all, we will set it forth by certain parables.

We say that the wicked or hypocrites be in like sort in the church, as chaff is in the corn; which indeed is of another nature, and is no corn. Like as therefore ofttimes there hang members unto men's bodies, either dry, or rotten, or feeble, which members although they have no society nor take part with the lively members in the vital spirit, yet by coupling together and certain strings they cleave fast unto the lively members, by means whereof they are also called by men members and parts of the body; who, lest they should infect the other, they cut them off; ofttimes[5] they let them alone, lest by cutting them off the whole body should be in danger of life: even so in like sort[6], we say that hypocrites are in the church of Christ, though they be not united to the church either by the bond of the Spirit, or of faith and love; neither are they to be taken for lively members; yet are they suffered, lest some worse mischief happen to the whole body of the church; and ofttimes they are cut off, whereby the better health may come to the ecclesiastical body.

But let us hear what the evangelical and apostolical testimony saith. The Lord saith plainly in the gospel, that in the Lord's field cockle groweth up, being sown by a wicked man; which he forbiddeth to be plucked up, lest that therewith the corn be plucked up also. Behold, cockle sown by an evil man (I say) by the devil himself, which is no corn, yet doth it increase, and is in the Lord's field. Again, the Lord saith in the gospel: "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a net, which, being cast into the sea, draweth all manner of things up with Matt. xiii.

[3 Rather; For they that desire to live for ever, and to participate in all heavenly good things, must join in fellowship, &c.]

[4 adhuc, Lat. omitted: still.] [5 nonnunquam, Lat.]

[6 ratione certa et suo quodam modo, Lat.]

it; and when it is filled, it is brought to the shore; and there men sitting reserve that which is good in a vessel, and that which is evil they cast away." Again behold, how ye may see both good and bad to be drawn in the selfsame net; and therefore in the selfsame kingdom both good and evil to be reckoned. Also in another parable, there entereth one in among the guests which hath not on his wedding-garment; who is suffered for a season, but yet at last is cast out of doors by the lord of the feast. In another place it is said that he hath a fan[1] in his hand, and cleanseth the floor, and burneth the chaff with unquenchable fire. [2]St Paul in his epistle to the Corinthians putteth a difference betwixt the professed and open enemies of Christ's church, and the impure sort of men who as yet are not quite repugnant and adversaries of the church and the name of Christ[3]. "If any man (saith he) that is called a brother be a thief, or a whoremonger, or a covetous person, &c. with such an one see that ye eat no meat. For what doth it belong unto me to judge of them that be without? For God judgeth them that are without." Without, that is to say, without the bounds of the church, he placeth them that are not called brethren, to wit, such as do not acknowledge the name of Christ or of the church: within, that is to say, in the society of the church (I mean of the outward church), he reckoneth up them that as yet do acknowledge the name of Christians, neither yet do withstand ecclesiastical discipline, though themselves[4] in meantime be defiled and spotted with much mischief[5]. Of all men St John the apostle spake plainly[6], saying: "They went out from us, but they were none of us; for if they had been of us, they had tarried still with us." This seemeth to be a new kind of speech. For if they which go out of the church had not been in the society of the church, how could they go out of the church? Can a man come forth of a place, in the which he never came, or in which he never was? Therefore if hypocrites and evil men are gone out of the church, surely

Matt. xxii.

Matt. iii.

1 Cor. v.

1 John ii.

[1 vannum aut ventilabrum, Lat.]

[2 Proinde, Lat. omitted. For this reason.]

[3 to the name of the church and of Christ, Lat.]

[4 they themselves, ed. 1577.] [5 sceleribus, Lat.]

[6 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, spake *plainliest:* significantissime, Lat.]

they were sometime in the church; then, to wit, when they had not as yet gone out of it and did plainly shew what manner ones they were indeed. Again, for that they went out of the church, they manifestly shew that they were never indeed the true and lively members of Christ and the church, yet for a while they were numbered among the members of the church. The apostle giveth the reason: it is the disposition of Christ's true members never to forsake Christ and his church, but to continue and also to prosper and increase daily more and more. The saints and holy men truly do offend or fall, but yet they do not forsake Christ utterly. David, having committed adultery and manslaughter, crieth out, saying: "Make me a clean heart, O Lord, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. O give me the comfort of thy help[7] again, and stablish me with thy free Spirit[8]." St Peter denieth the Lord, and the weak flesh overcame a good spirit: but immediately (the Lord stirring up his heart) he repented, and, departing from evil company, he adjoineth himself to the good fellowship of the Lord, who foretold him of this great fall, and thereto added these words: "I prayed for thee that thy faith should not fail; and thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren." The same Peter also in another place, what time many fell from Christ, being demanded whether he also provided[9] to depart, answered: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the word[10] of eternal life. And we believe and know, that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." Wherefore St John said very truly: "They went out from us, but they were none of us." He addeth the reason: "If they had been of us, they had still tarried with us." Therefore because they continued not still with us in the society of Christ and the church, they shewed by their defection and falling away[11] what manner ones hitherto they have been: we accounted them to be members of the church, but they by their falling away did declare that they were chaff in the Lord's corn. For as

Psal. li.

Luke xxii.

John vi.

[7 salutaris tui, Lat.]

[8 spiritu principali, Lat. See Vol. II. p. 147, note 6; and p. 252, note 4.]

[9 paret, Lat.] [10 verba, Lat.]

[11 a nobis, Lat. omitted: from us.]

chaff, being not[1] stirred nor fanned, doth seem to be heavy with a grain of wheat in it, but being once fanned it appeareth empty and light, and is put apart from the corn; so hypocrites, being light by reason of their defection[2], do manifestly prove that they were never heavy with the seed of God's word, and that they were never of the true corn[3] of Christ.

All that be in the church be not the church.

From hence a general and ancient[4] opinion is gathered, that all that are said to be the church, and beautify themselves with the title of the church, are not by and by the church. For St John plainly addeth: "But that it may be evident, that all be not of us." [5]We read how that St Paul to

Rom. ix.

the Romans saith: "They are not all Israelites which came of Israel; neither are they all children straightway, because they are the seed of Abraham: but in Isaac shall thy seed be called." Therefore the faithful are the true and lively members of Christ and of the saints. In mean season truly, so long as hypocrites or wicked persons not yet putting off their visors[6] shall by their sayings and doings declare what they are, that they may lawfully be cut from the church, who not yet breaking away by their own accord do forsake Christ in the open field and fly to the tents of antichrist or the devil, are known and taken to be the true[7] inhabitants of the church, and are called the church and the members of the church, although God, who beholdeth the hearts of all men, do well enough discern them[8]. I will again make

John xiii.

this matter plain by an example. As long as Judas, the betrayer of Christ and manslayer, did not utter his crafty or rather most wicked device either by open deed or word, neither forsook the company of Christ and the apostles, but did preach and provide necessary things of household for Christ, he was accounted for an apostle and the steward of Christ, yea, and for a member of the apostolic church. Yet

John vi.

the selfsame Judas was called by the Lord a devil, and when he spake of the elect and of his true and lively mem-

[1 nondum, Lat.: not yet.]
[2 rather, by their light defection: levi sua defectione, Lat.]
[3 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, never the true corn.]
[4 orthodoxa, Lat.] [5 unde, Lat.: whence.]
[6 necdum deterso fuco, Lat.] [7 true, not in Lat.]
[8 rather, judges otherwise of them.]

bers, he was most plainly shut out; so that there is no occasion of doubt to think that Judas was no member of the inward and holy church of God, though he were a member of the outward church, being reckoned in the number of the holy men. And therefore they speak not without great advice, that said, that of God's church there was one visible and outward, another invisible and inward. The visible and outward church is that which is outwardly known by men for a church, by hearing God's word and partaking of his sacraments, and by public confession of their faith. The invisible and inward is so called, not that men are invisible, but because it is not to be seen with man's eye, and yet doth appear before God's eyes, who believe truly and who feignedly. For the true believers are the true and lively members of this inward church; which before I called the militant church more strictly considered: but the other visible church, comprehending both good and bad, is more largely considered.

John xiii.

The visible and invisible, the outward and inward church.

Now forasmuch as we have said that the church militant upon earth is marked by God with certain tokens and marks whereby it may be known in this world; it followeth next that we should speak of those outward marks of the church of God. And there are two special and principal marks, the sincere preaching of the word of God, and the lawful partaking of the sacraments of Christ: where as some add unto these the study of godliness and unity, patience in affliction, and the calling on the name of God by Christ; but we include them in these twain that we have set down. St Paul writing to the Ephesians saith: "Christ gave himself for the congregation, that he might sanctify it, and cleanse it in the fountain of water through the word." Ye have in this testimony of the apostle the marks of the church, to wit, the word and the sacrament, by the which Christ maketh to himself a church. For with his grace he calleth, with the blood of Christ he purifieth; that which he sheweth[9] by his word to be received by faith, and sealeth with sacraments, that the faithful should doubt of nothing touching their salvation obtained through Christ. And these things truly do properly belong unto the faithful and the holy members. Whereas hypocrites are not purified, the fault lieth in themselves, and not in God or his holy ministry: they are surely

Of the outward marks of the church of God.

[9 id quod annunciat, Lat.: which thing he proclaims.]

sanctified visibly, whereupon they are counted holy amongst men; and these things do improperly belong unto them. St Peter in this point differeth not a whit from St Paul, who when he preached the word of God to the people of Jerusalem, and they demanding what they should do, Peter answereth: "Repent, and be ye every one baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins." St Peter therefore joined baptism with doctrine, the sacrament with the word. Which thing he had learned of our Saviour himself in the gospel written by St Matthew, saying: "Teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." So that ye read in the Acts no other mysteries of the word and sacraments of the church than are recited[1] in these words, "They continued in the doctrine of the apostles, and in doing almsdeeds[2], and in breaking of bread, and prayer:" where ye may see the supper of the Lord, another sacrament, adjoined to the sacrament of baptism, also the desire and study of unity and love, and the calling upon the name of God.

Acts ii. Matt. xxviii. Acts ii.

These things being thus sufficiently plain and firm enough, yet notwithstanding I will add other testimonies out of the holy scriptures. Concerning the token of God's word, or the preaching of his gospel, the Lord himself speaketh by Esay the prophet, saying: "I will make this covenant with them, My Spirit that is come upon thee (the church), and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall never go out of thy mouth[3], nor out of the mouth of thy childer's children, saith the Lord, from this time forth for evermore." For in the gospel also the Lord Jesus saith: "He that is of God doth hear the word of God:" again, "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them[4], and I give to them everlasting life; and they shall not perish for ever:" and again, "He that loveth me will keep my commandments; he that loveth me not will

Isai. lix. John viii. John x. John xiv.

[1 Rather, So that you read recounted in the Acts no other tokens of the church than these of the word and sacraments.]

[2 beneficentia. Communicatio.....e caritate Christiana est, et officia Christiana instituit, et opera misericordiæ habet.—Bulling. Comment. in Act. loc. cit. Tigur. 1540.]

[3 neque de ore seminis tui, Lat. omitted: nor out of the mouth of thy seed.]

[4 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, and they follow me.]

not keep my commandments:" again, "Whoso is of the truth will hear my voice." Now as touching the marks and tokens of the sacraments, St Paul, speaking of holy baptism, saith: "Through one Spirit we are all baptized in one body[5]." And he also speaking of the Lord's supper saith: "Though we be many, yet are we one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of the same bread. Is not the cup of blessing which we bless partaking of the blood of Christ?" It is most certain therefore, for that it is approved[6] by testimonies of holy scriptures, that the outward marks and tokens of the church are the word and the sacrament. For these bring us into the society of one ecclesiastical body, and keep us in the same.

John xviii.

1 Cor. xii.

1 Cor. x.

All these testimonies properly (as I said a little before) do belong unto the elect members of God, being endued with faith and true obedience: but unto the hypocrites, which are void of faith and due obedience, they nothing at all[7] belong: notwithstanding, because these also do hear the voice of the shepherd outwardly, and ensue virtue, and openly or outwardly are annexed to the elect and true believers in the partaking of the sacraments, yea, unto the true body of Christ, for those outward signs' sake they are accounted to be in the church so long as they depart not from it. In which point, for perspicuity sake, having treated of the marks of the church, we must add this thereunto, that by common order[8] these marks do declare and note the members of the church. For there are certain special members, who although they want these marks, yet are they not excluded from the society and communion of the true church of Christ. For it is most evident[9] that there are many in the world which do not hear the ordinary preaching of God's word, neither do come into the congregation and company of them that call upon God or that receive[10] the sacraments: not for that they despise them, or that it is a delight unto them to be from sermons and the preaching of God's word[11]; but because through necessity, as imprisonment, sickness, or being let by some other urgent cause[12], they cannot

How these marks declare the church.

[5 in unum corpus, Lat.] [6 traditum, Lat.]
[7 improprie, Lat.]
[8 lege communi, Lat.] [9 certissimum, Lat.]
[10 rather, or receive, i. e. they do not receive.]
[11 and—word, not in Lat.]
[12 aliorum malorum vi, Lat.: by the constraint of other evils.]

attain unto that which they earnestly desire; and yet for all that they are the true and lively members of Christ and of the catholic church. In times past the Lord instituted or appointed to the people[1] of Israel a visible church, which he established by a certain law, and set it forth by visible signs. If any man had despised this church, or refused, when he might, to hear the doctrine of the church, and to enter in among the holy company, and to do sacrifice; or else had railed at it; or instead of the order of worshipping God that was appointed had embraced any other kind; truly he was not accounted at all to be of the order and number of the people of God. And yet it is certain, that there were an innumerable company of men dispersed throughout the whole world among the gentiles, who never did, nor could, communicate with this visible company and congregation of God's people; and yet notwithstanding they were holy members of this society and communion[2], and the friends of almighty God. There were a great many of the children of God with Joachim[3] and Jechonias[4] taken prisoners by Nabucodonosor and brought captive into Babylon, to whom it was no prejudice, neither did they[5] hurt them, that they were separated from the people of God, the church, and worshipping of God, being then visibly upholden by Zedechias at Jerusalem[6]: even as in very deed it did little avail a great many, to be in the visible assemblies and congregations with the people of God in God's temple, when their minds and hearts were not sound and perfit. We may in these days find out a great many of the faithful dispersed on the seas, condemned to the galleys for the confession of the true faith: we may find many that be holden in captivity under antichrist, of the which we will speak in the next sermon following: we may find also a wonderful many in Græcia, Natolia, Persia, Arabia, or in Africa, being the servants of Jesus Christ and worthy members of the catholic church of Christ, being shut out and debarred from the holy mysteries[7] of the Christians through

[1 in populo, Lat.: among the people.]

[2 cœtus sancti membra, Lat.] [3 cum rege Joachim, Lat.]

[4 Or Jehoiachin. See Vol. II. p. 11.]

[5 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, did *it*.]

[6 rather, that they were separated from the people of God, who still had the temple and visible worship at Jerusalem under Zedekiah.]

[7 a sacris, Lat.]

impiety and cruelty of Mahomet: nevertheless we shall find them almost[8] nearly joined together in one spirit and one faith with all the true[9] members of the church, and marked[10] also with the visible signs. Therefore the word and the sacraments by common decree are the marks of the church, not putting apart or differing the faithful from the communion and society of other faithful being by some necessity shut out from the visible company of those that are faithful[11].

What manner of God's word it ought to be that is the mark of the church.

But to the perfect understanding of the marks of the church this belongeth also, and that most principally; that it is not enough to brag of the word of God, or of the scripture, unless also we embrace, retain, and determine[12] the true sense and that which is agreeing with the articles of faith. For if we corrupt[13] the sense of the scripture, and urge the same in the church, then dost thou not bring forth the sincere scripture itself, but thine own opinion and thy fancies which thou hast devised of thine own mind. The church of the Arians did not refuse the word of the Lord, but rather laboured both to beautify and defend their own blasphemous errors by the testimonies of holy scripture. That church denied our Lord Jesus Christ to be of one substance with God the Father: which thing, sith that the sense of the scriptures and of the ancient[14] faith among the chiefest points of our faith doth both affirm and urge, truly it alleged not the sincere and pure word of God, howsoever it boasted of it, but an adulterate word; yea, and thrust in and defended her heretical opinion for the true and perfect meaning of the holy scripture: and therefore it had not the true mark of the church, neither was it the true church of God. By this one unhappy example we may judge of all other churches of heretics: who though they seem not to be void of the testimony of God's word, yet for all that in very deed they have no purity of God's word in them.

After what sort the sacraments ought to be used.

That which we have said concerning the word of God is also necessarily to be understood of the use of the sacraments: for except they be orderly and lawfully used, I say, in that

[8 rather, most.]

[9 true, not in Lat.] [10 rather, who are also marked.]

[11 rather, which yet do not put aside from the communion of the faithful those believers, who by some necessity are shut out of the visible company of the faithful.] [12 tueamur, Lat.]

[13 corrumpas, Lat.: if ye corrupt, ed. 1577.] [14 orthodoxæ, Lat.]

order in the which the Lord himself instituted them, they
1 Kings xii. are no marks or signs of the church of God. Jeroboam truly sacrificed, yea, he sacrificed unto God; but because he sacrificed not lawfully, he was accounted a stranger, and a
2 Sam. vi. faller off from the true church of God. Yea, David himself brought with great devotion and much joy and melody the ark of the Lord of hosts; but because he carried it not lawfully upon the shoulders of the priests, by and by, instead of great joy, the exceeding sorrow which followed declared that it is not enough to use the sacraments and ordinances of God, unless ye use them lawfully; which if you do, God will acknowledge you for his. Moreover, those which of old were baptized of heretics were not for that cause baptized again by the ancient catholics: because the heretics baptized not into the name of any man, or into the society of their errors[1] or heresies, but baptized "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost;" neither did they invocate their own name, or the name of arch-heretics, but of Jesus Christ. Wherefore not the baptism of heretics, but the baptism of the church, yet ministered by heretics, they not refusing, they allowed not the churches of heretics as known to be true by true signs: but they acknowledged that heretics use things properly[2] belonging unto the true church; neither that it doth anything at all derogate or take from a good thing, if any wicked or evil man do administer it. We do not acknowledge at this day the upstart Romish church of the pope (we speak not now of that old apostolic church) to be the true church of Christ; yet we do not rebaptize those which were baptized of the priests embrued with popish corruption: for we know that they are baptized with the baptism of Christ's church, and not of the pope, in the name of the holy Trinity, to the articles of the catholic faith, not to errors, not to superstitions and papistical impieties. Finally, we confess that not at this day[3] the unworthiness of the minister can derogate anything from the service of God[4]. In like sort also we refuse not the Lord's prayer, or the Apostles' Creed, or finally the canonical scriptures themselves, because the Romish church doth also use them: for she hath them not of herself, but received them from the true church

Baptized of heretics are not rebaptized.

[1 ignorantiæ, Lat.] [2 peculiariter, Lat.]
[3 ne hodie quidem, Lat.] [4 rei divinæ, Lat.]

of God. Wherefore we use them in common with her, not for the Romish church's sake; but because they came from the true church of Christ do we use them.

Of the inward marks of the church of God.

Beside those outward marks of the church which the true believers have common with hypocrites, there are certain inward marks specially belonging only to the godly; or else, if you will, rather call them bonds or proper[5] gifts. These do make the outward marks to be fruitful, and, without the outward marks being by some necessity absent, do make men worthy or acceptable in the sight of God[6]. For without these no man can please God: in these therefore is the true mark[7] of God's children. And those be the fellowship of God's Spirit, a sincere faith, and double charity: for by these the faithful, being the true and lively members of Christ, are united and knit together, first unto their head Christ, then to all the members of the ecclesiastical body. And the consideration hereof doth chiefly belong to the knowledge of the true church of God; which though she should suffer rotten members, yet is she not defiled of them through their outward conjunction; for with continual study she laboureth by all means to keep herself undefiled to God. And first of all the evangelical and apostolical doctrine doth teach us, that Christ is joined to us by his Spirit, and that we are tied to him in mind or spirit by faith, that he may live in us and we in him. For the Lord crieth out in the gospel, saying: "If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink: He that believeth in me (as the scripture saith) shall have streams of living water flowing out of his belly." To which saying by and by the evangelist addeth this: "But this he spake concerning the Spirit, which they should receive that believed in him." Again he, promising in his gospel his Spirit unto his disciples, yea, even unto all his faithful, which should abide with them for ever, saith: "In that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you;" to wit, by the Holy Ghost: John the apostle expounding it, and saying, "By this we know that he dwelleth in us, by the Spirit that he gave unto us;" and again: "By this we know that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given of his Spirit unto us." St Paul, the vessel of

John vii.

John xiv.

1 John iii.

1 John iv.

[5 peculiaria, Lat.]

[6 acceptos vel gratos Deo, Lat.]

[7 typus, Lat.]

election, differeth not from St John, writing and saying to
Rom. viii. the Romans: "If any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. And whosoever are led by the Spirit of God, they are the children of God." Now as touching true faith, which tieth us unto the Lord, St Paul
Gal. ii. saith: "I live now; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. But the life which I now live in the flesh, I live yet through the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave up himself
Eph. iii. for me." And again he saith: "Christ dwelleth in our hearts through faith." With which sayings St John the apostle
1 John iv. agreeing again saith: "Whosoever confesseth that Jesus Christ[1] is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God." For the Lord himself before that said in the gos-
John vi. pel: "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him:" and he eateth Christ's flesh and drinketh Christ's blood that believeth. Therefore Christ our Lord is joined unto us in spirit, and we are tied to him in mind and faith, as the body unto the head: they therefore that lack this knot and bond, that is, that have not the Spirit of Christ, nor true faith in Christ, are not the true and lively members of Christ; the Lord himself in the gospel
John xv. witnessing[2] and saying: "If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch and withereth; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they burn." Which words of our Saviour the apostle imitating (as we said even now) said: "He that hath not the Spirit of Christ is none of his." But they that are not destitute of the Spirit of Christ are inflamed with the love of God. Neither do we separate love from faith, the same St John so teaching us[3] and saying:
1 John iv. "God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God,
[John xiv. 23.] and God in him." For the Lord saith in the gospel: "If a man love me, he will keep my word; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and will dwell with him."

But although properly faith join us to our head Christ, yet the same also doth knit us to all Christ's members upon earth. For whereas there is but one faith of them all, and therefore the same Spirit; there cannot but be the same mouth, the same mind, and the same sentence amongst them all: although faith be not now taken only for a confidence in the

[1 Christ, not in Lat.] [2 rursus, Lat. omitted: again.]
[3 iterum, Lat. omitted: a second time.]

mercy of God through Jesus Christ, but also for an outward confession of faith. For we all confessing one faith and one and the selfsame head, with one spirit and mouth we also together profess that we all are members of one and the selfsame body. Neither is there anything else in the world that more unappeasably dissevereth the minds of men than the diversity of faith or religion; and therefore there is nothing that may more nearly join us together than unity of faith.

We come now to speak of love, which, I said, joineth together the members of the ecclesiastical body mutually amongst themselves. The Lord saith in the gospel: "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." It is therefore out of doubt, that the only mark of the church next after faith is love, a bond most firmly knitting together all the members. This groweth from the communion of Christ and unity of the Spirit. For insomuch as Christ, the king, the head and high bishop, of the catholic church, enduing us all with one and the same Spirit, hath made us all his members, the sons of God, brethren and fellow-heirs, whom undoubtedly he loveth tenderly; every faithful man cannot choose but with fervent love embrace the members and fellow-heirs of their king, their head, and their high bishop. For John the apostle saith: "Every one that loveth him that begat, doth love him also that is born of him." "If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for how can he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, love God whom he hath not seen?" Paul, to the end that he might most properly express before our eyes, and as it were set to view and behold, this unity and agreement of the members, useth a parable taken from the members of a man's body, and saith: "For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not one office; so we being many are one body in Christ, and every one one another's members." The same in the twelfth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, more largely and plainly expounding joining together of the heads and the members, and that chiefly by the said parable of the members of a man's body, and publishing it very eloquently[4], witnesseth, that between the highest

John xiii.

[1 John v. 1.]

1 John iv.

Rom. xii.

[4 elegantissime expoliens, Lat.]

members of the church and the lowest members of the same there is a very great and apt consent, and moreover a diligent care, and a help both continual and most faithful. Of all which it appeareth, that the marks of the true and lively church of Christ are the communion of the Spirit of Christ, sincere faith, and christian charity; without the which things no man is partaker of this spiritual body. By these things also it shall be easy to judge whether thou art in the fellowship of the church, or thou art not.

Of the original of the church.

Moreover, we gather out of those things which we have hitherto disputed touching the marks of Christ's church, from whence is her original, and also how the church is planted, spread abroad, and preserved. Her original is heavenly; for St

Gal. iv.

Paul, speaking of the church, saith: "Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all." Therefore he calleth the church heavenly, not that it dwelleth altogether in heaven, but that she, being here on earth, hath a heavenly beginning. For the children of God are not born of flesh and blood, but from heaven, by the renewing of the Holy Spirit, who through the preaching of God's word planteth faith in our hearts, by which faith we are made the true members of Christ and his

1 Pet. i.

church. For Peter saith: "Ye are born anew, not of mortal seed, but of immortal, by the word of God, which liveth and

1 Cor. iv.

lasteth for ever." And Paul saith: "I begat you in Christ Jesu through the gospel." And the same apostle saith in another place: "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh by the word of God."

Rom. x.

Since therefore faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, and that specially[1] by the word of God, the church truly can by no means spring or be builded by the decrees and doctrines of men. Therefore we affirm, that only

The church is not built by the doctrine of men.

the word of God is apt for the building up of the church of God. Men's doctrines set up men's churches, but Christ's word buildeth the christian church. For the doctrines of men proceed of flesh and blood. But Peter, confessing Christ with a pure[2] faith, and therefore grounded upon Christ who is the foundation of the church, heard these words of Christ himself:

Matt. xvi.

"Flesh and blood hath not revealed these things unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." And therefore Paul

Gal. i.

saith: "When it pleased God that I should preach his Son

[1 Significanter, Lat.] [2 vera, Lat.]

among the gentiles, I conferred not of the matter with flesh and blood, &c." He also, most manifestly abolishing all doctrines of men from the setting up and building of faith and the church, and only commending the word of God, saith to the Corinthians: "My word and preaching stood not in the enticing speech of man's wisdom, but in plain evidence of the Spirit, and of power[3]; that your faith should not be in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." To this now pertaineth these testimonies of Christ. "He that is of God heareth God's word." Again, "He that is of the truth will hear my voice." And again, more plainly he saith, "The sheep will follow the shepherd, because they know his voice. They will not follow a stranger, but will run away from him, because they know not the voice of strangers." But under the voice of strangers we include all traditions and[4] decrees of men differing from the doctrine of Christ: to which traditions the apostle St Paul doth attribute the shape of wisdom, but the truth he denieth them, and calleth them superstitious. For our Lord himself in the gospel bringeth forth of the prophet Esay that immutable[5] saying: "They worship me in vain, teaching for doctrines men's precepts." Let us therefore hold that the true church is not built by man's decrees, but that she is founded, planted, gathered together, and builded only by the word of Christ.

1 Cor. ii.
John viii.
John xviii.
John x.
Colos. ii.
Tit. i.
Matt. xv.

We do add that it is out of doubt that the church of God is preserved by the same word of God, lest at any time it should be seduced, or lest it should slip and perish; and that neither can it at any time be preserved by any other means: Paul again witnessing, and saying: "Christ hath given some to be apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, for the gathering[6] together of the saints, for the work of the ministry (that is to say, to teach and preach the word), and for the edification of the body of Christ; till we all meet together in the unity of faith, and knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, and unto the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ; that we henceforth be no more children, wavering and carried about with every wind

The church is preserved by the word of God.

Ephes. iv.

[3 but in plain—power, the Translator's addition.]

[4 traditions and, not in Lat.] [5 irrefragabile, Lat.]

[6 ad administrationem, Lat.: that the saints might be gathered together, Geneva, 1557.]

of doctrine, by the deceit of men, (mark, I pray, how men's doctrines are condemned again with great and inviolable authority,) and with craftiness, whereby they lay in wait to deceive. But let us follow the truth in love, and in all things grow up into him which is the head, that is, Christ; by whom all the body being coupled and knit together by every joint, for the furniture thereof, (according to the effectual power which is in the measure of every part,) receiveth increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love, (increaseth the body unto the edifying of itself through love.)" These words of the apostle are so plain, that they need no better exposition than they have of themselves.

In this place also the order and manner of the church[1] by the preaching of God's word should of right be set down, which many do term and call the ministry of the word, or of the church: but we will speak of that (God willing) in the third sermon. It shall be sufficient in this place to defend, that our Lord God, having given doctors unto the church, doth found, build, maintain, and enlarge the church by his word, yea, by his word only.

The prophetical, apostolical, and orthodoxical church.

There come two things now to be considered. First, that the church of God, for the continual and constant study of the word of God, is called prophetical and apostolical, yea, and also orthodoxical. For it is called prophetical or apostolical, because by the travail of the prophets and apostles it was first builded, and by their doctrine is preserved even at this time, and shall by it be spread abroad even unto the end of the world. It is called orthodoxical, because it is sound of judgment, opinion, and faith: for without the church there is no true faith, neither any perfect doctrine touching true virtue and felicity. The faith and doctrine of the church was revealed from God himself[2] by Adam and the patriarchs, by Moses and the prophets, by Christ and the apostles: whereby she elsewhere is named a mother; whereof we will speak in the next sermon.

Of the continual succession of bishops.

Secondarily, that the succession of doctors or pastors of the church doth prove nothing of itself without the word of God. The champions and defenders of the papistical church do boast, that they have a most certain mark of the apostolic

[1 ordo gubernandi ecclesiam, Lat.]

[2 cœlitus ab ipso Deo, Lat.: from heaven by God himself.]

church, to wit, in the continual succession of bishops coming from St Peter by Clement the first, and so to Clement the seventh, and to Paul the third who died of late, and so continuing to Julius the third not long ago created[3]. Moreover they add, that all such members are cut off as do separate themselves from that church in the which only that apostolical succession is found. And we do not deny but that the right succession of pastors in the primitive church was of great weight. For they which then were called pastors were pastors indeed, and executed the office of pastors. But what manner of pastors they have been a great many years, which of the rout of cardinals, mitred bishops, and sophisters have been called pastors[4], none is ignorant but he which is altogether without any understanding. The prophet Zachary heard these words spoken to him from the Lord: "Take to thee yet the instruments of a foolish shepherd; for Zech. xi. lo, I will raise up a shepherd in the land, which shall not look for the thing that is lost, nor seek the tender lambs[5], nor heal that that is hurt, nor feed that that standeth up: but he shall eat the flesh of the fat, and tear their hoofs in pieces[6]. Wo be to the idle[7] shepherd, that forsaketh the flock, &c." Therefore never a whit more do these men prove by their continual succession of bishops, who teach not the word of God sincerely nor execute the office and duty of pastors, than if they should set before the eyes of the world a company of idols. For who dare deny but that a great part, yea, the most part of the bishops of Rome since Gregory the Great, were such manner of idols, such kind of wolves and devourers, as are described by the prophet Zachary? What then, I pray you, can the continual succession of such false pastors prove? Yea, and they which were of the latter time, did they not fill almost the universal church with the traditions of men, and partly oppressed the word of God, and partly persecuted it? In the ancient church of the Israelites there was a continual order of

[3 Paul III. died Nov. 10, 1549; and on Feb. 7, 1550, John Maria de Monte, who took the name of Julius III., was chosen to succeed him.—Sleidan. Comment. Lib. XXI. ad fin.]

[4 Romanæ ecclesiæ pastores, Lat.: pastors of the church of Rome.]

[5 derelicta non visitabit, dispersum non quæret, Lat.]

[6 ungulas eorum dissolvet, Lat.]

[7 væ pastori idolo, Lat. *Idle* appears to be a mere mistake.]

succession of bishops, without any interruption thereof, even from Aaron to Urias[1] who lived under Achas, and to other wicked bishops[2] also falling from the word of God to the traditions of men, yea, and also idolatry. But for all that, that succession did not prove the idolatrous bishops[2], with the church that clave unto them, to be the true bishops[2] of God, and the true church of God. Truly the true prophets of God, the sound and catholic fathers[3], preaching only the word of God without men's[4] traditions, yea, clean against all traditions, were not able to reckon up any continual succession of priests their predecessors to whom they themselves should succeed; and yet notwithstanding, they were most excellent lights, and worthy members of the church of God; and they which believed their doctrine were neither schismatics nor heretics, but even to this day are acknowledged to be the true church of Christ. When Christ our Lord, the blessed Son of God, did teach here on earth, and gathered together his church, the succession of bishops[2] was on his adversaries' part: but they for that cause were not rulers of the true church of God, and Christ of the heretical church. The apostles of our Lord could not allege for themselves and their doctrine a succession of bishops[2] not interrupted: for they were ordained of the Lord, who was also himself created of God the High Priest for ever after the new order of Melchisedech, without the succession[5] of the order of Levi; and yet the church that was gathered by them is acknowledged of all men to be the true and holy church. The apostles themselves would have none other to be accounted for their true fellows[6] and successors but those who walked upright in the doctrine and way of Christ; for notable and manifest is the saying of
1 Cor. xi. Paul: "Be ye the followers of me, even as I am of Christ." And though he speaketh these words to all the faithful, and not only to the ministers of God's word; yet those would he chiefly have such followers of him, as the residue of common Christians, that is to say, every man in his vocation and calling. The same apostle, speaking at Miletum with the
Acts xx. bishops of Asia, among other things saith: "I know this,

[1 2 Kings xvi. 10. His name is omitted in 1 Chron. vi.]
[2 pontifices, Lat.: high-priests.]
[3 viri, Lat.]
[4 men's, not in Lat.]
[5 extra successionem, Lat.]
[6 imitatoribus, Lat.]

that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. Moreover, of your own selves shall men arise speaking perverse things, to draw disciples after them." Paul the apostle not from any other place than out of the apostolic church itself, yea, out of the company or assembly of apostolic bishops and pastors, fetcheth out the wolves and devourers of the church. But could not these (think you) allege the apostolic succession for themselves and their most corrupt cause, that is to say, that they be descended from apostolic pastors? But forsomuch as, forsaking the truth, they be fallen from the faith and doctrine of the apostles, the offspring and apostolical succession doth nothing at all make for them. Therefore we conclude, that the continual succession of bishops by itself proveth nothing; yea, rather that that is no lawful succession which wanteth the purity of the doctrine of the scriptures and apostles[7].

Tertullian of the continual succession of pastors.

And therefore Tertullian, greatly esteeming (and that worthily) the continual succession of pastors in the church, yet requireth the same to be approved by the sincerity of apostolic doctrine; yea, he acknowledgeth those churches which are instructed with pure doctrine, and yet not able to make any reckoning of succession of bishops, to be apostolic churches. If any man require the words of the author, they be these: "But if there be any churches that dare presume to plant themselves in the very age of the apostles, that therefore they may seem to have been planted by the apostles, because they were under the apostles, we may say thus: Let them bring forth the first beginning of their churches, let them turn over the order of succession of their bishops, so by successions going from the first beginning that that first bishop of theirs may be found to have for his author and predecessor some one of the apostles and apostolical sort of men, and yet such an one as continued with the apostles. For by this means the apostolic churches give their judgment: as the church of Smyrna testifieth that they had Polycarpus placed there by St John; and as the church of Rome sheweth that Clemens was appointed by St Peter; and as in like sort also other do shew for themselves, who have their offspring of apostolic seed, placed in their bishopricks by the apostles. Let heretics feign some such matter; (for after their blasphemies, what is unlawful for them?) but

[7 doctrinæ evangelicæ et apostolicæ, Lat.]

albeit they do feign, they shall not prevail. For their own doctrine being compared with the doctrine of the apostles, by the diversity and contrariety thereof shall shew that it had neither apostle nor apostolical man for the author; because, as the apostles taught nothing that was contrary among themselves, even so apostolical men set forth nothing contrary to the apostles; but only such as fell away from the apostles, and taught other doctrine[1]." In this manner therefore may those churches appeal, who albeit they can bring for their author none of the apostles or apostolic men, as those that are of far later time and are but now daily erected, yet they, agreeing in one faith, are nevertheless counted apostolical, for the likeness of the doctrine.

The doctrine of the ancient church of Rome.

The selfsame author, speaking of the ancient church of Rome, and gathering the sum of that it either taught or learned, said[2]: "Happy is that church to which the apostles have uttered all their doctrine with their blood: where Peter in suffering is made like to the Lord: where Paul is crowned with the like end that John had: where the apostle John, after that he was plunged in hot scalding oil, felt no pain, and was banished into the isle. Let us see what it learned, and what it taught, and how it doth agree with the churches of Africa. It acknowledgeth one God the maker of all things, and Jesus Christ the Son of God, the creator,

[1 Ceterum, si quæ audent interserere se ætati apostolicæ, ut ideo videantur ab apostolis traditæ, quia sub apostolis fuerunt; possumus dicere: Edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem. Hoc enim modo ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt: sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert: sicut Romanorum, Clementem a Petro ordinatum itidem: perinde utique et ceteræ exhibent, quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habeant. Confingant tale aliquid hæretici. Quid enim illis post blasphemiam inlicitum est? Sed, etsi confinxerint, nihil promovebunt. Ipsa enim doctrina eorum, cum apostolica comparata, ex diversitate et contrarietate sua pronuntiabit, neque apostoli alicujus auctoris esse, neque apostolici: quia sicut apostoli non diversa inter se docuissent; ita et apostolici non contraria apostolis edidissent, nisi illi qui ab apostolis desciverunt, et aliter prædicaverunt.—Tertul. de Præscript. Hæret. cap. 32. apud Script. Eccles. Opusc. ed. Routh. Vol. I. p. 147. Oxon. 1840.]

[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *saith*; dicit, Lat.]

born of the virgin Mary; and the resurrection of the flesh: it joineth the law and the prophets with the doctrine of the evangelists and apostles, and from them drinketh that faith; baptizeth with water, clotheth with the Holy Ghost, feedeth with the Lord's supper, exhorteth with martyrdom; and contrary to this institution receiveth no man. This is the institution[3]." Thus far Tertullian in his book which he entitled, *Of the Prescription of Heretics.*

The church is not built by war or deceit.

The last thing that is to be noted is this; that the Lord God not only of old and unto this time, but in these days also, giveth doctors and pastors to the church: doctors, I say, and not leaders[4] and captains of hosts and armies of men[5], not princes, not soldiers, not crafty men, using deceitful means which in these days they call practices. For by no other means or manner, nor by no other instrument, than by the doctrine of truth and sound and simple godliness[6], is that holy and catholic church of God built up, fenced, and preserved, whereof at the beginning simple men and Christ's apostles by the preaching of the gospel laid the foundation. Paul therefore removeth all worldly wisdom, and saith: "I was among you, Corinths, in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling; neither stood my word and my preaching in the enticing speech of man's wisdom, but in plain evidence of the Spirit and of power; that your faith should not be in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." The same apostle also banisheth all crafty counsel with all sorts of deceit,

[1 Cor. ii. 3—5.]

[3 Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est. Ista quam felix ecclesia! cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt: ubi Petrus passioni dominicæ adæquatur: ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur: ubi Apostolus Joannes, postea quam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur; videamus quid didicerit, quid docuerit, quid cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesserarit. Unum Deum novit creatorem universitatis, et Christum Jesum ex virgine Maria Filium Dei creatoris, et carnis resurrectionem: legem et prophetas cum evangelicis et apostolicis literis miscet, et inde portat [al. *potat*] fidem: eam aqua signat, sancto Spiritu vestit, eucharistia pascit, martyrium exhortatur, et ita adversus hanc institutionem neminem recipit. Hæc est institutio, &c.—Id. ibid. cap. 36. p. 151.]

[4 doctores quidem, non ductores, Lat.]

[5 and armies of men, not in Lat.]

[6 quam doctrina veritatis et pietatis sincera et simplici, Lat.]

1 Thess. ii. when writing to the Thessalonians he saith: "Our exhortation was not by deceit, nor by uncleanness, nor by guile. But as we were allowed of God that the gospel should be committed unto us, even so we speak; not as they that please men, but God, which trieth our hearts. Neither yet did we ever use flattering words, as ye know; nor coloured covetousness, God is record; neither sought we praise of men," &c. Wherefore he is greatly deceived and mad, that thinketh the church can either be gathered together, or being gathered can be maintained and preserved, with practices, that is to say, with crafty counsels and subtle deceits of men. It is truly said of the common people, that "the same is overthrown again by man's wisdom, which was first built by man's wisdom." Besides this, the Lord himself doth remove force and arms from the building of the church, since he forbids his disciples the use
Matt. xxvi. Luke xxii. of sword; and unto Peter, ready prest[1] to fight, saith, "Put up thy sword into the scabbard." Neither do we ever read that any were sent of the Lord as soldiers, which with armed force should bring the world in subjection; but rather the
2 Thess. ii. scripture witnesseth the great enemy of God, Antichrist, shall be destroyed with the breath of God's mouth. Wherefore there is no doubt that all those things which are read in divers places of the prophets, and chiefly in the twelfth of Zachary, concerning wars to be made against all nations by the apostles and apostolical men, ought to be figuratively expounded. For the apostles, according to their manner, fight as apostles; not with spear, sword, and bow of carnal warfare, but of spiritual. The apostolical sword is the word of God. Yet in the mean time no man denieth but that the weapons of carnal or corporal warfare have been profitable sometime to apostolical men and to the church, and do good even at this day. No man denieth that God doth oftentimes use the help of soldiers and magistrates in defending the church against the wicked and tyrants: yea, rather all men will confess, that a good and godly magistrate oweth a duty[2] toward the church of God. For not without great cause the
Isai. xlix. worthy[3] prophet of God, Isay, calleth "kings nursing fathers,
Acts xxi. and queens nursing mothers." Paul, being oppressed of the Jews in the temple of Jerusalem for preaching of the gospel

[1 prest, prepared.]
[2 operam suam, Lat.] [3 clarissimus, Lat.]

amongst the gentiles, by the army of Claudius Lysias, the Roman tribune, is taken away and rescued. And not long after there was sent with the apostle by the same tribune no small company of soldiers, to wit, a troop of horsemen and certain companies of footmen, by whom he was brought safely to Antipatris and Cæsarea before Felix the proconsul of Judea: which thing is not rashly with so great diligence and at large remembered by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles. The ecclesiastical history reciteth many examples of holy princes which have defended and succoured the church[4]. But these things in another place in some manner I have entreated of in the seventh and eighth sermons (as I remember) of the Second Decade. And thus far of the original of the church of God, and of the increase and preservation of the same, have we spoken. Acts xxiii.

In this place it seemeth unto me not unfitly may the famous question be handled or briefly expounded, Whether the church of God may err? which that it may more plainly be understood, I will briefly discuss the parts of this question. I have taught that the catholic church of God doth comprehend, first the blessed spirits in heaven, then all faithful Christians here on earth; unto whom I said did cleave the wicked, or hypocrites, feigning faith for a season. Now therefore, if we understand by the church the blessed spirits in heaven, the church can never err. But if we understand the wicked or hypocrites joined and mingled with the good, and the wicked alone by themselves, they do nothing else but err; but as they are joined unto the good and faithful, and follow them, they either err, or they err not. For the church of the good and faithful here upon earth doth err, and doth not err. Which thing we will declare, when we have weighed the diversities of errors, and gathered the number of them together wholly in a bundle. Errors some be of doctrine and faith, and some be of life and manners: and what manner of ones either of them be, I think there is no man but knoweth. Let us see then, whether the church of the faithful upon earth do err or no; and if it err, in what point or how far it erreth. As concerning the manners and life of the church, it cannot wholly and clearly acquit itself of errors; that is to say, from sin. For always, so long as it is Whether the church of God may err.

[4 ecclesiam Dei, Lat.]

living here on earth, it prayeth heartily: "And forgive us our trespasses, as we do forgive them that trespass against us." And God for his mercy's sake doth always purge in his saints all dregs and infirmities, as long as they live in this world, continually renewing and fining the elect[1]. I am not ignorant what may hinder thee, faithful hearer. If the church (sayest thou) be not holy and pure, how is it called of the apostle holy, without spot and wrinkle? I answer, If thou wilt acknowledge no church upon earth but that which is altogether without blemish, thou shalt be forced to acknowledge none at all. For there shall never be any such kind of church remaining on earth, where the most righteous God, as the scripture witnesseth, "hath shut up all things under sin, that he might take mercy on all men." St Paul therefore doth call the church pure, without spot or wrinkle, through the benefit of Christ's sanctification[2]: not that by herself, while she is in the flesh, she is without spot; but for that those spots, indeed otherwise cleaving unto her, through the innocency of Christ, to those that embrace Christ by faith are not imputed: finally, for that the selfsame church in the world to come shall be without spot or wrinkle. For having put off the flesh and cast off all miseries, it shall at length be brought to pass that she shall want nothing. Besides this it is said that the church is without spot, because of the continual study of the church, whereby she laboureth and travaileth by all means, that as far as it is possible she may have as few spots as may be. And by that means, and chiefly by the benefit of imputation, the church erreth not, but is most pure and without sin[3].

*John xiii. xv. Rom. vii.

How the holy church is without spot and wrinkle. [Eph. v. 27.]

Moreover, as touching doctrine and faith the church of Christ doth not err. For it heareth the voice of the shepherd only, but the voice of strangers she knoweth not: for she followeth her only shepherd Christ, saying: "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." Paul also to Timothy saith: "These things hitherto have I written unto thee, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house

John viii.

1 Tim. iii.

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, and defiling the elect.—Subindo recurrentes et polluentes electos, Lat.]

[2 propter Christi beneficium et sanctificationem, Lat.]

[3 velut impeccabilis, &c. Lat.: as it were without sin.]

of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth." But the church is the pillar and ground of truth, for that, being stablished upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ himself, which is the everlasting truth of God and the only strength of the church, [she] receiveth this by fellowship which it hath with him, that she also might be the pillar and foundation of the truth. For the truth of God is in the church; and the same through the ministry of the church is spread abroad; and, being assaulted and warred against by the enemies, abiding sure, is not overcome: so far forth as being made one body with Christ she doth persevere in the fellowship of Christ, without whom she can do nothing. Again, the same church doth err in doctrine and faith, as often as she, turning from Christ and his word, goeth after men and the councils and decrees of the flesh; for she forsaketh that thing that hath hitherto stayed[4] that she erred not, which is the word of God and Christ. I think no man will deny that the great congregation of the people of Israel in the desert was an excellent church of God; with the which the Lord made a covenant, and bound himself unto it by sacraments and ordinances. And yet how shamefully she erred whilst neglecting God's word, and, Aaron the high priest of religion not constantly and earnestly resisting, she both made a molten calf, and worshipped it as a god, no man is ignorant. Where also surely it shall be necessary[5] more diligently to look into and mark the whole number of the church; for many in the church erring, it followeth not that none at all is free from error. For as in the church of Israel the Lord reserved a remnant to himself, I mean Moses, Joshua, and undoubtedly many more, as well in that congregation as elsewhere without[6], which did never worship the calf; so there is no doubt, although there do many err in the church, but that the Lord through his mercy doth preserve to himself a certain number who both understand aright, and by whose faithful diligence[7] errors are destroyed, and the wandering flock of the Lord brought back again into the holy fold.

The church is the pillar and the ground of the truth.

Exod. xxxii.

The church therefore is said to err, when a part of it, having lost God's word, doth err: and the same erreth not wholly and altogether; forasmuch as certain remnants (through

[4 obstitit, Lat.] [5 opportunum erit, Lat.]
[6 extra, Lat.] [7 quorum fide et diligentia, Lat.]

the grace of God) are reserved, by whom the truth may flourish again, and may again be spread abroad in every place. St Paul called the churches of the Corinthians and Galatians "the holy churches of God;" yet these erred greatly, in doctrine, in faith, and in manners: and yet who doubteth that there were many among them who were most sincere followers of the pure doctrine preached by St Paul? That holy church therefore erred, so far forth as it continued not stedfastly in true doctrine: and it erred not, so far forth as it departed not from the truth delivered by the apostles[1]. From hence it plainly appeareth to the whole world, that those are most vain liars which commend unto us churches not builded upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, but upon the decrees of men, which they shame not to commend unto us for most true churches and such as cannot err. David crieth out: "Only God is true, and every man a liar." Jeremy also crieth: "They have rejected the word of the Lord, and what wisdom is in them?" Therefore those churches do err, neither be they the true churches of God. The true church groundeth upon Christ Jesus, and is governed by his word only.

[Psal. cxvi. 11.]
Jer. viii.

Of the power of the church.

Unto this treatise of the word of God, which is the only rule whereby all things are done in the church, the disputation of the power of the church of God in earth, and of the studies thereof which also are directed according to the word of God, is very like[2]. But before I will bring forth my judgment, that is to say, the judgment delivered by the scriptures, I will briefly rehearse the sum of those things, which the papists have left in writing concerning this matter, and do undoubtedly maintain for sound doctrine. John Gerson (not much amiss, unless he have an evil interpreter[3]) hath defined ecclesiastical authority to be "a power supernaturally and spiritually given of the Lord to his disciples and to their lawful successors unto the end of the world, for the edification of the church militant according to the laws of the gospel for the obtaining of eternal felicity[4]." But

[1 apostolum, Lat.] [2 affinis est, Lat.]

[3 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, an *ill* interpreter.]

[4 Potestas ecclesiastica est potestas, quæ a Christo supernaturaliter et specialiter collata est suis apostolis et discipulis ac eorum successoribus legitimis usque in finem seculi ad ædificationem eccle-

Peter de Aliaco, the cardinal, saith, that this authority is six-fold; to wit, of consecration; of administering the sacraments; of appointing ministers of the church; of preaching; of judicial correction; and receiving things necessary unto this life[5].

Power of consecration.

They call that the power of consecration, whereby a priest being rightly ordered may consecrate[6] the body and blood of Christ on the altar. This power they say was given to the disciples of the Lord by these words: "Do this in remembrance of me." But unto the priests in these days they think it to be given of the bishop giving with the bread the chalice, and saying: "Receive ye power to offer up and to consecrate[7] Christ's body both for the quick and the dead." This moreover they call the power of orders, and a mark or character that cannot be wiped out.

The power of the keys.

The power of administering the sacraments, and chiefly of the sacrament of penance, they call the power of the keys. The keys they make of two sorts: the keys of knowledge, that is to say, the authority of knowledge in the cause of a sinner making his confession; and the keys of giving of sentence and judgment, or of opening and shutting up of heaven, of forgiving or retaining of sins. They say that this power was promised to Peter in Matthew, the Lord saying, "Unto thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven:" but that it was given to all the disciples in John, Christ saying, "Whose sins soever ye forgive, they are forgiven to them:" and in these days is given to the priests by the bishops[8], in their consecration laying their hands on the priests at the giving of them their holy orders[9], saying, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins soever ye forgive, they are forgiven them."

Power of jurisdiction.

They call the power of placing ministers of the church ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to consist in a certain prelacy; and[10] the fulness of it to rest

siæ militantis, secundum leges evangelicas pro consecutione felicitatis æternæ.—Gerson. de Potest. eccles. Opp. Tom. I. col. 3. Par. 1606.]

[5 Petri de Alliaco Tract. de ecclesiæ auctoritate ap. Gerson. Opp. Tom. I. col. 898. Par. 1606.]

[6 conficere potest, Lat.]

[7 conficiendi, Lat.]

[8 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, by the bishop: ab episcopo, Lat.]

[9 in sacerdotum ordinandorum capita, Lat.: on the heads of the priests who are to be ordained.]

[10 adeoque, Lat.: and so.]

only in the pope, having respect to the whole universal church. For it belongeth only to the pope to appoint rulers and prelates in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, because it was said to him, "Feed my sheep." Moreover they say, that all jurisdiction ecclesiastical doth come from the pope to the inferior rulers either mediately or immediately: in which things authority is limited at his pleasure that hath the fulness of power; for a bishop hath authority only in his diocese, and a curate in his parish, &c. Power of apostleship or preaching the word of God they call the authority of preaching, which the Lord had given to his disciples, saying: "Go ye into all the world, preaching the gospel to all creatures." But doctors in these days affirm, that none ought to be sent[1] to preach but only by Peter, that is, his successor, mediately or immediately, &c. They say that the power of judicial correction was given to Peter by God, to whom he said, "If thy brother shall offend or trespass against thee, &c:" for the words of the Lord are known well enough in St Matthew, cap. xviii. They say therefore that God gave authority unto priests not only of excommunicating, but also of determining, judging, and establishing commandments, laws, and canons; because in that place it is said, "Whatsoever ye bind upon earth, it shall be bound in heaven." To conclude; they say that the power and authority to receive things necessary for this life, in reward of their spiritual labours, was given by these words of the Lord: "Eating and drinking such as they have."

Power of preaching.

Power of judgment or judicial correction.

Power to receive.

These things do these men teach concerning ecclesiastical power, not only foolishly, but also falsely. Of the power of consecration and sacrificing, how vain and foolish it is, we have oftentimes said in other places[2]; and perhaps will say more (if God grant life) in convenient place and time. Of the power of the keys we will dispute (God willing) about the end of the next sermon; and something we brought, when we disputed of penance and auricular confession[3]. But they are foolish and shameless trifles which they babble of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, of the fulness of the high power (that is to say)

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, sent out.]

[2 See Vol. I. pp. 157, 165. Vol. II. p. 270. Bullinger. de Episc. Instit. &c. fol. 78. Tigur. 1538.]

[3 See Vol. III. pp. 75, &c.]

of the bishop of Rome; which I doubt not are known well enough to the whole world long ago: and of that matter there shall follow hereafter some arguments for the confutation thereof in these our sermons. Whereas they usurp unto themselves the office of teaching, and cry out that no man can lawfully preach but such as are ordained by them; they thereby seek the overthrow of God's word and the defence and assertion of their own errors: which shall also be entreated of in his due place. The power of excommunicating they have so filthily and shamefully abused, that the church (through their negligence and wicked presumption) hath not only lost true discipline, but also excommunication itself hath been a great many years nought else with the bishops of Rome but fire and sword, wherewith they first[4] raged against the true professors of God's word, and persecuted the innocent worshippers of Christ. Moreover, that there is no power given of God to the ministers of the church to make new laws, we will shew in place convenient. The authority and power to receive wherewith to live have they put in execution to the uttermost: but in recompence of their temporal harvest they have not sown spiritual things, but rather, being asleep, they have suffered him that is our enemy to sow cockle in the Lord's field, and that not by any other but by their own means. For have not they, not being contented with things necessary for this life, under that colour subtilly invaded kingdoms, and most shamefully and cruelly possessed them? Wherefore he that seeth not that ecclesiastical authority, as it is by these men affirmed and also by them put in practice, is but a mere tyranny over simple souls, it is plain he seeth nothing at all.

We will now hereunto join a true, simple, plain, and manifest doctrine concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Power is defined to be a right which men have to do some thing by. It is called in Greek Ἐξουσία, and Δύναμις: whereof the first word signifieth right and power; the second, ability to execute power or authority; for oftentimes it cometh to pass that a man shall have authority to do a thing, but is destitute of ability to perform it. But God can do both; and hath given them both unto the apostles against those that were possessed with devils, as Luke witnesseth, saying: ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν

What power is.

Luke ix.

[4 fere, Laf.: generally.]

καὶ ἐξουσίαν: "He gave them power and authority over all devils," &c. And there is also one sort of power, which is free and absolute; and another sort of power which is limited, which is also called ministerial. Absolute power is that which is altogether free, and is neither governed or restrained by the law or will of any other: of which sort is the power of Christ which he speaketh of in the gospel, saying: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth: go therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them," &c. He, speaking again of this power in the Revelation shewed unto St John the apostle, saith: "Fear not; I am the first and the last; and I am alive, but was dead; and behold, I am alive for evermore. And I have the keys of hell and of death." And again: "These things saith he that is holy and true; which hath the key of David, which openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth." The power which is limited is not free, but subject to an absolute or greater power of another; which cannot of itself do everything, but that only that the absolute power or greater authority doth suffer to be done, and suffereth it under certain conditions: of which sort surely is the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and which may rightly be called the ministerial power; for the church of God useth her authority committed unto her for this purpose by her ministers. St Augustine, acknowledging this distinction, and speaking of baptism in his fifth treatise upon John, saith: "Paul baptized as a minister, and not as one that had power of himself; but the Lord baptized as he that had power of himself. Behold, if it had pleased him, he could have given this power to his servants, but he would not: for if he should have given this power unto his servants, that it should also have been theirs which was the Lord's, then there should have been as many sundry baptisms as servants[1]," &c. In the church Christ reserveth that absolute power to himself; for he continueth the head, king, and bishop of the church for ever: neither is that head, which giveth life, separated from his body

Two kinds of power.

Matt. xxviii.

Rev. i.

Rev. iii.

[1 Baptizavit ergo Paulus tanquam minister, non tanquam ipsa potestas; baptizavit autem Dominus tanquam potestas. Intendite, et potuit hanc potestatem servis dare, sed noluit: si enim daret hanc potestatem servis, id est, ut et ipsorum esset quod Domini erat, tot essent baptismata quot servi.—August. Tract. 5. in Joan. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 9. col. 2. Par. 1531.]

at any time: but that limited power he hath given unto the church. Which thing it ought to acknowledge; to wit, an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, hemmed in with certain laws, which proceedeth from God; and for that cause it is effectual, and therefore in all things ought to have chief regard unto God; and that ecclesiastical jurisdiction is for that purpose given unto the church, that it might be put in practice for the profit of the church. For St Paul saith: "The Lord hath given us power, to the intent we should edify, and not for the destruction of the church." And therefore that power, which tendeth to the hinderance and destruction of the church, is a devilish tyranny, and not an ecclesiastical power proceeding from God. And it behoveth us diligently to mark and retain this end of ecclesiastical power.

2 Cor. xii.

[2 Cor. xiii.]

In what points ecclesiastical power consisteth.

But the limited power of the church consisteth very near in these points; to wit, in ordaining of the ministers of the church, in doctrine, and in the discerning between doctrines, and finally, in the ordering of ecclesiastical matters. Of every one of which points in their order we will speak a little; declaring what manner of authority the church hath, and how far it is limited in every part thereof.

To ordain ministers of the church.

The Lord himself appointed the chief[2] doctors of the church, which were the apostles, that all men might understand that the ecclesiastical ministry is the divine institution of God himself, and not a tradition devised by men. And therefore after that the Lord was ascended into heaven, St Peter, calling the church together, speaketh out of the scriptures of placing another apostle in the stead of the traitor Judas; by that very fact shewing that power was given unto the church by God to elect ministers or teachers. The same church also not long after, by the persuasion of Peter and the apostles, so persuading undoubtedly by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, chose seven deacons. The church of Antioch, being manifestly instructed by the Holy Ghost, doth ordain and send Paul and Barnabas, although they were long before that time assigned to the ministry. It is read also in the Acts of the Apostles that the churches, by the commandment of the apostles, did ordain doctors for the holy ministry, as often as need required: and yet notwithstanding they did not ordain every one without choice, but such only as

Acts i.

Acts vi.

Acts xiii

[2 primos, Lat.: the first.]

were fit for that office; that is to say, such as afterward by express laws they themselves did describe; to wit, "If any man were faultless, the husband of one wife, watchful, sober," &c. The rule set down by the apostle is sufficiently known, as appeareth in the 1 to Tim. iii. cap. But as touching the ordaining of ministers (God willing) we will speak in the third sermon of this decade. But if the church have received power to appoint fit ministers for the church, I think no man will deny that the church hath authority to depose the unworthy and wicked deceivers; and also to correct and amend those things which, being lacking, may seem necessary for this order.

1 Tim. iii.

Power to teach.

And forasmuch as ministers are chosen chiefly to teach, it must follow that the church hath power to teach, to exhort, to comfort, and such like, by her lawful ministers: and yet no power to teach every thing, but that only which she received, being delivered unto her from the Lord by the doctrine of the prophets and apostles. "Teach them (saith the Lord) that which I commanded you." "Go ye, and preach the gospel to all creatures." And St Paul saith: "I am put apart to preach the gospel of God, which he promised before by his prophets in the holy scriptures." But this ministry and office of preaching is nothing else but the power of the keys which the church hath received; the office (I say) of binding and loosing, of opening and shutting heaven. In another place also the apostles received power from the Lord over all; over all, I say, not absolutely, but over all devils, and not over all angels and men: and yet that authority and power they received over devils, they received it not absolutely; for it is added unto it, that they should expel and cast them out. And therefore they could not deal with devils after their own fancy; but that only, and so far forth as he would have them to do who hath absolute power over all devils: and that they might cast devils out of men, but not to send them into men, though they would have desired it never so much. And so also as touching diseases, they could not do what they would: else would not St Paul have left Trophimos sick at Miletum, who might so greatly have been profitable unto him in the holy ministry. The two disciples, if they had been able to have done what they would, would have commanded fire from heaven to have fallen down upon Samaria, and so

Matt. xxviii.
Mark xvi.
Rom. i.

The power of the keys.

Matt. x.

2 Tim. iv.

Luke ix.

would have taken vengeance of the uncourteous and barbarous people of Samaria, for that they denied to harbour the Lord Christ. In like manner the same apostles received keys, that is to say, power to bind and to loose, to open and shut heaven, to forgive and to retain sins; but perfitly limited: for they could not loose that which was bound in hell, neither bind them that were living in heaven. For he said not, Whatsoever ye bind in heaven, but, "Whatsoever ye bind upon earth;" neither said he, Whatsoever ye loose in hell, but, "Whatsoever ye loose upon earth." Again, they were not able either to bind or loose whom they would, not so much as upon earth. For they were not able to loose, that is to say, to pronounce a man free from sin, that was without faith: again, they could not bind, that is to say, pronounce condemned, him that was lightened with faith, and was truly penitent. And surely such as teach other doctrine than this touching the power of the keys deceive the whole world: of which we will more largely entreat in place convenient. Likewise the church hath received power from Christ to administer the sacraments by ministers, but not according to her own will and pleasure, but according to God's will and the form and manner set down by the Lord himself. The church cannot institute sacraments, neither yet alter the ends and use of the sacraments.

Power to administer the sacraments.

Finally[1], that the church hath power to give judgment of doctrines, even by this one sentence of the apostle Paul appeareth: "Let the prophets (saith he) speak two or three at once[2], and let the other judge." And in another place he saith: "Prove all things, and keep that which is good." And St John saith: "Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit; but try the spirits, whether they are of God." But of this kind of power to judge there is also a certain order. For the church doth not judge at her own pleasure, but after the sentence of the Holy Ghost, and according to the order and rule of the holy scriptures. And here also order, moderation, and charity, is observed. Therefore if at any time the church of God, according to that authority which she hath received from the Lord, do call a council together for some weighty matter, as we read that the apostles of the Lord did in the Acts of the Apostles; it leaneth not here

Power to judge of doctrines.

1 Cor. xiv.

1 Thess. v.

1 John iv.

To call a council.

Acts xv.

[1 Porro, Lat.] [2 at once, not in Lat.]

to her own fleshly judgment, but giveth over herself to be guided by the Spirit, and examineth all her doings by the rule of the word of God and of the twofold charity. Wherefore the church maketh no new laws; as the church of Jerusalem, or rather the apostolic church, saith, that "it seemeth good both to the Holy Ghost and to the church, that no other burden should be laid upon" the faithful Christians, but only a few and those very necessary things, and neither beside nor contrary to the holy scriptures. Now ecclesiastical matters are of divers sorts, the good ordering and well-disposing whereof for the commodity of men is in the power of the church: of which sort those things are which concern outward worship in place and in time, as is prophesying, or interpretation of tongues, and schools. Also the church hath to judge in causes of matrimony; and chiefly it hath correction of manners, admonitions, punishments, and also excommunicating or cutting off from the body of the church: for the apostle also saith, that this power is given him, and yet to the intent he should therewith edify, and not destroy. For all these things which we have remembered, and such like, are limited with the rule of the word and of love, also with holy examples and reasons deduced out of the holy scriptures: of all which we will perchance more largely speak in their place.

Power to dispose the affairs of the church.

2 Cor. xiii.

Thus much have I hitherto said concerning ecclesiastical power; the contrary whereof I have declared with how open a mouth our adversaries do publish: but yet they handle these matters so grossly, that it may appear even unto children what they seek or what they would defend; to wit, not the ecclesiastical power, but their own covetousness, lust, and tyranny. The canonical truth teacheth us that Christ himself doth hold and exercise absolute or full power in the church; and that he hath given the ministerial power to the church, who executeth it for the most part by ministers, and religiously executeth it according to the rule of God's word.

These things being in this sort considered, it shall not be greatly laboursome to know the studies of the holy church of God. For it executeth (as I said even now) that power which it hath received of God most carefully and faithfully, to the end that it may serve God, that it may be holy, and that it may please him. And that I may reckon up some of

her studies specially: first of all it worshippeth, calleth upon, loveth and serveth[1] one God in Trinity; and taketh nothing in hand, not having first consulted with the word of this true God. For she ordereth all her doings according to the rule of God's word: she judgeth by the word of God; and by the same she frameth all her buildings, and being built maintaineth them, and being fallen down she repaireth or restoreth them again. The assemblies and congregations of saints upon earth she fervently furthereth and loveth. In these things[2] it hearkeneth diligently to the preaching of the word of God: she is partaker of the sacraments devoutly, and with great joy and desire of heavenly things. It prayeth to God by the intercession of our only mediator Christ with a strong faith, fervently, continually, and most attentively. It praiseth the[3] majesty of God for ever, and with great joy giveth thanks for all his heavenly benefits. It highly esteemeth all and every the institutions of Christ, neither doth it neglect any of them. But chiefly it acknowledgeth that it receiveth all things belonging either to life[4], salvation, righteousness, or felicity, of the only Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ; as he who only chose her, and then by his Spirit and blood sanctified her, and made her a church, that is, a chosen people, whose only king, redeemer, high priest, and defender, he is, and without whom there is no salvation. Therefore in God alone by our Lord Jesus Christ she only resteth; him she only desireth and loveth; and for his sake she rejoiceth to lose all things that appertain to this world, yea, and to spend her blood and her life. And therefore it cleaveth unto Christ by faith inseparably; neither doth it hate any thing more bitterly than falling away from Christ and desperation: for without Christ there seemeth nothing in all this whole life to be pleasant. With Satan, as with a deadly enemy, she hath unappeasable enmity. Against heresies and errors it striveth both constantly and wisely. The simplicity of the christian faith, and the sincerity of the doctrine of the apostles, it most diligently keepeth. She keepeth herself as much as lieth in her unspotted of the world and of the flesh, and from all carnal and spiritual infection. And therefore she fleeth

Of the studies of the church.

[1] colit, Lat.] [2] In his, Lat.: i. e. in these assemblies.]
[3] bonitatem et, Lat. omitted: goodness and.]
[4] suæ, Lat.: its life, &c.]

from and by all means detesteth all unlawful congregations and profane religions, with all wicked men; and willingly and openly confesseth Christ both by word and deed, even with the damage of her life. It is exercised with afflictions, but yet never overcome. It keepeth unity and concord carefully. All and every the members of her body she most tenderly loveth. It doth good unto all men, as much as power and ability will suffer. It hurteth no man. It forgiveth willingly. It beareth with the weak brotherly, till they be brought forth forward to perfection. She is not puffed up with pride, but through humility is kept in obedience, in modesty[1], and in all the duties of godliness. But who (I pray you) is able to recite all and every one of the studies of the church[2] in a very large discourse, much less in this short recital? And who would not desire to be a member of so divine and heavenly a congregation?

I would by and by join hereunto that which remaineth touching the unity of the catholic church, of the division thereof, and of other things belonging to the consideration hereof, but that I do perceive you, being already weary of hearing, do earnestly look for an end of this sermon. Therefore we will put off the residue till to-morrow. And now, lifting up our minds into heaven, let us give thanks to the Lord our God, who through his beloved Son hath purified us and gathered us together, to be a chosen people to himself, and to be heirs of all his heavenly treasures. To him therefore be all praise and glory, world without end,

Amen.

[1 moderatione, Lat.] [2 sanctæ ecclesiæ, Lat.]

¶ THAT THERE IS ONE CATHOLIC CHURCH: THAT WITHOUT THE CHURCH THERE IS NO LIGHT OR SALVATION. AGAINST SCHISMATICS. WHEREFORE WE DEPART FROM THE UPSTART CHURCH OF ROME. THAT THE CHURCH OF GOD IS THE HOUSE, VINEYARD, AND KINGDOM OF GOD; AND THE BODY, SHEEP-FOLD, AND SPOUSE OF CHRIST; A MOTHER AND A VIRGIN.

THE SECOND SERMON.

I SEE you are assembled, brethren, with attentive minds to the exposition of those things which rest to be spoken of the catholic church of God; which we affirm to be one and unseparable, according to the holy oracles of the sacred scripture. Solomon in his Canticles saith: "One is my dove and my beloved." Whereunto doubtless the doctor of the Gentiles had respect, when he said: "There is one body, and one spirit; even as ye are called in one hope of your vocation. There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, which is above all, and through all, and in you all." To these heavenly testimonies agree the testimonies of men. For Cyprian, the bishop and martyr, in his book *De Simplicitate Clericorum*, saith: "The church is one, which is spread further and further abroad by fertile increase: even as there are many beams of the sun and but one light, and many boughs of a tree, yet but one oak grounded upon a stedfast root; and whereas many brooks issue out of one spring, though the number seem to be increased by the abundance of store, yet is it but one at the head. Pluck a beam of the sun from the globe; that one once separated is void of light. Break a bough from the tree, it can bring forth no fruit. Cut a brook from the spring, and being cut off it drieth up. Even so the church, lightened with God's light, spreadeth abroad the beams of her light through all the world; yet it is but one light, which is spread everywhere, neither is the unity of the body separated: she extendeth her branches with plenteous increase throughout all the earth, she sendeth out her plentiful rivers all abroad; yet is there

There is one holy church of God.

Cant. vi.

Ephes. iv.

but one head, and one spring, and one mother plentiful with fertile succession[1]." And so forth.

Moreover, where we read that divers names are given to the church, we must not imagine that there are many churches in the world, neither is that body to be separated which can bear or suffer no kind of division. Writers call the church catholic, which undoubtedly signifieth universal, because it is but one, neither can there be any more. For albeit this be distinguished into the church triumphant and militant; into the church of the old fathers, and the congregation of people of latter time; yet do all these members remain perpetually knit together in one body under one head, Christ. And even as the several conditions of bond and freemen separateth not a kingdom or commonwealth into parts; so neither doth the quiet rest or felicity of the blessed spirits triumphing in heaven, and the labours and sorrows wherewith we warring as yet in this world under Christ's ensigns are exercised, make two churches. The
Rev. xxii. holy angel saith to St John in the Apocalypse: "I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets." He therefore acknowledgeth both the prophets and apostles to be the sons and servants of one God. Whereof we read in
Matt. xxii. the gospel, that one only vineyard, not two or divers, was let out to husbandmen, though they were divers. For even so there is but one church of the old fathers which were before the coming of Christ, and ours or the new people since Christ's coming taken out of the Gentiles. But what

[1 Ecclesia quoque una est, quæ in multitudinem (Bullinger read latitudinem) latius incremento fœcunditatis extenditur. Quomodo solis multi radii, sed lumen unum; et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum; et cum de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copiæ largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine. Avelle radium solis a corpore, divisionem lucis unitas non capit; ab arbore frange ramum, fractus germinare non poterit; a fonte præcide rivum, præcisus arescet: sic ecclesia Domini luce perfusa per orbem totum radios suos porrigit, unum tamen lumen est quod ubique diffunditur, nec unitas corporis separatur; ramos suos in universam terram copia ubertatis extendit, profluentes largiter rivos latius expandit; unum tamen caput est, et origo una, et una mater fœcunditatis successibus copiosa.—Cyprian. Lib. de Unit. Eccles. (al. de Simplicitate Prælatorum.) Opp. p. 108. Oxon. 1682.]

they differ from us, or we from them, hath been said in the eighth Sermon of our third Decade. Again, there are mingled with the holy church evil men and hypocrites; but the church is not separated for evil men: for even as traitors mingled with citizens and not yet discovered make not two commonwealths; so although evil men cleave to good, yet are they both gathered into one church. And when hypocrites depart from the unity of the church, the church is not rent in pieces, but becometh purer. For excellently[2] saith St Augustine, that evil men or hypocrites are that in the church that chaff is amongst wheat, cockle in standing corn, traitors in a city, and runagates amongst soldiers. But it is plain, that wheat is the cleaner, standing corn the lustier, citizens safer, and soldiers the stronger, when runagates, traitors, cockle and chaff, are separated from them: yea, and except sometimes rotten members of the church be cut off from the ecclesiastical body, the church cannot be in safety. And particular or several churches are as towns or cities in a kingdom: the multitude of cities divideth not a kingdom. Of particular churches dispersed throughout all the world, as a body of many members, is gathered and compacted together the catholic and universal church, which is the fellowship of all the saints. Therefore most certain it is that there is but one only church of God, not many, whereof the only monarch is Jesus Christ; to whom be glory.

Without the church is no light or salvation.

The unity and united society of this church of God is so great, that out of her fellowship is there no people found acceptable unto God, any true salvation or safety, any light or truth; for without the pale of God's church are no wholesome pastures found, all are infected with poison. No religion pleaseth God out of the church of God. If of old time any man had sacrificed to God himself without the tabernacle or temple, in the high places, he was accounted to have sacrificed to devils, and esteemed to have shed innocent blood. Rightly therefore the blessed martyr and bishop of Carthage, Cyprian, hath left in writing: "Whosoever separated from the church is joined to an adulterous church, the same man is separated from the promises of the church: neither pertaineth he to Christ's merits, which hath left the church of Christ. He is a stranger, he is unclean, he is an

De Simplicitate Prælatorum.

[2 eleganter, Lat.]

enemy. He cannot now have God his father, who hath not the church his mother. If he might scape that was out of the ark of Noah, he may also escape that is abroad out of the church. He must needs be a most wicked man, whosoever he be, that leaveth his own country and the fellowship of very good men, and falleth away to the enemies[1]." Lactantius therefore most truly says: "It is only the catholic church, which retaineth true religion. Here is the fountain of truth: this is the household of faith: this is the temple of God; into which if one enter not, or out of which if any depart, he is excluded from the hope of salvation and life everlasting[2]." For our Saviour first said, that out of the sheepfold life is not found.

Institut. Lib. v. cap. 30.

Against certain schismatics.

Wherefore I cannot marvel enough at the corrupt and schismatical manners of certain men, who separate themselves for every light cause from the most wholesome and pleasant company or society of the church. For you shall find in these days captious and fantastical men not a few, which of many years have had fellowship with no church, nor as yet have fellowship with any; for in every man that is they find some kind of fault, in themselves only they find nothing worthy reprehension. Therefore they conceive with themselves a wonderful fashion of the church, which except they see somewhere established after that fashion which they themselves have devised, they contend (with shame enough) that there is as yet no true church of Christ in the world. They are worthy surely to be master-builders in Utopia or Cyribiria, where they might set up a building fit for themselves.

[1 Quisquis ab ecclesia segregatus adulteræ jungitur, a promissis ecclesiæ separatur; nec pervenit (Bullinger read pertinet) ad Christi præmia, qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi. Alienus est, profanus est, hostis est. Habere jam non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem. Si potuit evadere quisquam, qui extra arcam Noe fuit, et qui extra ecclesiam foris fuerit evadet. Sceleratissimus sit oportet, quisquis patriam suam optimorumque virorum consortium deserit, ac ad hostes deficit.—Cyprian. Lib. de Unit. Eccles. Opp. p. 109.]

[2 Sola igitur catholica ecclesia est, quæ verum cultum retinet. Hic est fons veritatis; hoc est domicilium fidei; hoc templum Dei; quo si quis non intraverit, vel a quo si quis exiverit, a spe vitæ ac salutis æternæ alienus est.—Lactant. Instit. Lib. IV. cap. 30. p. 450. Lugd. Bat. 1660.]

But it seemeth unto them they have just cause of schism. For they will not communicate with our church, for that it seemeth the doctrine of the ministers in the church is not yet sufficiently cleansed and polished, neither yet lofty (as they themselves term it, *Hoch gnug gericht*), subtle, and spiritual enough. Elsewhere they complain that in our churches are divers customs used. Furthermore, they desire the rigour and severity of discipline, and finally an exact pureness of life; for they fear they shall be defiled with the unclean company of certain men. Many for the faults and vices of certain ministers either forsake or fly the congregation of the church: of which sort at this day are the anabaptists[3]. But there is as yet no sufficient cause alleged by these men, for which of right they ought not either to be joined unto us, or for the which they may be separated from us. We acknowledge that there be just causes for the which the godly both may and ought to separate themselves from wicked congregations, in which not only the lawful use of the sacraments is altogether corrupted and turned into idolatry, but also the sound doctrine is altogether adulterated, the preachers or pastors are not now prophets, but false prophets which persecute God's truth, and finally to them that sit to receive the food of life they minister poison. But none of these things (God be thanked!) can they object against us.

For the diversity of doctrine schism must not be made.

For as concerning doctrine, it consisteth partly in sure opinions, and those as it were numbered, firm, and immutable: of which kind are the articles of faith, and those without addition and corruption, lawfully and sincerely understood; and of that sort are also those principles: That all men are sinners, conceived and born in sin; That none but those that are regenerate can enter into the kingdom of God; That men, not by their own deserts, but through the grace of God, by the only merits of Christ, are justified by faith; That Christ once sacrificed for sin is no more sacrificed, that he is the only and perpetual priest; That good works are done of those that are justified; and those are indeed good works which the Lord hath prepared for us to walk in; That the sacraments of the Lord and of the church are to be received, and not to be despised; That we must pray continually, and

[3 Bullinger. adv. Anabapt. Lib. III. capp. 2. 3. Hooker, Eccles. Pol. Preface. Vol. I. p. 179. Oxf. 1820.]

that in that manner which the Lord hath appointed us; and if there be any more of the same sort. But it sufficeth if these and other like grounds be uniformly, purely, and simply taught in the church according to the scriptures, though there be added no rhetorical figures, nor no painted eloquence be heard. For aptly the blessed martyr Irenæus, after the rule of faith set out in his first book against heresies: "Since there is but one only faith, (saith he,) neither he which can say much of it saith more than he ought; nor he which saith little thereby diminisheth it[1]." Therefore when the doctrine of ministers expoundeth those things in the church which are agreeable to the true and sincere faith, which it also corrupteth not, what have these captious smatterers of rhetoric and self-learned[2] to require, though eloquence and plentiful learning be wanting in the teachers? Was not the doctrine of the apostles and prophets most simple and most free from all subtilty, that rightly it might be said, how much more simple it seemed to be, so much the safer it was? But in the mean-season I despise not true eloquence, (as that which is a singular gift of God), [as] I have elsewhere often witnessed.

And partly doctrine consisteth in the daily expounding of the scriptures, and in the applying of them to our time, place, and affairs. In that kind was ever great variety and diversity, for which notwithstanding no wise man ever yet, separated himself from the fellowship of the church. For it cometh to pass very often, that two or three or else more may expound one place not after one manner, but after most divers sorts. There may be one that expoundeth very darkly, and another expoundeth more plainly: this man hitteth the mark, he comes not near it: and this man applieth the place which he handleth very fitly, some other useth not like simplicity of application: in the mean season, notwithstanding, he saith nothing contrary to the soundness of faith and the love of God and our neighbour, and useth[3] all things to edification. I say, that of this diversity no man taketh just occasion to depart from the church. For all godly men prove all things, and keep that which is good; and in all sermons and holy exercises[4] refer their whole study only unto edifying. And

[1 See Vol. I. p. 27.]
[2 erudituli, Lat.]
[3 profert, Lat.]
[4 auscultationibus, Lat.]

moreover the preachers agree well among themselves, and hereunto direct all things, that both themselves and their hearers may become better; not that they may seem better learned, or to have uttered that which no man saw heretofore. And the best learned loathe not their sermons which are not so learned: for albeit they may seem not altogether to have hit the mark, yet forasmuch as they have taught wholesome things, they are praised and not condemned; albeit in fit time and place they be somewhiles admonished[5]. Again, they that are unskilful do not envy the gifts of the learned, nor refuse to labour for more perfection, neither loathe they or condemn they learned sermons of those that be better learned; but they praise God, and being warned strive to more perfection. For wisely said St Aurelius Augustine, in his first book of christian doctrine, the six and thirtieth chapter: "Whosoever (saith he) seemeth to himself to have understood the holy scriptures or any part of them, so as of that understanding he gather not the twofold charity of God and his neighbour, he yet understandeth nothing. But whosoever gathereth such a sense thereof as may be profitable to him for the increase of charity, and yet gathereth not that sense that it may probably seem he whom he readeth meant in that place, he is not perniciously deceived, neither lieth he at all[6]." The same anon after: "He is notwithstanding to be corrected, and must have it shewed him, how much more profitable it were for him not to leave the high way, lest by accustomable straying he be forced either to go cross or crooked[7]." Thus far he. Therefore where an ecclesiastical interpreter doth err grossly, it is lawful to a better learned brotherly to admonish him; but to make a schism it is not lawful. The authors of schism lightly are somewhat proud and arrogant, and swell[8] with envy, and therefore are void of all charity and modesty[9]: they allow nothing but what they themselves bring forth, neither will

[5 amice, Lat. omitted; in a friendly manner.]

[6 See Vol. I. p. 77, note 9.]

[7 Corrigendus est tamen, et quam sit utilius viam non deserere demonstrandum est, ne consuetudine deviandi etiam in transversum aut perversum ire cogatur.—August. de Doct. Christ. I. cap. 36. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 5. col. 1. Par. 1531.]

[8 tabescunt, Lat.] [9 moderatione, Lat.]

they have anything common with others; they are always musing some high matter, and nothing that is common or simple. Unto these men very well agreeth the saying of
1 Cor viii. the apostle Paul: "Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth." Therefore godly teachers in the church, and also godly hearers, for doctrine which is not altogether foolish and though it be somewhat gross, yet being godly and tending to edification, they neither leave or forsake the fellowship of the church, neither strive they or contend, but rather use charity in all things.

For the vices of the ministers schism must not be made.

And if the ministers' lives be attached with grievous vices, and yet in the mean season they be faithful in teaching, admonishing, exhorting, rebuking and comforting; if they lawfully distribute the lawful sacraments; no man hath just occasion to forsake the church. The Lord expressly saith in
Matt. xxiii. the gospel: "The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat. All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but after their works do not; for they say, and do not." Behold the Lord saith, They say, and do not; therefore the teachers' lives were not agreeable to their doctrine: yet for that they stood in Moses' seat, that is to say, because they taught the word of God lawfully and sincerely, he biddeth to receive their sincere doctrine; but their life not being agreeable to their doctrine, that he biddeth to refuse: and therefore to make a schism for the preachers' evil lives' sake, the Lord doth forbid. Surely he commands to flee from false prophets; but not an evil life, but false doctrine, maketh a false prophet. A great conflict about this matter had the holy father St Augustine with the Donatists, who contended that the ministry was of smaller power through the imperfection of the ministers: which case is to be considered in another sort.

For the diversity of ceremonies schism must not be made.

But now what cause have they to leave[1] and forsake our churches for the unlikeness or variety of ceremonies? In the baptism of children, say they, you observe not one order: and so also in the celebration of the supper. Some take the bread of the Lord in their hands sitting, some do come and take it at the hands of the ministers[2], who also put it in the mouths of the receivers. Some celebrate the communion[3]

[1 adversari, Lat.: to oppose.] [2 præsidentium, Lat.]
[3 cœnam Domini, Lat.]

often; some seldom, and that but upon set days. And you use not one form of prayer. Neither have all your assemblies one manner, neither meet they at one time. But how shall we believe that the spirit of unity and peace is in you, in whom is found so great diversity? For just causes therefore we do not communicate with you. But of these customs we shall speak more fitly in their proper place. But it is marvel that men not altogether rude and ignorant of ecclesiastical matters bring no other arguments for defence of their wicked schism. Are the poor wretches ignorant how great diversity there hath been always in ceremonies, unity notwithstanding always remaining undivided in the catholic church[4]? Socrates, the famous writer of the ecclesiastical history, in the fifth book of his history, the twenty-second chapter, setteth out at large the diversity of ceremonies in the church of God. Amongst other things he saith: "No religion," saith he, "keepeth all one kind of ceremonies, albeit it agree in doctrine about them. For they which agree in faith differ in ceremonies." And again: "It shall be both laboursome and troublesome, yea, and impossible, to describe all the ceremonies of all the churches in each city and region[5]." The blessed martyr Irenæus, writing to Victor, bishop of Rome, rehearseth a great diversity of the churches in their fastings and[6] keeping the feast of Easter; and then addeth: "And yet notwithstanding all these, even when they varied in their observations, were both peaceable among themselves and with us, and yet are; neither doth the disagreement about fasting break the agreement of faith[7]." And again: "Blessed Polycarpus," saith he, "when he came to Rome under Anicete, and having some small controversy about certain other matters were by and by reconciled; but of this kind of matter they contended not a whit. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarpus, that he should not observe those things which with John the disciple

[4 Christi, Lat. omitted: of Christ.]

[5 Οὐδεμία τῶν θρησκείων τὰ αὐτὰ ἔθη φυλάττει, κἂν τὴν αὐτοῦ περὶ τούτων δόξαν ἀσπάζηται. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως ὄντες διαφωνοῦσι περὶ τὰ ἔθη πρὸς ἑαυτούς. . . . Πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἔθη κατὰ πόλεις καὶ χώρας γενόμενα ἐγγράφειν ἐργῶδες, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον.—Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. cap. 22. Cantab. 1720. pp. 294. 298.]

[6 denique, Lat.] [7 See Vol. I. p. 433, note 4.]

of our Lord and the rest of the apostles, with whom he had been conversant, he had always observed; neither did Polycarpus persuade Anicetus not to keep that custom, which by the tradition of those elders to whom he succeeded he said he was to keep. And, these matters thus standing, they had fellowship one with another[1]." Thus far he. Moreover, the ancient church used great liberty in observation of ceremonies, yet so always as it brake not the bond of unity. Yea, and St Austin, prescribing unto Januarius what in this diversity of ceremonies he should either do or follow, biddeth not him to make a schism, but judging moderately and wisely, "No rule," saith he, "in these things is better than a grave and wise christian, who will do in such sort as he shall see every church do unto which by chance he cometh. For that which neither contrary to faith nor good manners is commanded is to be counted indifferent, and according to their society amongst whom we live to be observed." Again, lest under pretence of this rule and counsel any might force upon every man what ceremonies they would, he addeth: "The church of God, placed amidst much chaff and cockle, suffereth many things; and yet whatsoever is either contrary to faith or good life she alloweth not, neither holds she her peace, neither doth she it[2]."

For the impure life of men conversant in the

Last of all, whereas these men think that there is no true church where as yet faulty manners are to be seen in

[1 Καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου ἐπιδημήσαντος ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ ἐπὶ Ἀνικήτου, καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν μικρὰ σχόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐθὺς εἰρήνευσαν, περὶ τούτου τοῦ κεφαλαίου μὴ φιλεριστήσαντες εἰς ἑαυτούς. Οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πεῖσαι ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν ἅτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων οἷς συνδιέτριψεν, ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα, οὔτε μὴν ὁ Πολύκαρπος τὸν Ἀνίκητον ἔπεισε τηρεῖν, λέγοντα τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων ὀφείλειν κατέχειν. Καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, ἐκοινώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς.—Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. cap. 24. ed. Burton. Tom. I. p. 371. Oxon. 1838.]

[2 Nec disciplina ulla est in his melior gravi prudentique Christiano, quam ut eo modo agat quo agere viderit ecclesiam ad quamcunque forte devenerit. Quod enim neque contra fidem neque contra bonos mores injungitur, indifferenter est habendum, et pro eorum inter quos vivitur societate servandum..... Sed ecclesia Dei, inter multam paleam multaque zizania constituta, multa tolerat; et tamen quæ sunt contra fidem vel bonam vitam, non approbat, nec tacet, nec facit.—Ep. p. 118, 9. August. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 108. and 112.]

men conversant in the church, by whose conversation they fear to be polluted, unless either they come not at the church or else quickly forsake it, they fall into the madness of the heretics called *Catharoi*[3], who[4], deceived with the false imagination of exact holiness and using sharp cruelty[5], fled from those churches in which the fruits of the doctrine of the gospel plainly appeared not. Against these we set both the prophetical and apostolical, to wit, the most holy churches. For Esay and Jeremy rebuking the manners of their time do greatly inveigh against corruption of doctrine and manners; neither charge they them with light and common faults, but heinous. Esay crieth that "from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot there is no whole place;" and yet he departed not from the church, nor planted himself a new[6], albeit from all ungodliness and corruption he kept himself very diligently. How many faults, nay, how many errors, I pray you, were there amongst the apostles of Christ themselves! What, did our Lord depart from them? The church of Corinth was corrupted, not only in manners but also in doctrine. There was in it contentions, factions, and brawlings; whoredom and breaking of wedlock undoubtedly was common among them. What think you of that, that many of them were present at profane sacrifices? Surely it was no small error that they esteemed baptism according to the worthiness of the minister[7]. They had defiled the Lord's supper with their private and[8] prodigal banquets; yea, and of the resurrection of the dead they thought not aright. But did the apostle for that cause either depart from them himself, or command others to depart? yea, rather he calleth them[9] a holy church; and, greatly rebuking their contentions, he exhorteth all men to observe[10] the unity of the church in the sincerity of truth. It is not to be doubted, therefore, that they greatly sin which abstain from the fellowship of our or rather the catholic church, in which albeit there be

church schism must not be made.

[3 An appellation of the *Novatians*. Vol. II. p. 424, note 3.]

[4 qui et ipsi, Lat.: who likewise.] [5 rigiditatem, Lat.]

[6 Novam sibi constituebat, Lat.: formed for himself a new church.]

[7 baptismum referebant ad homines, Lat.]

[8 adeoque, Lat.] [9 talem, Lat.: such a church.]

[10 colendam, Lat.: to cultivate.]

great corruption of life, yet the doctrine is sincere and the sacraments are purely ministered.

For the unworthy partakers of the Lord's supper schism must not be made.

But these men object: Ye admit all men without exception to the receiving of the Lord's supper, wicked men, drunkards, covetous men, soldiers, and such like kinds of men, with whom the holy apostle forbids us to eat common bread: so far off is it that he granteth us to be partakers at the Lord's table[1] with such. Except therefore we like to be defiled with the fellowship of the wicked, it is needful either not to join with this society, or else altogether to flee from it. But of the Lord's supper and the receiving thereof, if I live, I will speak in another place apt for it. At this time this only we bring against them; that Paul, the most faithful servant of Jesu Christ, was not sharper than his master. But it is manifest that he admitted Judas to the holy table, whom he knew, as it is wont to be said, *intus et in cute*, that is to say, thoroughly within and without[2], and yet he did not put him by. But he would have rejected him, if he had known the rest of his disciples would have been polluted with his company. Judas himself was polluted, for his mind and conscience were corrupt: but the rest of the apostles, whose minds were pure through perfect[3] faith, could not be defiled by another man's treachery. Therefore saith Paul the apostle: "Let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup." He biddeth every man to prove himself, not to judge another man's servant, who standeth to his Lord or falleth. If thou beest endued with faith, and dost lawfully participate at the Lord's table, thou art not defiled with another man's wickedness. Therefore, to avoid pollution, there is no cause why thou shouldest be separated from the church, in which thou seest the bad mingled with the good to be partakers of the Lord's supper. But if so be thou beest separated, thou plainly declarest thyself, being hardened with arrogancy, to be partaker with these whom St Augustine in his third book against *Parmenian*, the first chapter, painteth forth with these proper and lively colours: "They are evil children, who, not for the hatred of other men's iniquities but through the study

1 Cor. xi.

[1 dominicum frangere panem, Lat.]

[2 that—without, the Translator's explanation of the proverb.]

[3 veram, Lat.]

of their own contentions, go about either wholly to allure or at least to divide the simple people provoked with the bragging titles of their names, puft up with pride, foolish with frowardness, subtile with slanders, troublesome with seditions: who, lest they should be detected to want the light of truth, pretend the shadow of sharp severity: and those things which in the holy scriptures, the sincerity of love being saved and the unity of peace being kept, are commanded for the correction of the faults of their brethren, wherein moderation also should be used, they usurp to the sacrilege of schism and occasion of cutting off." The same author, amongst other things godlily and wisely disputed in the two chapters following, gives this counsel to modest wits: "That quietly they should correct what they may, and what they cannot mend they should patiently suffer and lovingly mourn, till God himself either amend it, or in the day of judgment fan away the chaff[4]."

Unity must be kept, and schism eschewed.

Furthermore, concluding this place, I will recite unto you the words of the blessed martyr Cyprian. He in his third book, and third epistle, hath thus left it written: "If cockle appear to be in the church, yet ought neither our faith nor our charity be letted, that, because we see cockle in the church, we ourselves depart from the church: we must rather labour to be good corn, that when the corn shall be laid up in the Lord's barn, we may receive the fruit of our labour and travail. The apostle saith in his epistle: 'But in a great house are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some vessels of honour, some of dishonour.' Let us endeavour and labour what we may, that

[4 Illi filii mali, qui non odio iniquitatum alienarum, sed studio contentionum suarum, infirmas plebes jactantia sui nominis irretitas, vel totas trahere vel certe dividere affectant, superbia tumidi, pervicacia vesani, calumniis insidiosi, seditionibus turbulenti; ne luce veritatis carere ostendantur, umbram rigidæ severitatis obtendunt; et quæ in scripturis sanctis salva dilectionis sinceritate, et custodita pacis unitate, ad corrigenda fraterna vitia moderatiori curatione fieri præcepta sunt, ad sacrilegium schismatis et occasionem præcisionis usurpant... Misericorditer igitur corripiat homo quod potest; quod autem non potest, patienter ferat, et cum dilectione gemat atque lugeat, donec aut ille desuper emendet et corrigat, aut usque ad messem differat eradicare zizania.—August. contra Epist. Parmen. capp. 1. and 2. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 11. col. 3. and fol. 13. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

we may be a vessel either of gold or of silver: but the Lord only hath liberty to break in pieces the earthen vessels, to whom also is given an iron rod. The servant cannot be greater than the Lord[1]. Neither let any man think it lawful for him to challenge that to himself which the Father hath given only to his Son, that he might now be able to purge the floor, or fan the chaff, or by all the wit man hath to separate all the chaff from the corn. This is a proud obstinacy and wicked presumption, which lewd fury taketh to himself. And while some men always take to themselves a further dominion than peaceable justice requireth, they perish from the church: and whiles they proudly lift up themselves, blinded with their own presumption, they are bereft of the light of the truth[2]." The Lord Jesus reduce the wandering sheep into the unity of the catholic church, and living in unity keep and uphold them. Amen.

Of the departing from the church of Rome.

These adversaries of ours being overcome, there arise up new and cruel enemies, that is to say, the defenders of the Roman monarchy and of the apostolic see, as they call it, and the most ancient church: for they cry even while they be hoarse, that we are guilty of the same crime whereof we condemned the anabaptists and certain other fantastical fellows. For they say, that we with wicked schism and

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *his* Lord.]

[2 Etsi videntur in ecclesia esse zizania, non tamen impediri debet aut fides aut caritas nostra, ut quoniam zizania esse in ecclesia cernimus, ipsi de ecclesia recedamus: nobis tantummodo laborandum est, ut frumentum esse possimus, ut cum cœperit frumentum dominicis horreis condi, fructum pro opere nostro et labore capiamus. Apostolus in epistola sua dicit, In domo autem magna non solum vasa sunt aurea et argentea, sed et lignea et fictilia; et quædam quidem honorata, quædam vero inhonorata. Nos operam demus et quantum possumus laboremus, ut vas aureum vel argenteum simus: ceterum fictilia vasa confringere Domino soli concessum est, cui et virga ferrea data est. Esse non potest major domino suo servus; nec quisquam sibi, quod soli filio pater tribuit, vindicare potest, ut aream ventilandam et purgandam palam ferre se jam posse, aut a frumento universa zizania humano judicio segregare. Superba est ista obstinatio, et sacrilega præsumptio, quam sibi furor pravus assumit. Et dum dominium sibi semper quidam plus quam mitis justitia deposcit assumunt, de ecclesia pereunt; et dum se insolenter extollunt, ipso suo tumore cæcati veritatis lumen amittunt.—Cyprian. Ep. LIV. Opp. p. 100. Oxon. 1682.]

forced by no necessity have forsaken the old Romish church, and have set up for ourselves new and heretical synagogues. And they allege that the holy scripture hath as yet her authority in the church of Rome, that it is read as yet in all the churches[3], that they fetch their disputations out of it in all their schools, yea, and also that the sacraments have their right place and use; and therefore that we are wicked schismatics, who without any necessary cause to go away are departed from the catholic church, most of all for the faults of some of the clergy and of the bishops. I must needs therefore digress a little, and contend with these defenders of the popish church, and shew that we never departed from the catholic church of Christ.

Who is an heretic, and who a schismatic.

And because in this matter it chiefly behoveth us to know who is truly said to be an heretic or who is a schismatic, of these matters I will first of all speak these few words. St Augustine thinketh that this difference there is between an heretic and a schismatic, that an heretic doth corrupt the sincerity of faith and doctrine of the apostles with his wicked doctrine; and a schismatic, although he sin not at all against the pure doctrine and sincere faith, yet he rashly separates himself from the church, breaking the bond of unity[4]. And surely he properly is an heretic, whosoever he be, that contrary to the scripture which is the word of God, against the articles of faith, or against the sound opinions of the church grounded on the word of God, through hope of any temporal commodity, of his own brain and fleshly choice, chooseth, receiveth, teacheth, followeth strange things, and stiffly retaining doth both defend them and spread them abroad. By the imperial edict of Augustus Cæsar Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, they are defined to be catholics or Christians, who continue in that religion which St Peter taught the church of Rome, and which blessed Damasus and St Peter bishop of Alexandria did teach, that is to say, confessing,

[3 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *their* churches. The Latin is, in omnibus templis.]

[4 Hæretici... ex... evangelii semine et Christi nomine procreati, pravis opinionibus ad falsa dogmata convertuntur... Solet autem etiam quæri, schismatici quid ab hæreticis distent, et hoc inveniri; quod schismaticos non fides diversa faciat, sed communionis disrupta societas.—August. Quæst. ex Matth. Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 78. col. 1. Par. 1531.]

according to the teaching[1] of the apostles and doctrine of the gospel, the only Godhead of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost in equal majesty and in an holy Trinity. And again they are by them declared to be heretics, who follow contrary opinions, whom they account both mad and infamous and worthy of punishment[2]. And he is a schismatic, whosoever he be, that separateth himself from the unity of the true church of God, and either himself gathereth together new assemblies, or joineth himself to congregations gathered by others, albeit in doctrine he err little or nothing. And I think no man can either desire or gainsay anything in these descriptions.

And therefore the defenders of the Romish monarchy do greatly offend against us, evermore having in their mouths against us the most heinous crimes of heresy and schism. For we teach nothing against the sincerity and truth of the holy scriptures, or against the articles of faith, or against the opinions of the catholic church which be sound and established by the canonical scriptures. If it had liked us to have sought earthly commodity, we would surely have continued in the popish doctrine, in which all things are gainful; but because we have received the doctrine of Christ, we are open to every man's reproach: whereof we were not ignorant when we departed from the doctrine of the pope. For no hope therefore of temporal commodity do we embrace the doctrine of Christ, neither do we presumptuously[3] affirm anything; for if any man can teach us any better out of God's word, we will not refuse to embrace that which is better. And moreover, with open voice and with all our hearts[4] we condemn all heresies and heretics, whosoever they be, which the ancient church either in general councils or without councils hath killed with the sword of God's word. But we strive against the false doctrine of the pope, his new decrees which fight against the word of God, and most filthy abuses and corruptions in the church. The bishops of Rome have taken to themselves with their conspirators a tyranny over the church, playing the part of very antichrists in the temple of God: their tyranny therefore and antichristianism we flee

[1 disciplinam, Lat.] [2 See Vol. I. p. 34.]
[3 pertinaciter, Lat.: obstinately.]
[4 sincero corde, Lat.]

and refuse, Christ and his yoke we refuse not, the fellowship of saints we flee not: yea, rather to that end we may remain in that society and become[5] the true members of Christ and of his saints, flying out of the popish church, we are gathered together again into one holy catholic and apostolic church. And this church we do acknowledge to be the very house of God, and the proper sheepfold of Christ our Lord, whereof he is the shepherd.

A free confession of departing from the Romish church.

For freely we confess, and with great joy giving thanks to God that hath delivered us we publish abroad, that we are departed from the Romish church, and that we do at this day also abhor the same. But first of all we distinguish and put a diversity between the old church of Rome and the late upstart church. For there was sometime at Rome a holy and faithful church, which apostolic men and the apostles of Christ themselves did establish and preserve by the word of God: which ancient church was not only without the ceremonies there used and received at this day, but if she had but seen them, she would surely have accursed them. That ancient church wanted the decrees whereupon the church of Rome at this day altogether stayeth herself. She was ignorant of that monarchy and all that stately court. Therefore from that ancient and apostolic church of Rome we never departed, neither will we ever depart. We acknowledge, moreover, all that are at Rome, who at this day do worship Christ and keep themselves from all popish pollution, to be our beloved brethren; of which sort we doubt not but Rome hath a great many. Finally, we do not acknowledge that upstart church of Rome to be the true church of Christ, which doth acknowledge and worship the pope as Christ his vicar in earth, and is obedient to his laws. Wherefore we cannot be schismatics, who, leaving the church of Rome, have not departed from the true church of God.

The upstart church of Rome is not the church.

For the holy catholic church cleaveth unto her only shepherd Christ, believeth his word, and liveth holily; but you shall find all things quite contrary in the church of Rome, so as it cannot come within the compass[6] neither of the outward and visible, neither of the inward and invisible, church of God. The godly bear with many things in the church, that is to say, in the members of the church and in

[5 esse, Lat.: be.] [6 censum, Lat.]

the ministers (as I shewed of late when I entreated against schismatics); but in that upstart church of Rome thou shalt not find small and tolerable faults either of doctrine or of life or of errors: all these faults in her are heinous, desperate, and abominable. What manner of charity should it be therefore that could hope for better of the[1] most untoward and lamentable things[2]? Hypocrites and evil men are accounted to be parcel of the outward and visible church of God, and are suffered in the same: but these Romanists are neither evil men or hypocrites, but the very worst and the most cruel enemies of Christ his truth, openly blaspheming the gospel and persecuting those that believe in Christ; and therefore they neither have the outward nor yet the inward marks of the church[3]. The Spirit of the Lord resteth upon those that tremble at the word of God: these men fret and fume if any man unfeignedly reverence the word of God. True faith attributeth only unto Christ all the means whereby it cometh unto everlasting life[4]: these men do persecute the faithful, because they attribute unto Christ Jesus alone all the means whereby they attain unto everlasting life[4], and will not part stakes in the means of salvation with popish fancies. Instead of charity they exercise cruelty against their brethren and against their neighbours. What shall a man say of them who abuse the public goods of the church, and spend them according to their own private lusts? For that which of old time the faithful have of charity given to the use of the church and for the sustentation of the poor, that do these men waste, living most lecherously and filthily. Which thing the elect apostles of the Lord, Peter and Thaddeus, did foretel the church of God of concerning them.

The church of Rome hath not the inward marks of the church of God.

2 Pet. ii. and in the epistle of Jude.

And as touching the outward marks of the church, what shall I say? These men say that the canonical scripture hath authority in the church of Rome, and that the same word is read both in their churches and in their schools, and that the sacraments have their force and are effectual amongst them. But I can shew the contrary. First of all, they will make subject the interpretation of the holy and sacred scriptures unto their see, and the right of judgment in all cases

The church of Rome hath not the outward marks of the church of God.

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *these*.]

[2 de pertinacissimis deploratissimisque rebus, Lat.]

[3 ecclesiæ Dei, Lat.] [4 omnia vitæ, Lat.]

they give unto their idol the pope of Rome. For that canon every man knoweth: "Whatsoever he decreeth, whatsoever he establisheth, is of all men to be observed for ever inviolably[5]." And again: "The whole church throughout the universal world knoweth, that the holy church of Rome hath authority to give judgment of all things, neither is it lawful for any to give judgment of her judgments[6]." Therefore she also judgeth the scriptures and expoundeth them, and turneth and windeth them which way she listeth. I will not now remember how by manifest words the standard-bearers of that see do write, that the canonical scripture taketh her authority of the church[7], abusing this sentence of the ancient father St Augustine, "I would not have believed the gospel, if the authority of the holy church had not moved me[8]," &c. This will I affirm, which cannot but be manifest unto all men, that the Romish church, or the rulers of the same church, do take away the natural sense and true meaning of the holy scriptures, and have set down a strange sense instead of it; which sense, to the end it may the better be liked of men, they call the sense of the holy mother the church; which sense also they urge with so great wickedness, as if you oppose against it the native sense, you shall receive for your labour the reproachful name of an heretic. In few words, except you bring out the whole scripture wrested after their mind and gain, that is to say, tempered with their devilish decrees as with poison, it will be said that you have not brought out the holy scriptures, but that you have taught heresy. By examples the matter will be made the plainer. The scripture teacheth that Jesus Christ is the only head of the church: but unless you also join the pope to be the head of the church militant in earth, you will be called an heretic. The scrip-

[5 —ab omnibus quidquid statuit, quidquid ordinat (Romana ecclesia), perpetuo et irrefragabiliter observandum est.—Corp. Jur. Can. Decret. I. par. distinct. 19. cap. 5. Tom. I. p. 24. Par. 1687.]

[6 Cuncta per mundum novit ecclesia, quod sacrosancta Romana ecclesia fas de omnibus habeat judicandi, neque cuiquam de ejus liceat judicare judicio.—Ibid. Decret. II. par. caus. 9. quæst. 3. cap. 17. p. 211.]

[7 See Jewel's Def. of Apol. Park. Soc. ed. pp. 218, 247. part I.]

[8 Ego vero evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicæ ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas.—August. contra epist. Manichæi. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 24. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

ture teacheth that Jesus Christ is the only intercessor or mediator, priest, and only sacrifice propitiatory of the faithful: but unless you join hereunto, that Christ is indeed the mediator of redemption, but that the saints together with Christ are the mediators of intercession, and that the priests do daily offer an unbloody sacrifice, so as the saints may be acknowledged to be intercessors together with Christ in heaven, and that the priests in earth do daily offer in their mass a sacrifice for the quick and for the dead, you will else be called an heretic. The scripture teacheth that Jesus Christ is the righteousness of the faithful, which righteousness we receive by faith: but unless you will part stakes between this righteousness of Christ and works or men's merits, you will be called an heretic. The scripture teacheth that Christ ascended into heaven, and hath established[1] a vicegerent power, to wit, the Holy Ghost; and that also he will not come again into the world bodily but only at the day of judgment: but unless you do acknowledge the same Christ to be also corporally present in the bread of the sacrament, and dost also worship him there, thou wilt else be called an heretic. Christ our Lord said at his last supper, reaching the cup to his disciples, "Drink you all of this:" but and if thou wilt contend that both the kinds of the sacrament ought to be given to all the faithful, thou wilt be called an heretic. God said in his law, Thou shalt not make an image, thou shalt not worship it, thou shalt not serve it: but unless thou understand by an image the idols of the gentiles, as of Saturn or Mercury, but not of the true God or any saint, thou wilt be called an heretic.

Many more things of this sort I could bring forth, if I spake to them that were ignorant. What authority therefore, or what place, shall we say the word of God had in that see? Who seeth not that these filthy beasts do tread under foot as a captive the most holy word of God; that they establish and re-establish laws of God according to their own giant-like boldness? It is therefore as clear as anything may be clear, that the Romish church is destitute of the holy word of God. I have shewed plainly in the first sermon of this decade[2], that it is not enough to boast out the words of the holy scripture, unless therewithal the natural sense be retained uncorrupted.

[1 misisse, Lat.: hath sent.] [2 See above, p. 21.]

The church of Rome hath corrupted the sense and meaning of the holy scriptures, and thrust upon the simple people opinions contrary to the scriptures: and therefore the church of Rome is not the true church of Christ.

The sacrament of baptism ministered by popish priests albeit we do not reiterate, for that they baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost (as in the first sermon of this decade I have shewed[3]); yet the breaking of bread or distribution of the Lord's supper they so defiled, and also corrupted the same with doctrines contrary to the sound faith, and turned the same into such a filthy merchandise, as no man that is of a sound judgment can with a safe conscience and without corruption of his religion communicate with them. Of the most filthy life and wicked manners of the priests of the Romish church I will at this time say nothing. For already it appeareth, I doubt not, to them that are not wilfully blind[4], that the see of Rome hath not the outward marks of the true church of God, joined with the pure word of God[5], and sound preaching of the gospel. It wanteth (I say) a heavenly ministry, and lawful ministers of the church, and also the wholesome use of the Lord's supper: and therefore it is not the true church of God from which no man may depart without being guilty of schism.

The Lord reserveth to himself a church, though the governors of it err.

By this means, some man will say, Christ shall have no church left him in the earth; for they that be the governors of the church, if they err, and corrupt and forsake the word of God, what hope (I pray you) remaineth of the church? Or where the marks of the church appear not, where (I pray you) is the church? I answer, that Almighty God in such calamities of the church, in the which the governors fall away from the word and true worship of God, and do embrace and bring in new laws and new ordinances into the church, the true outward marks of the church being for a time either darkened or worn out of use, doth yet notwithstanding reserve unto himself a church in the earth; which church also he furnisheth[6] and repaireth with true teachers whom he sendeth into the same, albeit they be not acknow-

[3 See above, p. 22.]

[4 vel cæcis, Lat.: even to the blind.]

[5 Rather, seeing it wanteth the pure word of God, &c.]

[6 fulcit, Lat.]

ledged for true ministers and teachers of God's church by those who will seem to be the true and the ordinary governors of the church, but are rather condemned as seditious disturbers of the church and execrable heretics. By examples taken out of the scriptures the matter will be made more manifest.

2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii. In the time of Achas king of Juda, (Urias the high priest winking at it, and the princes of the land and priests not resisting,) the king shut up the temple of the Lord, and took away the holy altar[1]: which thing the scripture expressly witnesseth; and therefore both the ministry of the word and the lawful or ordinary ministration of the sacraments[2] ceased: but yet notwithstanding there was a holy church in the kingdom of Juda, in the which (as I may say) extraordinarily no man doubteth the prophet Esay with certain other did preach.

2 Kings xxi. xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiii. xxxiv. Under Manasses, the nephew[3] of king Achas, true doctrine and administration of the sacraments was banished, except only circumcision; and that falling away continued until the church was reformed by that most godly king Josias: and yet in the mean season prophets were sent, and God had his church in Juda, albeit the most part of the people with their governors did both follow and defend the wickedness and defection of Manasses.

1 Kings xii. 2 Chron. xi. In the kingdom of Israel king Jeroboam thrust out of their offices[4] the teachers and preachers of the law of the Lord and of the sound truth[5], and instead of them gave unto the people profane and unlearned priests and rulers; and moreover built new temples, yea, and those were cathedral churches, and set up new idols or calves, a new religion, new altars, and new feasts; and by this means abrogated the true religion of God to that end that there might no outward marks at all of the church of God appear in Israel: and yet there is no doubt but God had a notable church in Israel, for the preservation and repairing whereof from time to time God sent his prophets, albeit they were not acknowledged to be the true prophets of God at the hands of the false church and of the false prophets.

Amos ii. Under Jeroboam, the second of that name, Amos the prophet, a shepherd or neat-herd of Tecoa, taught and preached the true word of God: but he

[1 cathedram, Lat.] [2 sacrificiorum, Lat.]
[3 nepote, Lat.: grandson.]
[4 Levitas, Lat. omitted: the Levites.]
[5 doctores legis Domini et prædicatores veritatis sinceræ, Lat.]

heard at the hands of Amasias the high priest of the kingdom, "Get thee quickly hence, and go into the land of Juda, Amos vii.
and prophesy or preach there; but prophesy no more at Bethel, for it is the king's chapel, and it is the king's court." Furthermore, when Achab passed all the kings before him in wickedness, and added moreover to the ungodliness and falling away of Jeroboam the abominable religion of Baal, and had filled all the kingdom of Israel with superstitions, idolatries, enchantments, and sacrileges, yea, and moreover persecuted the pure word[6] of God in his prophets most cruelly, there was yet found in Israel a most famous church of God. Elias, that great and most excellent prophet of God, because of that horrible falling away from God and loathsomeness of that most miserable people, in whom there appeared no one token of the true church of God, flying into the wilderness, hid himself in corners; and being asked of the Lord what he did there, he answered: "I have been very jealous for the 1 Kings xix.
God[7] of hosts; for that the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, cast down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I only am left, and they seek my life to take it away." But straightways he is sent back into the land of Israel from whence he was fled, and heard moreover these words: "I have left unto myself seven thousand men in Rom. xi.
Israel, who have neither bowed their knees to Baal, neither kissed him." Behold, this mighty prophet thought that only he himself had been left of all the number of the faithful in Israel: but he heard that God had reserved seven thousand holy men who had not bowed their knees, that is to say, had never served Baal so much as with outward reverence. But who knoweth not that the prophet understood by the number of seven an exceeding great number of the true servants of God, who undoubtedly were circumcised not into the covenant of Baal, but into the covenant of the eternal God? The same men lacked not faith, and therefore they were not without doctrine, though the same were not so common, neither seemed to the Baalites to be either ordinary or catholic: but undoubtedly they wanted the use of the sacrifices; for seeing they were not lawfully offered, they would not be partakers of

[6 doctrinam, Lat.]

[7 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, the *Lord* God; pro Domino Deo, Lat.]

those that were unlawful; but in the mean season they were not destitute of the things which were signified by the outward[1] signs or sacraments, being partakers through faith of all the gifts of God.

Though the Romish church be not the church, yet God hath a church in earth.

Dan. ix. 2 Thess. ii.

After the self-same sort, since the bishop of Rome after the manner of king Jeroboam, having forsaken the sound preaching of the gospel, and having corrupted the first and simple institution of the Lord's supper, and depraved and wrested to his own profit other commandments[2] of God, and placed himself[3] in the throne or temple of God, or in the church of God[4], bragging that he is a God in earth; surely the church of God, oppressed with grievous tyranny, could very hardly hitherto be discerned by outward marks. For instead of the sincere preaching of the gospel a certain kind of doctrine mixed and corrupted with men's decrees was set forth; and instead of the Lord's supper popish mass was celebrated; and instead of other ordinances of God came in a high heap of foolish and superstitious ceremonies, whereunto a great number of men yielding made themselves subject to the see of Rome. In the mean space notwithstanding, the church of God was not utterly extinguished throughout all the world, neither the holy ministry of the word of God and the true worship of God utterly decayed amongst all men. For there were found spread abroad in every place not a few men, who neither allowed the pope and his conspirators, neither his corruption in matters of the church; but they worshipped the Lord Christ, whom they acknowledged to be the only author of salvation, and therefore they kept themselves free from popish filthiness. And God also sent almost in every age since the beginning of popedom men that were grave, godly, and learned, who grievously accused the pope's kingdom and tyranny (even as the prophets did of old time in the days of Jeroboam the idolatrous corruption), constantly requiring the reformation of the church from popish corruptions, and also teaching the true doctrine of salvation and the true use of the sacraments. And whereas a pure reformation by reason of antichrist's tyranny could not be obtained, there was notwithstanding found a continual study of purity and a godly desire of the

[1 outward, not in Lat.] [2 institutis, Lat.]
[3 Rather, hath placed himself.]
[4 imo in ipsum Dei templum vel ecclesiam, Lat.]

lawful use of the sacraments: even as I said there was in the elect members of the true church of God in the days of Jeroboam, Achab[5], Manasses, and in the time of the captivity of Babylon. But even as in those times the true prophets of God were not acknowledged for true prophets of the priests of Baal, but were condemned for schismatics and heretics; even so in certain ages past the bishops of Rome with their conspirators did excommunicate and persecute godly and learned men, who preached the word of God and called for the reformation of the church, and many of them did they put to death with fire and sword: which thing our Lord and Master himself with the prophets and apostles did foreshew should come to pass.

Moreover, God could undoubtedly reserve to himself a mighty church even under the papism; even as we doubt not but he hath done a very great under Mahometanism: for who will think that no members of the church of God are remaining in all Asia and Africa? Could not our merciful God with his mighty power, in that last calamity and ruin of God's church, reserve again (as sometime he did) seven thousand men, of whom never a one had worshipped the beast or received his mark? What hath been done in Turkey or what at this day is done, let them declare that can do it best and most rightly. What hath been done amongst us in these last ages no man can deny. Through the great goodness of God we see it is come to pass, that even as circumcision, the sign of God's covenant of old, was given unto the people of God even in the midst of the falling from God; so also at this day, in the greatest darkness of antichrist, most holy baptism was given to the Christians to be as a seal[6] of the forgiveness of sins and inheritance of the children of God. Surely the pureness of doctrine was profaned with infinite most gross traditions by the pope's sworn friends; yet in the mean time it was not altogether abolished. For, that I repeat not again any thing of the which I have said of godly and learned men, sent of God, crying for reformation of the church, and greatly profiting withal the children of God; was it not with a certain universal consent received for most certain and undoubted, that in the decalogue, or ten commandments, there was set down a short and most absolute sum of all the commandments

[5 Achas, Lat. omitted.] [6 in obsignationem, Lat.]

of God; and that in the Lord's prayer was taught us a most ample form of prayer unto God; and that in the apostles' creed was contained a most perfect rule of faith, or of that which was to be believed? Surely the custom was to recite the creed almost unto every one that was departing out of this world, and to those that lay even at the last gasp, as a most perfect rule of that faith which bringeth salvation[1]. Neither do we doubt that the merciful God and Father of mercies (who vouchsafed to save the thief upon the cross even at the giving up of his life) had mercy upon those that were oppressed with the tyranny of antichrist; and through his unmeasurable grace touched the hearts of men, both living and ready to die, and taught them by his Holy Spirit; and that they, confessing[2] one God the Father and Maker of all things, and one Jesus Christ the Son of God, redeemer of the world, to have suffered and risen again, and one Holy Ghost, and finally the holy catholic church, that he hath sanctified them[3], forgiving them all their sins, and hath translated the souls of such faithful men into life everlasting (according as they believed); into which place also we believe our flesh (being raised again) shall be carried in the end of the world. They have here therefore their answer also, who ask, Whether all our elders who died before these last times wherein the gospel is revealed be damned? Let therefore those that be alive rather look, lest for their contempt of the word of God and contentions raised against the word of God they come to worse end than their forefathers came. Therefore though we acknowledge not the popish church to be the true church, yet it followeth not thereof that there neither is or was any church of God in the earth. For we say that is the true church of God, which believeth in Christ and forsaketh not his word, which church also we have plentifully enough described. We know moreover that we ourselves, which at this day believe in Christ, are the true church of Christ our Lord: for[4] we cleave by faith to our only head Christ and to all the members of the catholic church; so we are not destitute of the true marks of the true church of God.

[1 Palmer's Antiq. of English Ritual, chap. viii. Vol. II. p. 224. Oxf. 1832.]

[2 Rather, and that he hath sanctified them, confessing, &c.]

[3 that he—them, should be omitted.]

[4 ut cohæremus, Lat.: as we cleave.]

But we read not, say they, that under the bishops, priests, and kings of the church of the Jews, either the prophets, that is to say, the guides of the faithful, or else the faithful themselves, did depart away from the high priest, from the king, and from[5] their universal church, and ordained unto themselves new particular sacrifices, as you at this day do: for you, departing from the bishop of Rome, from kings and governors, and from the universal church, do congregate unto yourselves a church far unlike the universal church both in preaching and ministering of the sacraments. Whereunto I answer, that the old fathers before the coming of our master Christ for a certain prescribed cause did not seek places to offer new sacrifices in, the temple being abused[6] and defiled with idolatry; for it was unlawful to offer sacrifice without the bounds of the temple; as is to be seen in the seventeen of Leviticus and the twelfth of Deuteronomy. Neither was there any other cause why that the people, being kept in bondage by the space of seventy years in the captivity of Babylon, offered no sacrifices; yet most certain it is notwithstanding, that both the prophets of God and the holy and true worshippers of God separated themselves both from the worship and sacrifices which were used, being contrary to the word of God. Surely we read in all the sermons of the prophets, that both those sacrifices and also that church are condemned. For which cause they themselves[7] also were condemned of the high priest[8] and other priests of Baal as most abominable heretics and schismatics; even as now-a-days also we are thrust through with the darts of your curses, for that we will not communicate with the popish church and her holy service, and do reject their holy service itself. To this may be added, that, the sacrifices of the law being now fulfilled and abrogated by the Lord[9], the apostles with manifest defection departed not only from the high priests and church of Hierusalem, but moreover gathered unto Christ a new church by the preaching of the gospel and badge of the sacraments; which church in the Acts of the Apostles we have described: and according to whose pattern all churches ought of right to be reformed, even

[5 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *or* from, vel ab, Lat.]
[6 occupato, Lat.] [7 vicissim, Lat. omitted: in return.]
[8 a pontificibus, Lat.]
[9 Rather, fulfilled by the Lord, and abrogated.]

Apostolic churches.

as many as would be called apostolic churches. What have we therefore offended now-a-days, reforming churches after the likeness of the apostolic church; which churches were of old profaned by that see of Rome and the members thereof? We read that the church of God before the coming of Christ in the flesh was oftentimes defiled with filthy pollutions of corrupt men, and that the same was purged again and renewed after the likeness of the old church, according to the word of God. And why should not we take the same course in our age in the very same cause?

Departure from the Romish church is commanded.

There remain moreover prophecies of our Saviour Christ and of the holy apostles and prophets, lively painting out this grievous oppression of the church of Christ under the fury of antichrist's tyranny in this our last age: there remain most weighty commandments, commanding to fly from antichrist, from idolatry and false prophets. For the Lord saith

Matt. xxiv.

in St Matthew's gospel: "There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; so that, if it were possible, they should deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before. Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth; behold, he is in the secret places, believe it not." And again:

Matt. vii.

"Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves." Also:

Luke vi.

"Can the blind lead the blind? shall they not both fall into

Acts ii.

the ditch?" St Peter also saith very gravely: "Save yourselves from this froward generation." And also in his second and third chapters of his second Epistle he entreats very largely of this matter. And also St Paul, agreeing in all things with the holy gospel and with St Peter, and painting forth antichrist and those last times of antichrist and corrupt men, not lights but firebrands of the church, commandeth the saints to depart from them, and to gather themselves together unto Christ and his sincere truth. If any man ask for the places, he shall find them, 2 Thess. ii.; 1 Tim. iv.;

1 Cor. x.

2 Tim. iii. and iv. The same apostle in another place, even as

1 John v.

the apostle John, doth also say: "Fly from idolatry." And

2 Cor. vi.

in the sixth chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians by express words and most manifest opposition he sheweth, that there can be no agreement between Christ and Belial, light and darkness, and between idols and the temple of

God. And therefore he addeth by and bye after: "Wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves, (saith the Lord,) and touch none unclean thing, and I will receive you." To this appertaineth that which the blessed apostle John in his Revelation shewed him by the Lord Christ, seeing the works[1] of Babylon, heareth also therewith a voice coming from heaven, and commanding after this manner: "Go out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." The same apostle very often threateneth everlasting destruction to those that worship the beast, but life and glory to those that forsake and flee from the beast, so as they cleave only to the only Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ. Therefore that departure of ours from the see or church of Rome is not only lawful, but also necessary, as that which is commanded us of the Lord himself and by his holy apostles[2], unto whom unless we obey, we cannot be saved.

The kinds of falling away.

Otherwise we are not ignorant that fallings away are altogether abominable and to be blamed; amongst the which notwithstanding except we distinguish, it will not plainly appear what we either allow or disprove, either else what we follow or flee from. There is a defection of apostasy: in the which, through hatred of faith or religion, atheists or godless men, of mere ungodliness and contempt of God, with their wicked ringleaders Lucian and Julian the apostata[3], fall away from the sound and catholic faith, and finally from the fellowship of the faithful; and moreover do blaspheme and rail upon the christian verity, and either laugh to scorn or persecute the very church of God. There is also an heretical defection: that is to say, wherein with Valentine, Marcion, Arius, Manicheus, Artemones[4], and other such monsters, certain proud, arrogant, and malapert wicked persons, either refusing the very scripture or wresting[5] the same, despise

[1 fata, Lat.] [2 per sanctos apostolos, Lat.: not, *and* by.]

[3 Lucian, of Samosata, died A.D. 180: and Julian the Roman emperor declared his apostasy A.D. 361.—Mosheim, E. H. ed. Soames. Vol. I. p. 296.]

[4 Valentine an Egyptian, and Marcion, a native of Pontus, were of the Gnostic heresy in the second century; and Artemon in the same century denied the divinity of Christ: Manichæus, or Manes, arose in the third, and Arius in the fourth century.—Mosheim, E. H. Vol. I. pp. 199, 193, 205, 262, 381.] [5 interpolantes, Lat.]

and tread it under their feet; or else do deny, overthrow, and resist certain articles of faith and the sound and ancient[1] opinions of the church of God, and affirm the contrary, and so frame to themselves heretical churches, and depart from the true, ancient[1], and catholic church. There is, moreover, a schismatical defection: such as was the Donatists', who separated themselves from the true church of God under the pretence of obtaining a more absolute kind of holiness[2]; whereof I have spoken very largely but a little before. And the above remembered two kinds of defection are altogether abominable and wicked, even as also the third kind can by no means be defended. But none of all these kinds can be imputed unto us now-a-days, departing from the church of Rome. For the departure is void of all crime, which is made not from the true, but from the false church; not from the people of God, but from the persecutors of God's people; not from the articles of faith and sound opinions of the church, but from errors which obscure the articles of faith and from the wicked traditions and corruptions of men; which, moreover, is made not through any lightness, but of necessity; not for innovation[3], but for true religion's sake[4], that leaving the fellowship of darkness we may be gathered together again with Christ, the true light, and all his members. And in this sort now-a-days have we forsaken that see of Rome, flowing with false doctrine, idolatry, and the blood of innocent martyrs; and have embraced the doctrine of the gospel and of the apostles; and therefore Christ himself the head of the church, which is the fellowship of all saints believing in Christ. And this hitherto have I spoken by digression. I now return to the treatise of the catholic church, that I may make an end of those things which remain to be spoken.

And to that end, that greater light and force may be added to those things which I have hitherto spoken of the church, I will now bring out certain parables out of the holy scriptures, whereby those things are[5] as it were painted out

[1 ancient, not in Lat.] [2 See Vol. I. p. 161, note 5.]

[3 non novandi, Lat. All the editions read *invocation* for *innovation.*]

[4 propter veram fidem recuperandam, secundum testimonia æternæ veritatis, Lat. omitted: that we may recover the true faith, according to the testimonies of eternal truth.]

[5 quibus illa statuitur, Lat.: whereby it (i. e. the church) is, &c.]

before our eyes. And so shall it be easy for every man to put a difference between the inward and the outward church; and to know what either appertaineth properly to every one, or else what is not proper.

The church is the house of God.

First of all, the church is set forth unto us under the shape and fashion of a house. A house is builded to this end, that men may dwell in it; and it is builded by workmen of matter of all sorts, of wood, of stones, and mortar, the foundation being first laid, upon which are set walls, which are joined together with a corner-stone: last of all is added or placed aloft the roof, without which the whole building, by little and little rotting, would fall down and decay. I said that the church is the house of God, the chief master-builder whereof is God himself; who in the figure thereof, that is to say, in the tabernacle made by Moses and temple builded by Salomon, did deliver both unto Moses and David the fashion of the temple, according to which pattern they should build it. For God from the beginning kept the angels that they should not fall; but repaired man, being fallen into sin and death, even straightways after the beginning of the world sanctifying a church unto himself, which he also severed out, compassing it about with his word. And this fashion of the church it is altogether needful that we keep, and that we receive not any other fashion, either of emperor or pope, or delivered by any other man. The true master-builder of this house of God[6] saith in the gospel: "Upon this rock I will build my church." For the same Son of God is he that maketh us worthy of his kingdom; he giveth us faith, by which we are made true members of the church of God. But albeit the Lord himself be the only and principal builder of his church, yet he refuseth not the labours of men in the building; yea, rather he joineth men with him in building of the church, whom also he vouchsafeth to call master-builders[7]. For Paul saith: "As a skilful master-builder I have laid the foundation." And again: "Who is Paul, and who is Apollos, but the ministers by whom ye believed, and as the Lord gave to every man? I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." Again: "We

Matt. xvi.

1 Cor. iii.

[6 veri Dei domus, Lat.] [7 architectos, Lat.]

together are God's labourers[1]: ye are God's husbandry and God's building." We will make the matter plain by an example.

What time God would raisē up a house unto himself
Acts x. among the Gentiles, first of all he endued with his grace Cornelius, the governor of the Italian band placed by Cæsar[2], or the captain and centurion: by and bye after, sending the apostle Peter, he prepared and made ready that house for himself. For Peter teacheth and baptizeth; Cornelius with his household hearkeneth, believeth, is baptized, and becometh the house of God, the true church; which church the Lord dwells in by his Spirit. For even as a house is dwelt in by men, so God dwelleth in the church: as Paul witnesseth,
1 Cor. iii. saying, "The temple of God is holy, which ye are." Again:
1 Cor. vi. "Know you not that your body is[3] the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you?" &c. The foundation of this house
Isai. xxviii. is Christ; for Christ saith by Esay: "Behold, I put or lay in Sion (that is to say, in the church) a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation. He that believeth shall not make haste." Which prophecy the Lord expounding in St Matthew's Gospel, and applying it to himself as the foundation of the church, saith unto Peter confessing Jesus to be the true Son of the living God[4], the Messias
Matt. xvi. that was looked for: "And upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not overcome it." There is moreover to be added hereunto the exposition of St Peter the apostle, who, reciting the very same words of the prophet
Psal. cxviii. Esay, and alluding to that saying of David, "The stone which the builders refused is[5] the head of the corner," saith
1 Pet. ii. Acts iv. expressly, that Christ is that "living stone, refused of men, but chosen of God, a sure foundation, upon whom whosoever stayeth shall not be confounded." And also Paul the apostle
1 Cor. x. agreeth with Peter, for he saith: "And the rock was Christ."
1 Cor. iii. And again: "Another foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ." Therefore, whereas
Ephes. ii. he in another place nameth the self-same foundation the foundation of the prophets and apostles, it is not so to be

[1 Dei sumus cooperarii, Lat.]
[2 apud Cæsaream, Lat.: at Cesarea.]
[3 corpora vestra sint, Lat.]
[4 veri Dei, Lat.] [5 factus est, Lat.]

taken, as if the apostles and prophets were the foundation of the church; but that they laid Jesus Christ for the foundation of the church, and builded the whole building upon this foundation, yea, even themselves also. For mortal men cannot be the object of faith, and foundation of the church, whereupon the faithful may stay. David crieth: "The way of God is uncorrupt: the word of the Lord is tried in the fire: he is a shield to all that trust in him. For who is God, besides the Lord? And who is mighty (or a rock)[6], save our God?" And Jeremy saith: "Thus saith the Lord, Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and withdraweth his heart from the Lord. Blessed be the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is." So the writings of the prophets and apostles with one consent shew us the rock, that is to say, the foundation of the church, to be Christ, and that it is he only and alone. Psal. xviii. Jer. xvii.

Greatly do they err therefore, whosoever they be, that do attribute to the bishop of Rome this divine praise, power, and prerogative, which is due only to the Son of God. And if so be it that they object, that many interpreters, both Greek and Latin[7], have understood by the rock Peter himself; we refuse man's authority, and do affirm and bring forth heavenly authority. Christ said not, I will build my church upon thee, but upon a rock; and that self-same rock that thou hast confessed. Yea, and Peter taketh his name of Petra, which signifieth a rock[8], even as a Christian of Christ. And Peter also himself by the rock understood Christ. Hereunto maketh the authority of Paul, saying: "The rock was Christ." And, "Other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ." For David before said: "Who is God, besides the Lord; or who is a rock, save our God?" These testimonies I repeat not unadvisedly: for all those that are not beside their wits will confess there is more credit to be given to these most manifest testimonies, witnessing Christ only to be the rock and placing him for the foundation of the

Peter or the bishop of Rome is not the foundation of the church.

Matt. xvi. 1 Cor. x. 1 Cor. iii.

[6 who hath any strength, Prayer-Book Ver.: who is a rock, Auth. Ver.]

[7 Tertullian. de Pudic. cap. 21. Cyprian. Epist. ad Jubaian. and Cornel. and De Unit. Eccles. § 3. Chrysost. Homil. 69. in Petr. Apost.]

[8 which—rock, the translator's explanation.]

church, than unto those that teach both Peter and the bishop of Rome, together with Christ, to be rocks and foundations of the church. I will use no sharper speech at this time against them, forasmuch as it is most manifest unto all men what manner of men they be, most unworthy to be reckoned with Peter, but most worthy to be counted amongst Simoniacs. Peter foresaw what manner of men they would be; and therefore, lest any man should be deceived by them, he painted them out in their colours in the second chapter of his second epistle. But leaving them, we will return to the exposition of the parable we had in hand.

Who be God's house.

The matter of the house, as the walls and other parts, are faithful men, builded upon the foundation Christ. Which thing those famous and principal workmen of this building, Peter and Paul, witness and explain in these words. Peter saith:

1 Pet. ii.

"To Christ ye come as unto a living stone, disallowed of men, but chosen of God, and precious. And ye, as lively stones, be made a spiritual house, and holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." And

Ephes. ii.

Paul saith: "Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building coupled together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord: in whom ye are also built together to be the habitation of God by the Spirit." By the

Christ the corner-stone.

authority therefore of the apostles we learn, that Christ is the corner-stone in the house of God, who, lest the walls should fall down, coupleth them together, and upholdeth the whole building. He is also the roof of the church, that is to say, the defender and ruler, under whose defence the church liveth safe, happy, and blessed. Hereunto appertaineth the

The tabernacle and temple figures of the church.

consideration of the tabernacle of Moses, and of the temple of Salomon: for either of them is called the house of God. The tabernacle was distinguished into the holiest of all, the holy place, and the court: and albeit these several parts be named, yet is it called one house of the Lord, because there is but only one universal church, which nevertheless hath, as it were, her parts. "The holiest of all" is a figure of the triumphant church in heaven, where are our fellow-servants and brethren, the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and all the blessed

spirits. There doth Christ our Lord appear always in the sight of God; who is our ark, wherein is contained the treasures of the church, which is the fulfilling of the law, the certainty of the covenant, and our propitiation; thence have we[1] our oracles. In this part of the temple all things are sumptuous, gold and precious stones; for in heaven perfect joy is attained. In the temple are forms of angels, palms and flowers, for because in the life to come the elect shall be as the angels of God. Here they that do overcome are green for evermore. "To him that overcometh," saith the Lord, "will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God." Here all things shine: for in Christ and in the life to come we shall be made bright. "The holy place" representeth unto us the militant and inward church, sanctified with the blood of Christ; which hath not a shew of godliness only, but godliness itself: for by faith they cleave fast unto God, and with mutual charity they are knit together amongst themselves. They serve God in spirit, hearing God's word, and being partakers of the sacraments. In the holy place therefore Salomon placed ten candlesticks, ten tables, and ten caldrons; for in the church the saints are daily lightened, nourished, and purged through repentance. Finally, "the court" received the whole assembly of the people; for the church is the assembly of all those that profess faith, having also hypocrites mingled with them. Between the holy place and the court or porch are two pillars in Salomon's temple, dedicated[2] to the posterity of David; for it is Christ that beareth up the church, by whom the way is open into the church. Through the benefit and power of Christ the church hath obtained, that, if she continue in Christ, she should also be "the pillar and ground of the truth." But besides[3] the tabernacle and temple of God there is no place, but in the church, wherein God receiveth the service done unto him; God is only favourable in the church of his saints[4]. Let the Jews, Turks, and Saracens, therefore, do works which in outward shew are never so excellent, yet without Christ and his fellowship no man pleaseth God.

Rev. ii.

Again, the church of God is compared by Esay to a most excellent vine, who saith by plain words: "The vineyard of

The church is God's vine. Isai. v.

[1 redduntur nobis, Lat.]
[2 inscriptæ, Lat.]
[3 extra, Lat.]
[4 Cf. Vol. II. pp. 147, 153.]

the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Juda are his pleasant plant." And also in the gospel our Lord in the parable of the vine plainly expoundeth, that men are the branches of this vine. Yea, and in John he saith: "I am that true vine, and my Father is an husbandman. Every branch that beareth not fruit in me he taketh away; and every one that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. I am the vine, you are the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing. If a man bide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and withereth; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they burn." There is one church therefore; for it is one vine. Out of her come branches, partly fruitful, and partly unfruitful: for both the good or godly and true worshippers of God, and evil men or hypocrites, are counted to be in the church; but hypocrites in their time are cut off, and thrown into everlasting fire. That the good remain in the vine, and are not cut off but bring forth fruit, that are they indebted for to Christ, the foundation of the church, and also the head and preserver of the same; who by his spiritual and lively juice makes them fruitful in good works. Herein most evidently appeareth the knitting together of the head and the members, Christ and the faithful; whereof we spake at first, and of which the Lord addeth in the gospel: "If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask what you will, and it shall be done to you."

The church is the kingdom of God.

Moreover, this church of the faithful is called the kingdom of God: for the Son of God himself, Christ Jesus, is the king of the church, that is to say, of all the faithful; who by his Spirit and word governeth the church; and she again willingly submitteth herself to his government. Neither are there found many kingdoms in the world, because there is one only King of glory, Christ. Of this king and kingdom I have entreated in the seventh sermon of my fourth decade.

The church is shadowed out by man's body.

Now we have also said oftentimes, that the church is likened to man's body. In the body the head is the chief, which is never absent from the body; and being stricken off, leaveth a dead body void of sense. And albeit this have very many members, yet is there a most pleasant agreement

of them all amongst themselves; every one agreeth and consenteth together amongst themselves: they are sorry one with another, and help each one another. The same thing likewise do all faithful people perform one towards another, that one member doth to another member. They are united to their head Christ by faith; the head itself is joined to the members through grace and the Spirit. Christ is never separated from the church: neither hath she life elsewhere but from Christ; who although he be absent in body from the militant church, yet is he continually present in spirit, in operation, and in government: so as he needeth no vicar in earth, since he governeth alone, and continueth for ever the only head, the only king, the only priest and saviour of his church. For the Lord saith in Ezechiel: "I will raise up over my sheep a shepherd, who shall feed them, to wit, my servant David: he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David shall be their prince among them. I the Lord have spoken it." This last thing he added, lest any should doubt of the faith and certainty of those things which are spoken. God is the eternal truth, and he hath spoken it: therefore that which he hath spoken cannot but be most true. But what hath he spoken? That there shall be and is one pastor and prince of the church. Behold, that he said one, is not without signification. But who is that one? He expoundeth that, and saith, "My servant David," to wit, Christ Jesus, that branch of David's posterity, whom the authority of the gospel calleth everywhere the Son of David. He shall be a shepherd, not in name and title only, but in deed; for he shall feed his sheep, and therefore shall be in the midst of them. For in the gospel he saith expressly: "Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." And again: "Behold, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." Now, if he be present with his church, she hath no need of a vicar; for a vicar supplieth the place of him that is absent. Wheresoever therefore Christ his vicar is acknowledged, there is no Christ, and therefore there reigneth antichrist. This will be made as yet much more clear and sure, if we weigh what it meaneth, that Christ is said to be the head of the church. The head is the life, salvation, and light, or that which giveth light to the church, the supreme governor of the

Ezek. xxxiv.

Matt. xviii.

Matt. xxviii.

The church of God hath no vicar.

The head of the church.

faithful, who both can and will always be present to the whole congregation of saints, of all ages, and dispersed throughout the whole world; hear her prayers and requests, and moreover send her succour in all things: and briefly, who is able perfectly to govern the whole church, and both provide for[1] and bring to pass all her matters, and that in all things. But this privilege, as I think, thou canst give to no creature without blasphemy and sacrilege: only therefore Christ, perfect God and man, is and remaineth the only head of the church.

The pope is not the head of the church.

Those that acknowledge the pope of Rome to be the head of the church militant either know not what they do and say, or willingly and wittingly do blaspheme the Son of God, whom they will not have to reign over his church alone.

But let us now hear the testimonies of St Paul the apostle of this matter. "God," saith he, "hath raised up Christ from the dead, and set him at his right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principalities and powers, and might and domination, and every name that is named, not in this world only, but also in that that is to come: and hath made all things subject under his feet, and hath appointed him over all things, to be head to the church; which is his body, even the fulness of him that filleth all in all things." Behold, Christ is the head, for he ruleth all things in heaven and in earth; he governeth all things; he hath all things subject unto himself; and maketh the church his body, ministering unto her those things whereof she hath need, and fulfilling all her desires.

Ephes. i.

Again, the same apostle saith: "Christ is the head of the church, and the same is the saviour of the body." It is the part of the head to preserve and govern the body: but that no man performs, but only Christ. He remaineth therefore the only head of his church; specially since the church is the spiritual body of Christ, and therefore cannot have a carnal head, without you will make of the church a poetical monster: for Christ is the head of the church, not because he is man, but because he is God and man.

Ephes. v.

But and if the defenders of the Romish idol and champions of the monarchy of Rome by the head do understand the prince or governor in earth, as Saul in the scripture is called the head over Israel, and so do understand the chief bishop ruling in the chief see; let them again hear the scrip-

[1] sarcire, Lat.]

ture itself confuting their filthy error, and saying: "And there arose also a strife among the apostles, which of them should seem to be the greatest. But Jesus said unto them: The kings of the Gentiles reign over them, and they that bear rule over them are called gracious lords[2]. But ye shall not be so: but let the greatest among you be as the least; and the chiefest, as he that serveth. For who is greater, he that sitteth at table, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at table? and I am among you as he that ministereth." That primacy therefore of the church of Rome is of men; it is not of the doctrine or institution[3] of Christ: yea rather, quite contrary it is and repugnant unto the institution, doctrine, and example of Christ; who will not have the apostles or apostolic men to reign like unto the princes of this world. He instituted ministers of the church, who should serve the church. She sitteth at the table; the ministers set that food before her which they receive of the Lord, and rightly divide the word of the Lord. Did not Christ himself refuse a crown upon earth, and did not he that is Lord of all minister? Doth not he himself disallow that any minister should seek any prerogative, no, not in respect of eldership? "He that is greatest among you (saith he) let him be as the younger." He therefore commandeth an equality amongst them all. And therefore St Jerome judgeth rightly, saying, that by the custom of man, and not by the authority of God, some one of the elders should be placed over the rest, and called a bishop; whereas of old time an elder or minister[4] and a bishop were of equal honour, power, and dignity[5]. And it is to be observed, that St Jerome speaketh not of the Romish monarchy, but of every bishop placed in every city above the rest of the

Luke xxii.

Hierome in his commentaries upon Titus, and in his epistle to Evagrius.

[2 benefici, Lat.] [3 traditione, Lat.]

[4 or minister, not in Lat.]

[5 Hæc propterea, ut ostenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse presbyteros quos et episcopos: paulatim vero, ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur, ad unum omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam. Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex ecclesiæ consuetudine ei qui sibi præpositus fuerit esse subjectos; ita episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine, quam dispositionis dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores.—Hieron. Comment. in Ep. ad Tit. cap. 1. Opp. Tom. IV. par. 1. col. 413. Audi et aliud testimonium, in quo manifestissime comprobatur eundem esse episcopum atque presbyterum, &c.—Hieron. ad Evangelum. Ep. 101. Opp. Tom. IV. par. 2. col. 803. Par. 1706.]

ministers. Which thing I bring not out, to that end we should stay upon the authority of man; but to that end I might shew, that even by the witness of man it may be proved, that that majority, as they call it, hath not the original from the Son of God and from God's word, but out of man's brain[1]; and that therefore both Christ remaineth the only head of his church, and the bishop of Rome is nothing less than the head of the church militant. And therewithal we cleave most stedfastly to the sacred and holy gospel, and to the undoubted doctrine of the apostles; which doctrine taketh away all pride of supremacy, and commendeth unto us a faithful ministry and the equal authority and humbleness of the ministers; the apostles again witnessing and saying: "Let a man so think of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and disposers of the secrets of God."

The church is the sheepfold of Christ.

Hereunto belongeth almost the whole tenth chapter of John, wherein the Lord named himself the true and also the only shepherd of the universal church. The only sheepfold of this shepherd is the catholic church, gathered together by the word out of the Jews and Gentiles. And[2] sheep of this fold are all the faithful people in the world, hearing and giving themselves over wholly to be governed by this chief shepherd Christ: who albeit he also communicate this name of pastor, or shepherd, unto the ministers appointed to the ministry of the church, yet notwithstanding, he retaineth unto himself the charge of the chief shepherd, and also the chief power and dignity. Men that are pastors of churches are all ministers, and are all equal: Christ our Lord is the universal pastor, and chief and Lord of pastors. The more worthy diligence and trust is in the pastors, the more worthy it maketh them. Therefore, when the Lord

John xxi.

said unto Peter, "Feed my sheep," he committed not unto Peter any empire either over the world or over the church, but a ministry to the behalf of his redeemed. "Teach," saith he, "and govern with my word, my sheep; my sheep, I say, whom I have redeemed with my blood;" for Paul

Acts xx.

saith: "Take heed unto yourselves, and to the whole flock, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." The bishop of Rome therefore is deceived, who by

[1 ex arbitrio hominum, Lat.] [2 Proinde, Lat. : Therefore.]

the Lord's word spoken unto Peter thinketh that full power is given unto him over all in the church[3]. Let the apostle Peter himself be heard, talking with his fellow-elders, and as it were opening those words of the Lord spoken unto him: "The elders that are among you," saith he, "I beseech, 1 Pet. v. which am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed. Feed the flock of God, which dependeth upon you[4], caring for it not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind. Not as though ye were lords over God's heritage[5], but that ye may be ensamples to the flock." Peter speaketh not of any empire and lordship, yea, by express words he forbids lordly dignity. For even as he is appointed of the Lord a minister and an elder, not a prince and a pope[6]; so also he appointed no princes in the church, but ministers and elders, who with the word of Christ should feed Christ's flock, and that willingly and lawfully, all wicked devices at once set apart. Hereto belongeth the whole thirty-fourth chapter of Ezechiel, which a little before we alleged. But had not the heart been hardened and the eyes blinded of the bishop of Rome and his, they should long ago have seen, that they could in no part nor by no means have been numbered amongst the shepherds of the church and disciples of Peter. They would at least have marked that sentence of their own Gregory, which sentence he reciteth unto Maurice the emperor, almost in these words: "I affirm boldly, that whosoever he be that calleth himself the universal priest, is a forerunner of antichrist." And anon after: "But forasmuch as the truth itself saith, Every one that exalteth himself shall be brought low, thereby I know that every puffing up is so much the sooner broken, how much the greater it is swollen[7]." These are his sayings.

The office of a pastor is not a lordly dignity.

[3 Cf. Jewel's Apology, &c. ed. P. S. p. 289.]

[4 quantum in vobis est, Lat. and Erasmus.]

[5 neque ceu dominium exercentes adversus cleros, Lat. and Erasmus.]

[6 summus pontifex, Lat.]

[7 Ego autem fidenter dico, Quia quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat... antichristum præcurrit... Sed quoniam veritas dicit, Omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur, scio quia quælibet elatio tanto citius rumpitur, quo amplius inflatur.—Gregor. Mauricio Augusto. Opp. Tom. IV. Epist. 30. p. 203. Rom. 1591.]

The church is the spouse of Christ. John iii.

Last of all, the estate[1] of Christ and the church is shadowed out by the similitude of marriage between the husband and the wife; for Christ is called the husband of the church, and the church is called the spouse of Christ. John iii. St John saith to his disciples: "Ye yourselves are my witnesses, that I said, I am not the Christ, but that I am sent before him. He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice. This my joy therefore is fulfilled. He must increase, but I must decrease." And in the prophets this allegory is very Ezek. xvi. common. In a certain place is feigned a damsel, despised and polluted, to lie in her filthiness; and a certain nobleman cometh by, who, plucking her out of the mire, and making her clean from her filthiness, and also sumptuously apparelling her, chose her unto his wife. And albeit this allegory declareth that heavenly benefit which God shewed unto his people, being in bondage in Egypt, by the wonderful deliverance and adopting them into his peculiar people; who, notwithstanding, seeth not, that all mankind from his first original is defiled with sin and wickedness, and sticketh fast in the mire of hell? Who knoweth not, that the Son of God came down from heaven, and washed all mankind in his blood; and having purged her, hath joined to himself a glorious church, having neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing? Surely, by marriage is made a mutual participation in common between those that are contracted of all their goods, and as it were a certain knitting together into one body, not to be dissolved. Therefore when Christ took upon him our flesh, both he became ours in all things, and we also Ephes. v. are members of the same body, of his flesh, and of his bones. In us there is infirmity, sin, and death: the same things hath our husband also taken unto himself, that he might make them hurtless unto us. In Christ our husband is justification, sanctification, and life; the same things doth he communicate unto us his spouse, that in him we might be just and holy, and might live through him.

The church or mother begetteth children.

Of that lawful joining together of the Lord and the church are born lawful children unto God; whereupon the church is called a mother, and a freewoman, that is to say,

[1 negotium, Lat.]

a matron and mistress. For the apostle Paul saith: "Jeru- Gal. iv.
salem which is above is free; which is the mother of us all." For even as through the joining of man and woman together, by propagation of seed, are born children: so Christ hath coupled the church unto himself, wherein he hath left the seed of his word. By the word our mother, the church, begetteth children (whereof before I admonished you, when I spake of the original of the church[2]); that is to say, whiles she, retaining the seed of the word, by the preaching of the word doth fashion and nourish us in her womb, and after bringeth us forth into light; whom afterwards she nourisheth 1 Cor. iii. Ephes. iv.
with milk, and bringeth up with stronger meat, until we grow up into a perfect man. But even as without a husband, without true faith plighted, and without seed, there is no mother; even so the church without Christ, without true faith and the seed of God's word, is not that our mother, that is a free woman, and our mistress. We have by these things by the way learned, why the church of God is called a mother. The same notwithstanding is also called a virgin; The church a virgin.
for of this holy mother, the church, the Lord before all things requireth faith and integrity. For the apostle Paul saith: 2 Cor. xi.
"I have coupled you to one man, to present you a chaste virgin unto Christ." Therefore it is the part of the spouse, to bring unto her husband for her dowry her virginity, and to keep the same undefiled. But what manner of virginity is that? Sincere faith in Christ, which wholly, or with all her mind, cleaveth for ever unto one: which cometh to pass, when we give ear only to our spouse, and love none but him alone; to be short, when we persevere in the simplicity of the gospel. For it followeth in the words of the apostle: "But I fear, lest it come to pass that, even as the serpent deceived Eve with his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupt from the simplicity that is in Christ." That simplicity acknowledgeth Christ to be the means[3] of salvation, the recovery[4] of life and all heavenly treasures; without whom there is no salvation, nor no good thing. But who will call her a chaste matron, who giveth ear to bawds, and setteth her heart also upon the love of others, neither contenteth herself with her husband only? Will not all men cry out that she is a naughty pack, and an adulteress, lying with others, Adultery and fornication.

[2 See above, p. 26.] [3 compendium, Lat.]
[4 recapitulationem, Lat. cf. Vol. I. p. 156, note 1.]

and bringing forth children of strange seed? And in the holy scriptures spiritual adultery and fornication is much spoken of: all the sermons of the prophets are full of such allegories. They call those men or churches adulterers, whoremongers, and fornicators, which receive strange seed, that is to say, doctrine differing from the word of God: for such as they, going a whoring from God, cleave not unto God only; they love not alone him with all their heart; they do not worship, serve, and call upon him only; yea rather, they choose unto themselves others, whom they may worship and call upon either instead of God, or together with God. Hereunto pertaineth a good part of the fifth chapter of Jeremy, and all the second chapter of Osee. Amongst other things the Lord saith: "I will not have compassion upon her children, because they are children of fornications: for their mother hath played the harlot; for she hath said, I will go after my lovers," &c.

The church of Rome is not the holy mother church.

Since these things are thus, brethren, there is no cause why any man should[1] reverence the church of Rome, decking herself with the title and beauty of the holy mother, the church; for she is not the holy mother church, she is not an uncorrupted matron and virgin. For where is the husband, who is the only husband of this chaste matron? where is the faith and integrity kept with her husband? hath she not defiled herself with strange seed? hath not she received and taught a new and strange doctrine from the word of God, and by that means begetteth many children, not to Christ, but to antichrist? St John, beautifying this church with her apt title, calleth her, "Great Babylon, the mother of whoredoms and abominations of the earth; and a woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesu Christ." Our holy mother, the church, is an undefiled virgin, hearing only the voice or doctrine of her only well-beloved husband, placing all the means of life and salvation in him alone, and depending only upon him in all things.

Rev. xvii.

With many other allegories doth the scripture paint out the mystery of Christ and the church: but thereof it sufficeth to have spoken thus much. The Lord Jesu, the true and only Shepherd of his church, bring home again lovingly the wandering sheep into his fold; and being gathered together in his church, preserve them for ever. Amen.

[1 hodie, Lat. omitted: at this day.]

OF THE MINISTRY, AND THE MINISTERS OF GOD'S WORD; WHEREFORE AND FOR WHAT END THEY ARE INSTITUTED OF GOD. THAT THE ORDERS GIVEN BY CHRIST UNTO THE CHURCH IN TIMES PAST WERE EQUAL. WHENCE AND HOW THE PREROGATIVE OF MINISTERS SPRANG, AND OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE BISHOP OF ROME.

THE THIRD SERMON.

THE exposition touching the church of God shall be trulier understood, brethren, by those things which remain to be spoken out of the word of the Lord concerning the ministry and ministers of the church. For I said, the church of God is builded and preserved by the word of God; and that, through ministers appointed for that purpose by the Lord: so that now it followeth to speak of the ministers of the church, and of their ministry, that is, of that order wherewith God governeth his church.

And truly, the ecclesiastical ministry is extended both to stir up, and also to maintain, public prayers and the administration of the sacraments, and especially it is occupied in preaching of the word of God. Of the two former I will speak in place and time convenient: of the ministry of the word I will entreat at this present.

In consideration whereof, first it is expedient to view, wherefore God in instructing men useth the aid or ministry of men; and what men perfect[2] or work in the ministry itself, and what God. He verily, for his exceeding goodness and mercy toward us, coveteth to pour himself wholly into us, (which I think good to repeat often, that it may be the deeper rooted in our hearts, and that we also may bethink ourselves what we owe unto God,) that we may both be strengthened and blessed in him; and may perfectly understand his will to us-ward, and finally our duty whereby we be bound unto him. As he therefore furthereth our salvation very diligently in all things, so, lest there should be anything wanting to true doctrine, he himself cometh forth to instruct

Wherefore God useth the ministry of men in building his church.

[2 præstent, Lat.: supply.]

men. But such is our weakness and corruption through sin, we cannot abide the meeting of his eternal and wonderful[1] majesty: which is apparent by much communication[2] of God had with our fathers, but especially at his meeting with the whole church of Israel in mount Sina. For when he came down on the mount, not without glory and heavenly[3] majesty, and uttered with his own mouth a brief sum of his whole religion and of all the laws, (which sum we call the decalogue, or ten commandments,) the people, being astonied with his divine majesty, said unto Moses: "Talk thou with us, and we will hear: but let not God talk with us, lest we die." And God, receiving this offer, said: "I have heard the voice of the words of this people, which they have spoken unto thee: they have well said all that they have spoken. Oh that there were such a heart in them, that they would fear me, &c." Insomuch that this manner of teaching by men, which men themselves have chosen for themselves, God[4] will have to be perpetual, and never to be broken: so as when he sent his Son into the world, he clothed him with flesh, that he might after that manner speak[5] unto us by him.

Exod. xix. xx.

Deut. v.

By the ministry of the word God worketh salvation in his church.

God indeed might by the secret illumination of his Spirit, without man's ministry (as his power is tied to no creature), regenerate the whole world, and govern the church itself: but as he despiseth not his creatures, nor destroyeth the work of his own hands, and doeth all things in order; even so from the first beginning he forthwith spake to the world by patriarchs, then by prophets, afterward by apostles; neither at this day ceaseth he to give unto the world doctors and pastors: so that it becometh us not to tempt God, that is, not to look for a secret inspiration with the heretics Enthusiastæ[6]; but to acknowledge a just order, and that God himself speaketh unto us by men, of whom he would have us to learn religion. The eunuch of Candace, queen of Ethiopia, did read the holy scriptures, and the Lord could have taught him by secret

Acts viii.

[1 immensæ, Lat.] [2 ex multis colloquiis, Lat.]
[3 divina, Lat.] [4 Deus quoque, Lat.]
[5 Rather, and after that manner spake, &c.]
[6 So the Messalians or Euchites were called.—Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Book II. Cent. 4. Part 2. chap. v. § 24. ed. Soames. note 5. Vol. I. p. 409. But Bullinger probably referred to a sect of the Anabaptists, called Enthusiasts. See Bulling. adv. Anabapt. Lib. II. cap. 1.]

inspiration the mystery[7] of faith; but he giveth him Philip to be a teacher and an interpreter. Likewise Paul, the doctor of the Gentiles, taken up into the third heaven, and instructed by Christ himself, not by men, of all the principles of our religion, is nevertheless referred over unto a man called Ananias. The angel of God is sent to Cornelius, captain of the Italian band, being at Cæsarea, which might have instructed him in all points of true religion; but he willeth[8] him to call for Peter the apostle: "He (saith the angel) will tell thee what thou must do." For this cause ministers are called saviours: they are said to convert men: their word is called, not the word of man, but the word of God; he which despiseth them, seemeth to despise God himself. It is also said, that they themselves do bind and loose, and retain and forgive sins. For Abdias the prophet saith, that saviours shall ascend into the mount Sion; which many[9] interpret of the apostles. Paul, pleading before king Agrippa, and rehearsing the words of God which came unto him in a vision, saith: "I send thee unto the Gentiles, to open their eyes, that they may be turned from darkness to light, &c." And[10] Gabriel the archangel said before that, speaking of John, "He shall go before the Lord with the spirit and power of Elias[11], to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just men." Moreover, the apostle to the Thessalonians, "We thank God (saith he), because when ye had received of us the word of the preaching of God[12], ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is indeed, the word of God, which worketh also in you that believe." Again: "He therefore that despiseth these things[13], despiseth not man, but God, who hath even given you[14] his Holy Spirit." For the Lord saith in the gospel: "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me." And again: "Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven." And again: "Whose

Gal. i. Acts ix. Acts x. Acts xxvi. Luke i. 1 Thess. ii. 1 Thess. iv. Luke x. Matt. xviii. John xx.

[7 negotium, Lat.] [8 jubet, Lat.: cf. Vol. I. p. 86.]
[9 nemo non, Lat.]
[10 Etenim, Lat.: For.]
[11 in spiritu Holiæ, Lat.: and power, not in Lat.]
[12 quo Deum discebatis, Lat., and Erasmus.]
[13 rejicit nos, Lat. The Vulgate reads, hæc spernit.]
[14 in nos, Lat., but Erasmus, in vos.]

sins soever ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose sins soever you do retain, they are retained."

Let every thing be given to him that it belongeth: I mean, both to God and the minister.

But some, wresting these places of the holy scripture against the natural sense, do give the ministers an equal power in a manner with Christ; and that which only pertaineth unto him, they communicate also unto them. But they say, that by such means the ministry must be set out, lest it wax vile and of no estimation among profane men. Other some again so speak of the inward drawing of the Spirit, that they seem as it were to make superfluous, or to take clean away, the outward ministry, and to attribute nothing at all unto it. Therefore the ministry must be limited with his bounds, lest it be drawn hither and thither with the affections and lusts of men, and either too much or too little be attributed unto it. Let the ministry indeed be beautified and kept in authority, but let it be done without the dishonouring of God. Neither indeed becometh it us, under the pretence of the ministry, to attribute that to man's labour which is only God's office, on whom all men ought to depend, and unto whom, as the only well-spring and giver of all godliness[1], they ought to have respect. Therefore the faithful ministers of the Lord Jesus ought only to have regard hereunto, that they may keep the glory and authority of Christ unblemished, and his priesthood sound unto himself in every point. For the Lord Jesus himself, sitting at the right hand of the Father in the true tabernacle, which God pight[2] and not man, remaineth a priest, yea, the only high priest of his church for ever, executing as yet all the duties of a priest in the church. For he, as the only teacher and master in the church, teacheth his disciples, that is, the church or congregation of the faithful; enduing them with the Holy Ghost, regenerating and drawing them, sanctifying and making them free from their sins: which thing the scripture in every place plainly teacheth. This glory, this power, he hath given unto none, neither doth any minister, unless he be blinded with devilish pride, take that unto himself, as though he did work these works that are proper unto Christ, either for Christ, or in Christ's stead, or together with Christ. The apostles, being Christ his most faithful ministers and most chosen instruments of God, did not give the Holy

Unto the office of the ministry belongeth the place of the 2 Cor. v.

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *goodness*. Omnis boni, Lat.]
[2 pight: pitched.]

Ghost, did not draw men's hearts, did not inwardly anoint men's minds, did not regenerate souls; they themselves did not deliver from sin, death, the devil, and hell: for all these things be the works of God, which he hath not communicated to any. Wherefore the most holy Baptist in plain words denied that he was Christ; he denied that he himself baptized with the Holy Ghost. "I (saith he) baptize with water: but he baptizeth with the Holy Ghost. I am the voice of a crier in the wilderness, Prepare the way of the Lord." And Paul, pleading his cause before Agrippa, wisheth of God that king Agrippa were such a one as Paul himself was, except his bonds: but such a wish had not needed, if he himself could draw, sanctify, and absolve. There are infinite other of this kind to be seen in the scriptures.

John i.

Acts xxvi.

Yet nevertheless the ministry of the church is not needless. The king's counsellors and officers have not equal power with the king, neither are they kings with the king or for the king; but for all that, their service is not in vain. Therefore that thing which Christ, the Son of God, who is the greatest, the best, and the chief high priest of his church, worketh in his catholic church inwardly and in their minds, as the only searcher of the hearts; the very same outwardly he declareth and testifieth by his ministers, whom the scripture for that cause calleth witnesses, ambassadors, or messengers. "You (saith the Lord to his apostles) shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning." And Paul saith: "I am ordained a preacher[3], and an apostle, and a teacher of the Gentiles." Therefore the same apostle, in another place, calleth the same gospel both a testimony, and preaching, of our Lord Jesus Christ[4]. And John the apostle affirmeth, that he was banished into the isle of Pathmos "for the word of God, and for the witnessing of Jesus Christ." And therefore when ministers bear witness of the Son of God, and out of his word promise life everlasting, their word is not called man's word, but the word of God; and they are said to save, and to release from sin; for they are the true messengers and heralds of the King, who is the deliverer, who hath sent them to publish remis-

The ministry is not appointed in vain.

John xv. Acts i.

1 Tim. ii.

Rev. i.

[3 præco evangelii, Lat.]

[4 1 Cor. i. 6; 2 Tim. i. 8, *testimonium*; 2 Tim. iv. 17, *præconium*; Erasmus, and Bibl. Lat. Tigur. 1544.]

sion of sins[1]: whereupon also they attribute all the means of life, salvation, and delivery, to the only deliverer Christ.

1 Cor. iii. iv. Paul in another place calleth ministers, "fellow-labourers with God;" and afterward again, "disposers of the secrets of God." For the salvation which the Son of God hath only wrought, and which he also only giveth, the ministers preach or dispose[2], and so they are "fellow-labourers." The same apostle out of the doctrine of the gospel, which resem-

Matt. xiii. bleth the teacher in the church to one that soweth seed, compareth the ministers to gardeners and planters of trees; to whom he committeth the outward manuring, reserving

1 Cor. iii. the inward working to Christ our Lord, saying: "Who is Paul then, and who is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed; and as the Lord gave to every man? I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase."

With which testimony of the scripture Augustine being instructed, learned so to speak and write of the ministry of the church, as nothing should be diminished from the glory of God, which inwardly moveth and teacheth us; and yet in the mean time the office of the ministry should not be taken away, or despised as unprofitable. For in his epistle *ad Circenses*, which in order is accounted the 130, speaking of the secret drawing of God and the outward ministry of men: "These are not (saith he) our works, but God's; I would not at all attribute these things unto man's working: no, not if, when we were with you, so great a conversion of the multitude through our speaking and exhortations should happen. That thing he worketh and bringeth to pass, who by his ministers outwardly warneth by tokens or signs of things; but by the things themselves he inwardly teacheth by himself." Thus far he. But lest it might seem to any man, that he spake too briefly and sparingly, and not worthily enough, of the ministry of the church, even he himself immediately addeth, and saith: "Neither therefore ought we to be more slow to come unto you, because whatsoever is done praiseworthy among you cometh not of us, but of him which alone doth wonderful things; for we ought more carefully to run to behold the works of God than our own works; because

[1 of sins, not in Lat.] [2 dispensant, Lat.]

even we ourselves, if we have any goodness in us, we are his work, and not man's. Therefore the apostle said: 'Neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase[3].'" The same writer, speaking of the very same thing in his twenty-sixth treatise upon John: "All the men of that kingdom (saith he) shall be such as are taught of God; they shall not hear by men: and though they hear by men, yet that which they understand is inwardly given; it shineth inwardly; it is inwardly revealed. What do men in preaching outwardly? What do I now when I speak? Make you to hear a noise of words with your ears. But unless he reveal it, which is within, what say I? or what speak I? The outward workman is the planter of the tree, and the inward is the creator. He that planteth, and he that watereth, worketh outwardly; that do we: but neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase. This is the meaning of, 'They shall be all taught of God[4].'" Thus far Augustine.

Wherefore, when in another place St Paul saith, "Ye are the epistle of Christ, ministered by us, written not with 2 Cor. iii.

[3 Non sunt hæc opera nostra, sed Dei; non hæc humanis operibus omnino tribuerem; nec si cum apud vos essemus tanta conversio multitudinis nobis loquentibus et hortantibus proveniret. Hoc agit ille et efficit, qui per ministros suos rerum signis extrinsecus admonet, rebus autem ipsis per seipsum intrinsecus docet... Nec ideo pigrius moveri nos oportet ad visendos vos, quoniam quicquid in vobis laudabile est factum, non a nobis, sed ab illo factum est, qui facit mirabilia solus. Multo enim alacrius debemus accurrere ad spectanda opera divina quam nostra, quia et nos, si quid boni sumus, opus illius, non hominum sumus. Unde apostolus dixit, Neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat; sed qui incrementum dat, Deus.—August. Ep. 130. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 124. col. 4. Par. 1531.]

[4 Omnes regni illius homines docibiles Dei erunt, non ab hominibus audient. Etsi ab hominibus audiunt, tamen quod intelligunt intus datur, intus coruscat, intus revelatur. Quid faciunt homines forinsecus annunciantes? Quid facio ego modo cum loquor? Strepitum verborum ingero auribus vestris: nisi vero revelet ille qui intus est, quid dico, quid loquor? Exterior cultor arboris, interior est creator. Qui plantat et qui rigat, extrinsecus operatur; hoc facimus nos: sed neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat; sed qui incrementum dat, Deus. Hoc est, Erunt omnes docibiles Dei.—Id. Tract. in Joan. 26. Tom. IX. fol. 47. col. 1. See also Vol. I. p. 86.]

ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in stony tables, but in fleshy tables of the heart;" we must diligently put a difference between the work of the Spirit, and the work of man or of the minister. The minister doth not take on him the honour of God and the work of the Spirit, but his own work, that is to say, the ministry. Paul preacheth, and writeth with ink; but the Spirit of God moveth the heart; and with his grace, or anointing, he writeth in the very heart: so he worketh together with God, Paul working his proper work, and the Spirit working his work. The apostles are preachers and ministers of the gospel, not of the letter, but of the Spirit: not that they give the Holy Ghost, but because they are preachers of the gospel, that is, of that which giveth the Spirit of Christ[1], yea, which poureth it into the believers: but they are not preachers of the letter of the law, which doth not give grace and remission of sins, but worketh wrath and bringeth sin to light. Touching the keys and the power of the keys, there will be elsewhere a more fit place to speak. And moreover it seemeth that here is a meet place for those things, which I have disputed of in the first sermon of this decade, touching the power and ministry of the church.

Again; whereas the Lord useth in teaching his church man's help, and us as labourers together in finishing the salvation of mankind[2], he sheweth most evidently how greatly he loveth us, and how much he esteemeth of us; who hath laid up so great a treasure in earthen vessels, and even in us ourselves worketh whatsoever is most excellent, and overcometh all the high excellency of the world. Whereby we learn again to attribute all the glory unto Christ, Paul again
2 Cor. iv. teaching us, and saying: "We preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake. For it is God, that commanded the light to shine out of darkness, who hath shined in our hearts, for to give the light of knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us. We are afflicted on every side, yet are we not in distress, &c."

Moreover, all the members of the ecclesiastical body are

[1 prædicatores evangelii, id est, Christi spiritum conferentis.]
[2 of mankind, not in Lat.]

wonderfully glued together by the ecclesiastical ministry: for this chiefly helpeth to make concord and continue unity, because we want mutual instruction; and unto every church is one peculiar pastor appointed as a governor, as it were some faithful householder, governing and keeping in order his whole family. Truly it cannot be denied, that in time past that[3] most exquisite order[4] of the tabernacle, and temple, and the tribe of Levi consecrated to the priesthood, were to this end ordained of God: which as soon as that ungodly king Jeroboam through wicked presumption forsook, he rent the kingdom in pieces, and at the length utterly overthrew both his own house and the whole kingdom[5]. St Paul also, speaking of the ends of the holy ministry instituted of God, doth not forget the unity of the ecclesiastical body; whereunto also he joineth other notable good things. If any man desire his words, they are these: "He instituted ministers, for the gathering together[6] of the saints, for the work of the ministry, and for the edification of the body of Christ: till we all meet together in the unity of faith, and knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, and unto the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ: that we henceforth be no more children, wavering, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the deceit of men, and with craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but let us follow the truth in love, and in all things grow up into him, which is the head, that is, Christ," &c. These ends of the ecclesiastical ministry are manifest in the preaching of the word of God. God hath instituted a ministry in the church, that all the members may be brought into the unity of the body, and that they may be subject and cleave to Christ their head, that thereby we may grow to be of full age, and become perfect men; that we be not always children, and that we lie not open to the deceits and bewitchings of all heretics; but, being joined together in true faith and charity, let us hold fast the pure and simple truth of Christ; and serving Christ unfeignedly in this world, we may after death reign with him in heaven.

The end of the ministry.

Ephes. iv.

Out of these things let us also derive this; that the eccle-

[3 totum, Lat.: all that.]

[4 cultum, Lat.]

[5 See Vol. II. p. 128.]

[6 instaurationem, Lat. and Erasmus.]

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siastical ministry, though it be executed by men, yet is it not of man, that is to say, invented by man. For the beginning thereof is from heaven, and the author or institutor thereof is God himself; and therefore the worthiness of it doth greatly excel.

The beginning of the ministry, and the worthiness thereof.

The first preacher in paradise was God himself, yea, the Son of God himself: who by the ministry of the Holy Ghost always spake to the fathers; even as afterwards, being incarnate, he was given of the Father to be a master and teacher to the whole world. He preached unto our parents, Adam and Eve, remission of sins and repentance. He ordained and revealed a sacrifice, instead of a sacrament; wherein might be represented and ratified[1] unto them the price of the redemption, promised by the seed in time convenient to be paid, &c. There succeeded in the ministry Adam with his sons and nephews, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noe, Sem, Abraham, with their sons and nephews, even unto Moses; in whose time, while he governed the church, and after him, there are given prophets and priests, even unto the time of John Baptist and Jesus, the promised seed, I mean Christ, our king and high priest. He in like wise[2] sent into the world his disciples, that is to say, the apostles, who ordained for their successors bishops and doctors: of which thing I have spoken more largely in another place[3]. God himself therefore is heard in the voice or doctrine of his ministers; so that we are commanded to give ear to the ministers, preaching the gospel, as to the very angels of God, yea, as to the Lord himself. „For this cause Paul praiseth the Galatians, saying: "Ye despised not neither abhorred my trial which was in the flesh; but received me as an angel of God, yea, as Christ Jesus." Whereupon St Augustine also in his thirtieth treatise upon John: "Let us hear (saith he) the gospel, as if the Lord were present; and let us not say, Oh, happy are they who could hear him: because there were many of them which saw him, and yet consented to kill him, and many among us who have not seen, and yet believed. For that also which sounded precious out of the mouth of the Lord, is both written for our sakes, and kept for us, and is also read for our sakes, and for our posterity's sake shall

Gal. iv.

How ministers are to be heard.

[1 obsignaretur, Lat.] [2 rursus, Lat.]
[3 De Episcoporum Instit. et Funct. cap. 5.]

be read unto the end of the world. The Lord is above; yea, and the Lord, which is the truth, is here also. For the body of the Lord wherewith he rose may be in one place, but his truth is spread abroad everywhere. Let us therefore hear the Lord, and that also which he shall give us of his words[4]." Thus much he. The Lord, our high priest, speaketh unto us even at this day by the ministers preaching his word. And[5] we have all things, whatsoever the Lord spake by the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, set out in the scriptures, which the ministers of the church do read and declare before us. Who therefore hereafter can despise the ministry and the faithful ministers of Christ, especially since our Lord and Saviour took upon him the ministry, and was made the apostle and minister of the church of the Jews? What and if those first ministers were such, as no age, in any doctrine of religion, in holiness and excellency, had their fellows, much less their betters? At this day, insomuch as they are the last times, wherein scoffers and epicures have their full range, the ministry of God's word is of no value. But if you run over and weigh all the ages, even unto the beginning of the world, you shall find that the wisest, justest, and best men in the whole world had nothing in more reverence than the word of God, and the prophets, and the holy apostles of God.

Rom. xv. Heb. iii.

That the ministry of the word of God remaineth in the church.

But before we proceed any further in other things belonging to this matter, we will make answer to some, which, even under the pretence of the holy scriptures, endeavour to pervert the ministry of the word. For they allege this text of Jeremy: "No man shall teach his neighbour, for all shall know me[6]." As we deny not that Jeremy hath so written;

Jer. xxxi.

[4 Nos itaque sic audiamus evangelium tanquam præsentem Dominum, nec dicamus, O illi felices, qui eum videre (Bullinger read audire) potuerunt: quia multi in eis qui viderunt, et occiderunt; multi autem in nobis qui non viderunt, et crediderunt. Quod enim pretiosum sonabat de ore Domini, et propter nos scriptum est, et nobis servatum est, et propter nos recitatur, et propter posteros recitabitur, et donec seculum finiatur. Sursum est Dominus, sed etiam hic est veritas Dominus. Corpus enim Domini, in quo resurrexit, uno loco esse potest: veritas ejus ubique diffusa est. Dominum ergo audiamus, et quod ipse donaverit de verbis ejus.—August. Tract. in Joan. xxx. Opp. Tom. IX.]

[5 Imo, Lat.: Nay.] [6 Bullinger. adv. Anabapt. Lib. II. cap. 4.]

so we say, by that kind of speech and figurative saying that he meant nothing else, than that the knowledge of God and heavenly things should be very common in the whole world; which Joel also foretold would come to pass, and which Peter allegeth in the Acts, second chapter. In the meanwhile these two prophets, as also all other very often, do make mention of the teachers of the church, whom the Lord should send unto his people: which they would not have done, if they had understood that all preachers should be taken clean away. Whereas other object, that all have the office of teaching committed alike unto them, to wit, parents to teach their children, and every one to admonish his neighbour; therefore that there is no need of the ministry of the word of God in the church: it is sophistical. For all of us can and ought privately to teach and admonish our children and our neighbours; but therefore the public ministry of the word of God is not superfluous. For the same God, which commanded parents and us all that they should instruct their children in godliness, and that every one of us also should teach and admonish our neighbours, hath given public ministers unto the church. It is their office to teach openly or publicly in the church; neither is this permitted to whomsoever will, but only to them that be lawfully ordained; lest happily, if other teach, they should not go forward in the right path; for then it were lawful for every one, being inspired with the Spirit of God, at what time and place soever, both soberly to gainsay and to affirm the truth. Therefore the public ministry of the word remaineth nevertheless, and that perpetually, in the church.

How all may teach.

Deut. vi.

Thus much have we spoken in general of the ministry and the ministers of the word of God. Now that which remaineth of this matter we will discuss by their kinds and parts. And first we will shew what orders, or what offices, the Lord hath instituted from the beginning, or whom he hath put in authority in the holy ministry of the church; then, what manner men, and after what sort, it is meet for us to ordain ministers; last of all, what manner of office it is that they have, that are ordained in the church. And that we be not troublesome unto you, beginning a long discourse from the patriarchs, we will begin at our Lord Christ himself; of whom Paul the apostle speaking: "He that descended," saith he, "is even the same which ascended up far above all heavens, to fulfil all things.

What orders the Lord hath instituted in the church.

And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and doctors, to the gathering together of the saints, into the work of ministration, into the edifying of the body of Christ:" and so forth, as is read in the fourth chapter to the Ephesians. Therefore our Lord ordained apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and doctors, by whose labour he meant to build, preserve, and govern the church.

Let us now see what the scripture teacheth us of them. Apostles. Apostle is a new name, given of the Lord himself to those twelve, which he chose peculiarly, and ordained teachers and masters to (all) nations. For thus we read in the sixth of Luke: "The Lord called his disciples: and of them he chose twelve, whom also he called apostles." Luke vi. For apostle signifieth, one that is sent, a messenger, ambassador, or orator; for in the gospel after St John we read: "The apostle (or messenger) is not greater than he that sent him." John xiii. And truly, there is very often mention made of sending, in the prophets and in the old Testament[1]; from whence it seemeth the Lord borrowed that name. We read of no certain bounds appointed to the apostles; for the Lord saith in the gospel: "Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel to all creatures." Mark xvi. These are the master-builders of the first church of God, from whom among ancient writers they took the name of apostolic churches; those, I mean, which the apostles first founded: as was the church at Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, and many other mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.

The name of a minister and[2] prophet is exceeding large: whereof is spoken in another place[3]. Prophets in this place are they which excel in singular revelation, and by whom the Lord foretelleth things that shall come to the church: such a one as we read Agabus was, which both foretold to St Paul the famine which was to come, and his bonds[4]. Prophets. Acts xi. xxi. Wise and godly men, endued with a singular gift of interpreting the scripture, in times past were called prophets: as it may appear by the words of the apostle, 1 Corinth. xiv. chapter.

An evangelist is a preacher of the gospel of Jesus Christ, sent with apostolic authority. Such we read were Philip and Timothy, &c. Evangelists.

[1 in antiqua historia, Lat.]

[2 minister and, not in Lat.] [3 See Vol. I. p. 49.]

[4 rather, which both foretold the famine, &c. and to St Paul, his bonds.]

Pastors. Pastors watch over the Lord's flock, having care of the Lord's people, feeding the church with the word of truth, and keeping the wolves from the sheepfolds. The chief of these John x. xxi. is that good Shepherd, Christ, which saith unto Peter, "Feed my sheep;" whereby he also joineth himself to shepherds.

Doctors or teachers. Doctors or teachers have their names of teaching. Neither do I see what they differ from shepherds, but that they did only teach, and in the meanwhile were not burthened with the care that belongeth to the pastor: of which sort in a manner are the interpreters of scriptures, and governors of christian schools.

There are also found other names of the overseers of the church in the scriptures. The apostle Paul saith unto the Bishops. Acts xx. shepherds, gathered together in the council at Miletum: "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God." But bishops are called superintendents, seers, keepers, watchmen, and rulers. The people of Athens called them, whom they sent to their tributary cities subject unto them, diligently to see and mark what they did in every city, ἐπισκόπους[1] and φύλακας, that is to say, spies and watchmen[2]. The apostles called bishops watchmen, and keepers of the Lord's flock, and the stewards of Christ, or disposers of Elders. the secrets[3] of God in the church. And presbyter, an elder, hath his name of age and ancient years. In times past the care of the commonwealth was committed unto the elders, as to those that were exercised with manifold experience and long use of things; for governors of cities are both called seniors and senators. And as commonweals have their senators, so hath the church her elders; as it appeareth in the Acts xiv., xv., xx., and xxi. chap. It seemeth that the ordaining[4] of elders came into the church out of the synagogue; for thus Numb. xi. we read in the book of Numbers: "Gather unto me (saith he) threescore and ten men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people, and officers over them; and I will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and put upon them, and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee,

[1 Budæi Comment. Ling. Græc. (p. 290. 1529.) apud Bullinger. Expos. in Heb. v. 5. 6. p. 673. Tig. 1537.]

[2 The interpretation is the translator's.]

[3 mysteriorum, Lat.] [4 constitutio, Lat.]

lest thou be constrained to bear it alone." Wherefore the elders in the church of Christ are either bishops, or otherwise prudent and learned men added to bishops, that they[5] may the more easily bear the burden laid upon them, and that the church of God may the better and more conveniently be governed. For Paul saith: "The elders that rule well, let them be counted worthy of double honour; most specially they which labour in the word and doctrine." There were therefore certain other in the ecclesiastical function, who albeit they did not teach by and bye[6], as did the bishops, yet were they present with them that taught in all businesses. Perhaps they are called of the same apostle elsewhere governors, that is to say, which are set in authority concerning discipline and other affairs of the church. 1 Tim. v. 1 Cor. xii.

And because we are come thus far in this present treatise, we will also declare other names of offices in the church. There is much speech in the scriptures of deacons, and, among ecclesiastical writers, of priests. In the primitive church the care of the poor was committed to deacons; as it is plainly gathered out of the sixth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. There are also laws to be seen, which are prescribed unto them by the apostle in the first to Timothy, the third chapter. The office of deacons was separated from the function of pastors; and therefore we do not reckon them in the order of pastors. The ancient fathers referred them to the ministry, but not to the priesthood. We read also, that women, not wedded, but widows, ministered in the primitive church; and among other Phebe, of the church of Cencrea, highly praised of the apostle, is very famous. But he forbiddeth women to teach in the church, and to take upon them public offices. How therefore, or in what thing, did women minister in the church? Undoubtedly, they ministered unto the poor in duties appertaining to women. They ministered unto the sick; and with Martha, Christ's hostess, they did with great care and diligence cherish the members of Christ: for what other offices could they have? Deacons. Women deacons. Rom. xvi. 1 Cor. xiv. 1 Tim. ii.

Moreover, the name of priest seemeth to be brought into the church out of the synagogue; for otherwise ye shall not find in the new Testament the ministers of the word of God and of churches to be called priests, but after that sort that Priests.

[5 episcopi, Lat.: the bishops.] [6 continue, Lat.]

1 Pet. ii. all Christians are called priests by the apostle Peter. But it appeareth that the ministers of the new Testament, for a certain likeness which they have with the ministers of the old Testament, of ecclesiastical writers are called priests; for as they did their service in their tabernacle, so these also, after their manner and their fashion, minister to the church of God. For otherwise the Latin word is derived of holy things, and signifieth a minister of holy things: a man, I say, dedicated and consecrated unto God to do holy things. And holy things are not only sacrifices, but what things soever come under the name of religion; from which we do not exclude the laws
2 Sam. viii. themselves, and holy doctrine. In the old Testament we read that David's sons were called priests[1]: not that they were ministers of holy things, (for it was not lawful for them, which came of the tribe of Juda, to serve in the tabernacle, but only to the Levites); but because they, living under the government and discipline of priests, did learn good sciences and holy divinity.

There is an interchanging between those names.

Here it seemeth it must not be dissembled, that those names, which we have entreated of, are in the scriptures one[2] used for another. For Peter, the apostle of Christ our Lord, calleth himself an elder; and in the Acts of the Apostles he calleth the apostleship a bishoprick. For St Paul also calling the elders together at Miletum, and talking with them, he calleth them bishops; and in his epistle unto Titus he commandeth to ordain elders town by town, whom immediately after he calleth bishops[3]. And that they also are called both doctors and pastors, there are none so gross-headed to deny.

What manner of order remaineth in the church.

Now by all these things we think it is manifest to all men, what orders the Lord himself ordained from the beginning, and whom he hath consecrated to the holy ministry of the church, to govern his own church. He laid the foundation of the church, at the beginning, by apostles, evangelists, and prophets; he enlarged and maintained[4] the same by pastors and doctors. To these elders and deacons were helpers: the deacons in seeing to the poor; and the elders in doctrine, in discipline, and in governing and sustaining other weightier

[1 chief rulers, Auth. Ver.: princes, marg.: Heb. כֹּהֲנִים *priests.*]

[2 frequens, Lat. omitted: often.]

[3 1 Pet. v. 1; Acts i. 20, xx. 28; Tit. i. 5.]

[4 consecravit, Lat.]

affairs of the church. Nevertheless, it appeareth that the order of the apostles, evangelists, and prophets, was ordained at the beginning by the Lord unto his church for a time, according to the matter, persons, and places. For many ages since, and immediately after the foundation of Christ's kingdom in earth, the apostles, evangelists, and prophets ceased; and there came in their place bishops, pastors, doctors and elders; which order hath continued most stedfastly in the church: that now we cannot doubt, that the order of the church is perfect and the government absolute, if at this day also there remain in the church of God bishops or pastors, doctors also or elders. Yet we deny not, that after the death of the apostles there were oftentimes apostles raised up of God, which might preach the gospel to barbarous and ungodly nations. We confess also, that God even at this day is able to raise up apostles, evangelists, and prophets, whose labour he may use to work the salvation of mankind. For we acknowledge, that holy and faithful men, which first preach the truth of the gospel to any unbelieving people, may be called apostles and evangelists. We acknowledge that men inspired with singular grace of the Spirit, which foresee and foreshew things to come, and be excellent interpreters of the scriptures, or divines illuminated, may be called prophets; as we have shewed[5] elsewhere more at large.

Equality between bishops and elders.

But in the order of bishops and elders from the beginning there was singular humility, charity, and concord; no contention or strife for prerogative, or titles, or dignity; for all acknowledged themselves to be the ministers of one master, co-equal in all things touching office or charge. He made them unequal, not in office, but in gifts, by the excellency of gifts. Yet they, that had obtained the excellenter gifts, did not despise the greater[6] sort, neither did they envy them for their gifts. St Paul saith: "Let a man so esteem of us, as the ministers of Christ, and disposers of the secrets of God." The same Paul in more than one place calleth the preaching of the gospel the ministry; for that took deep root in the ancient bishops' hearts, which the Lord, when his disciples strived for dignity, and (as they say) for the majority, that is,

1 Cor. iv.

[5 ostendi, Lat.: Bullinger. de Episc. Instit. et Funct. capp. 1. and 5.]

[6 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, meaner: mediocres, Lat.]

which of them should be the greatest[1], setting a child in the
Matth. xviii. midst of them, said: "Verily, verily[2], I say unto you, Except ye turn, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." Truly the martyr of God, St Cyprian, standing in the council of the bishops at Carthage, wisely said[3]: "Neither hath any of us appointed himself to be a bishop of bishops, or by tyrannous fear compelled his fellows in office to necessity of obeying: since every bishop hath, according to the licence and liberty of his power, his own free choice; as if he might not be judged of another, since neither he himself can judge another. But let us all look for the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only and alone hath power both to prefer us in the government of his church, and to give sentence of our doing[4]." Thus far he. At that time, therefore, bishops contended not for I know not what primacy or patrimony of Peter; but that one might excel the other in pureness of doctrine and holiness of life, and mutually to help one another. And then undoubtedly the affairs of the church went forward prosperously; insomuch that, though the most puissant princes of the world should have persecuted the church of Christ with fire and sword, yet nevertheless against all the assaults of the devil and the world she had stood unmoveable, having won the victory, and had daily been more enlarged and also renowned. Oh happy had we been, if this order of pastors had not been changed; but that that ancient simplicity of ministers, that faith, humility, and diligence, had remained uncorrupted!

When the prerogative of bishops began, and in what sort.

But in process of time all things of ancient soundness, humility, and simplicity, vanished away; whiles some things are

[1 The translator's explanation.]

[2 Amen, Lat.: not repeated.]

[3 disertis verbis, Lat.: in express words.]

[4 Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit; quando habeat omnis episcopus, pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ, arbitrium proprium, tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest judicare: (Bullinger read, tanquam judicari ab alio non possit, cum nec ipse possit alterum judicare:) sed exspectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem, et præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi.—Cyprian. ap. Concil. Carthag. Opp. p. 229. Oxon. 1682.]

turned upside down; some things either of their own accord were out of use, or else are taken away by deceit; some things are added to. Verily, not many ages after the death of the apostles there was seen a far other hierarchy (or government) of the church[5] than was from the beginning; although those beginnings seem to be more tolerable, than at this day all of this same order are. St Hierome saith: "In times past churches were governed with the common counsel and advice of the elders: afterward it was decreed, that one of the elders, being chosen, should be set over the other; unto whom the whole care of the church should pertain, and that the seeds of schisms should be taken away[6]." Thus much he. In every city and country, therefore, he that was most excellent was placed above the rest. His office was to be superintendent, and to have the oversight of the ministers[7] and the whole flock. He had not (as we understood even now out of Cyprian's words) dominion over his fellows in office or other elders: but, as the consul in the senate-house was placed to demand and gather together the voices of the senators, and to defend the laws and privileges, and to be careful lest there should arise factions among the senators; even so no other was the office of a bishop in the church: in all other things he was but equal with the other ministers. But had not the arrogancy of the ministers and ambition of bishops in the times that followed further increased, we would not speak a word against them. And St Hierome affirmeth, that "That

You shall find more upon this place of St Hierome elsewhere, in these words: "Let no man think that the holy man speaketh of the primacy and monarchy of the bishop of Rome: for he speaketh of the bishops of every several province. For in St Hierome's time the liberty of the church as yet remained safe: therefore every several province chose unto themselves him that was best, whom they called both bishop, superintendent, and metropolitan[8]."

[5 in ecclesia, Lat.]

[6 — Communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur. Postquam vero... decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur ceteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur.—Hieron. Comment. in Ep. ad Tit. cap. 1. Tom. IV. par. 1. col. 413. Par. 1706.]

[7 presbyteris, Lat.]

[8 This extract from Bullinger's treatise De Episcop. Instit. et Funct. cap. 16, fol. 143, is not given in edd. 1577 and 1584; nor in the folio Latin ed. of the Decades, Tiguri, 1552. It appears however in the octavo edition of the Latin Decades, "Londini excudebat Henricus Midletonus;" no date.]

preferment of bishops sprang not by God's ordinance, but by the ordinance of man. These things have we remembered," saith he, "to the end we might shew, that, among the old fathers, bishops and ministers were all one; but by little and little, that the plants of dissensions might be plucked up, all the care was committed unto one. Therefore, as ministers know, that they by the custom of the church are subject to him which is set over them; so let bishops know, that, rather by custom than by the truth of the Lord's disposition, they are greater than the other ministers; and that they ought to govern the churches together in common, following the example of Moses, who, when it was in his power alone to govern the people of Israel, chose out threescore and ten other, with whom he might judge the people[1]." Thus he writeth in his commentary upon the third chapter of the epistle of Paul unto Titus.

The dignity and prerogative of bishops increased.

But the ancient fathers kept not themselves within these bounds. There were also ordained patriarchs at Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome. There are appointed archbishops, or metropolitans; that is to say, such as have government over the bishops throughout provinces. And to bishops of cities, or inferior bishops, there are added such as were called chorepiscopi (or bishops of the multitude)[2]; that is to say, at such time as the country or region was larger than that the care and oversight of the bishop placed over the city would suffice: for these were added as vicars and suffragans, who might execute the office of the bishop throughout that part of the country. But we know that the functions of suffragans, or vicars general, in these last times, are of a far other manner in bishops' courts and dioceses. And also under deacons were placed subdeacons. And when wealth increased, there were archdeacons also created; that is to say, overseers of all the goods of the church. They as yet were not mingled with the order of ministers[3] or bishops, and of those that

[1 The former part of this quotation is given above, p. 87, n. 5. Jerome then proceeds: Et in commune (noverint episcopi) debere ecclesiam regere, imitantes Moysen, qui, quum haberet in potestate solus præesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit, cum quibus populum judicaret.—Hieron. Comment. in Ep. ad Tit. cap. 1. Opp. Tom. IV. par. 1. col. 413.]

[2 The translator's explanation.] [3 sacerdotum, Lat.]

taught; but they remained as stewards, or factors, of the goods of the church: as neither the monks at the beginning executed the office of a priest or minister in the church; for they were counted as laymen, not as clerks, and were under the charge of the pastors. But these unfortunate[4] birds never left soaring, until in these last times they have climbed into the top of the temple, and have set themselves upon bishops' and pastors' heads: for monks have been and are both popes, archbishops, and bishops; and what are they not? It is rehearsed out of the register of Gregory, that he (who nevertheless was very favourable to the monks) himself would put him out of the clergy, who being a monk would take the degree of an abbot; forasmuch as the one dignity would hinder the other[5].

Clerks. Clerks (who are the Lord's inheritance, or whose lot the Lord is) in times past such were called as were students, or professors of divinity[6]; that is to say, the very seed of pastors of the church, and such as were even as it were consecrated to succeed in the ministry of the church: that is, such as lived under government, and were trained up by the doctors and elders in the study of the liberal sciences and holy scriptures[7]. This institution is ancient, not new, neither invented by man; for in time past, among the old people of the Jews, they were called Nazarites[8]. And that the most excellent churches have continually had famous schools, even from the time of the apostles, Eusebius doth often witness[9]. But unto those students, the affairs of the church somewhat increasing, it seemeth that the charge of opening and shutting the temple or church was committed; and to prepare all things in the church; and further, to read openly before the people such places of scripture as the bishop appointed them. Whereupon, perhaps, the names of door-keepers and readers sprang, which are at

[4 inauspicatæ, Lat.]

[5 Presbyteros, diaconos, ceterosque cujuslibet ordinis clericos... abbates per monasteria esse non permittas.—Greg. Maximiniano Episc. Syracus. Regist. Lib. III. indict. 12. Epist. XI. p. 98. Opp. Tom. IV. Rom. 1591.]

[6 candidati theologiæ, Lat.]

[7 See Bingham, Antiq. Book I. chap. 5. § 7—9.]

[8 See Vol. II. p. 208.]

[9 See Bullinger, de Episc. Instit. et Funct. cap. 8. De scholis Christianorum priscis, &c.]

this day reckoned amongst ecclesiastical orders[1]. But they which were more familiarly present with the bishops and accompanied them, and were esteemed as those who after the decease of the bishops might succeed in their places, were called *Acoluthi*, as if you would say, "followers;" for it is a Greek word. And as in time, for the most part, all things become worse, even so these things, the further off from their first institution, the more filthily were they wrested. In some things you shall see nothing left but the bare name; some things utterly lost; some things are turned altogether to another use. And here for witness I allege Isidorus, Rabanus, Innocentius, Durandus, and other writers of this kind[2]. They make two sorts of ecclesiastical persons; one of dignity, another of order: of dignity; as pope, patriarch, primate, archbishop, archpriest, archdeacon, and provost: of order; as the minister[3] or priest, the deacon, &c. But some account six orders, other some eight. All with one accord do reckon doorkeepers or porters, readers or singers, exorcists, acoluthes, subdeacons, deacons, elders or priests. Those again they divide into greater and lesser orders. Among the greater orders are the priest or elder, the deacon, and the subdeacon. The rest are called the lesser orders; of which orders there remaineth nothing in a manner beside the bare name. The office of doorkeepers is turned over to the sextons, which they call holy-water clerks[4]. There are no readers; for that ancient reading is worn out of use. The psalmists, or singers, do understand nothing less than that they rehearse or sing. Touching the exorcists this they say: Josephus writeth, that king Solomon found out the manner of exorcism, that is, of conjuring, whereby unclean spirits were driven out of a man that was possessed by Eleazar the exorcist, so that they durst no more come again[5]. To this office they that are

[1 Horum mentio fit in Carthaginen. Concilio IV. Lat. marg. These are mentioned in the fourth Council of Carthage. Labb. et Coss. Tom. II. col. 1200. capp. 8, 9. Par. 1671.]

[2 Isidorus, Etymol. Lib. VII. cap. 12. Tom. III. p. 339. Rom. 1798. Rabanus, de Instit. Cleric. Lib. I. cap. 9. Opp. Tom. VI. Col. Agrip. 1626. Innocent. III. Epist. Lib. I. p. 44. Lib. II. p. 452. Opp. Tom. I. Par. 1682. Durand. Rational. Divin. Lib. II.]

[3 presbyter, Lat.] [4 ædituos, quos vocant sacristas, Lat.]

[5 Refert Josephus, regem Salomonem excogitasse modos exorcismi, id est, adjurationis, quibus immundi spiritus, expulsi ab homine,

named exorcists are called; of whom it is read in the gospel: "If I through Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children (to wit, your exorcists or conjurers) cast them out?" Thus much they say; which I rehearse to this end, that it may appear to all men, that these men are the very same of whom the apostle foretold that it should come to pass, that they "shall not suffer wholesome doctrine, but shall be turned unto fables." For who knoweth not, that it is most fabulous which is reported of Solomon? Who knoweth not, that the apostles of the Lord were not exorcists, neither used at any time any manner of enchantments or conjurations? For with a word they cast out unclean spirits, that is, by calling upon and by the power of the name of Christ. Those gifts[6] ceased long ago in the church of God. Those sons of Scæva the priest, in the Acts of the Apostles, were said to be exorcists; whom the evil spirit, though they called on the names of Jesus and Paul, ran upon, and tare the clothes from their backs, and so, by God's appointment, made known unto all men how much the eternal God is delighted with exorcists: and yet these fellows thrust them upon us as yet. Touching the acoluthes, or followers, thus they write: hear, I pray you, how trimly they reason. "The acoluthes," say they, "are wax-bearers, because they carry wax-candles. For when the gospel must be read, or mass is to be said, wax-candles are lighted, to signify the joy of the mind[7]." Who hearing these things will say, that these men do unlearnedly handle no mysteries? Subdeacons and deacons are no longer providers for the poor; but, being made ministers of superstition, they attend on the popish mass. The deacon's office is to sing the gospel; the subdeacon's, to sing the epistle. In few words I cannot express what foolish men do fondly chatter concerning these matters. Over these they have set an archdeacon, which is a name of dignity and preeminence[8].

Matth. xii.

2 Tim. iv.

Acts xix.

ulterius reverti non sunt ausi.—Rabani Mauri de Instit. Cleric. cap. 10. Opp. Tom. VI. p. 6. Col. Agripp. 1626.]

[6 ea gratia, Lat.]

[7 Acolythi Græce, Latine Ceroferarii dicuntur a deportandis cereis, quando legendum est evangelium, aut sacrificium offerendum: tunc enim accenduntur luminaria ab eis... ad signum lætitiæ demonstrandum.—Isidor. Etymol. Lib. VII. cap. 12.]

[8 See on the above mentioned orders of ecclesiastical persons, Bingham, Antiq. Book II. chap. 21; and Book III. chap. 1—7.]

Sacrificers, who are also called priests[1], are diversely distinguished; for there are regular priests, and secular priests. By regular priests they understand monks: whereas they are nothing less than those they are said to be. Truly, they resemble those that of old were called monks in no point of their doings: a great part of them are a rule and law unto themselves. Of these men some are doctors appointed to the office of preaching, but yet rather occupied in saying of their hours, and in singing and saying of masses: and these men sow superstition, and most obstinately defend it, and most bitterly do persecute true religion. Another sort, and the greatest part, of these monkish priests do nothing else but sing in the church, and mumble mass, and that for a very slender price. But you may sooner number the sands of the coast of Libya than the whole rabble of these. But they are unprofitable both unto God, and to the church, and also even to themselves; men utterly unlearned, and "slow bellies," and yet in the mean season sworn enemies to the truth of the gospel.

Popish regular priests.

Popish secular priests.

Among the secular priests, the chief are canons; which for the most part are idle persons, given over to voluptuousness, gluttons, and in very deed secular, that is to say, worldly[2]. They think they have gaily discharged their duty, if they make an end of the hours which they call canonical, and be present gazers on at the mass; and if they honour and beautify with their presence God's service, as they call it. They seem to be more strait, and not to be secular priests, who say mass both for the quick and for the dead. There are reckoned also in the number of secular priests parish priests, whom they call *Plebani;* that is, priests appointed for the people, who only represent some shadow of the old institution in this, that they preach and administer the sacraments; which nevertheless you cannot allow, because they minister them after popish traditions, and not after the doctrine of the apostles. And many other things they do by reason of their office, which godliness by all means doth disallow. There are added unto these hirelings, helpers or vicars. There are also joined unto these *Sacellani*, whom they call chaplains, of whom there is an exceeding number. These, even as the

[1 Sacerdotes qui et presbyteri, Lat.]

[2 The translator's explanation.]

monkish priests, do account the chief parts of their duty to be saying over their hours, but especially in massing: as for doctrine, they attribute nothing to it; for of this company you shall find some who never in all their life made one sermon. For the charge of preaching they commit only to their parish priests, and their vicars; they serve those gods, to whom their altar or their chapel is consecrated, &c. By all which things even unto blind men it plainly appeareth, how shamefully the first institution of ministers[3] or pastors is corrupted and turned upside down. They set over the priests archpriests. I have used that word in my preface or epistle in the beginning of the first decade[4]: and I hear that some brethren are offended at it, as though there stuck some piece of popish leaven still about us; or as though we thought to bring in again some unworthy dignity into the church. But I would not have those brethren to fear. With us there are no popish archpriests: neither understood I any popish dignity by that word, but the office of overseeing, which others call visiting. For they have the charge of all degrees in our country, in admonishing and correcting: they have no prelacy or superiority; they reap no rewards thereby, &c. Archpriests.

But we return to our purpose. They derive priests, or sacrificers, from the seventy disciples, whom it is read in the gospel that the Lord did choose; the order of bishops, from Peter himself, and the residue of the apostles. And immediately they divide the order of bishops into three parts; namely, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops[5]. They account the patriarchs the fathers of princes, or highest fathers; and them also they call primates. And primates, say they, have authority over three archbishops, as a king also hath authority over three dukes. Here I think cardinals have their place, in whom the church of Rome is turned as a gate upon the hinges; for in the Decretals of Gregory, *De Officio Archip.*, it is thus read: "Cardinals have their name *a cardine*," that Kinds of bishops.

[3 presbyterorum, Lat.]

[4 The dedicatory preface of the Latin original of the Decades is directed, "Clarissimis viris, Rodolpho Gualthero, Petro Symlero, &c. Decanis, seu *archipresbyteris*, &c. See Appendix.]

[5 Gratian. ap. Corp. Jur. Can. Decret. I. par. distinct. XXI. Tom. I. p. 26. Par. 1687.]

is, of the hinge of a gate; "for as by the hinge the gate is ruled, so by cardinals the universal church is governed[1]." Archbishops are, as it were, the princes of bishops: they are also surnamed metropolitans, because they have their government in the chiefest cities. In very deed metropolis with the Greeks is as it were a mother-city, from whence colonies are deducted, that is, people are sent to inhabit some new place[2]. Whereupon he is called the metropolitan bishop, who governeth some one province, and hath other bishops under him. And these are called both bishops[3], chief priests[4], and presuls. But if you compare all these things with that which I said before of the bishops and governors of the primitive church, you will say there is very great difference between them.

The pope or chief bishop.

But that which they write touching the pope, or chief bishop, is far[5] from the writings of the apostles and evangelists, and from the first ordaining of ministers made by our Saviour Christ. All those bishops, say they, our most holy lord, the pope, doth excel in dignity and power: who is called pope, that is, the father of fathers: he is also called universal, because he is chief of the universal church: and he is also called apostolical, and the chief bishop, because he supplieth the room of the chief of the apostles[6]. For he is Melchizedech, whose priesthood other are not to be compared unto, because he is the head of all bishops[7], from whom they descend as members from the head; and of whose power they all do receive, whom he calleth to be partakers of his care and burden, but not to be partakers of the fulness of power[8]. They therefore define the pope to be the

[1 Dicuntur cardinales a cardine: quia sicut in cardine regitur ostium, ita per istos debet in ecclesia regi officium: unde etiam dicti sunt cardinales, quia per eos regitur universalis ecclesia.—Gregor. Decretal. Lib. I. tit. 24. cap. 2. col. 319. Par. 1585.]

[2 This explanation is the translator's.]

[3 pontifices, Lat.] [4 antistites, Lat.]

[5 quam alienissimum, Lat.: as alien as possible.]

[6 Rather, and he is also called apostolical, because he supplieth the room of the chief of the apostles; and chief bishop (et summus pontifex, Lat.) for he is &c.—See Epist. Decretal. Tom. I. pp. 342, 448, 498, 553. Tom. II. p. 644, Rom. 1591.]

[7 pontificum, Lat.]

[8 Illius autem prælatus papa I. pater patrum vocatur; et univer-

supreme head of the church in earth, and the only universal shepherd of the whole world, who cannot err, neither ought to be judged of any man: for, they say, he is the judge of all men, having absolute power. For thus saith Innocent, the ninth, pope, in his third quest.: "Neither of the emperor, neither of all the clergy, neither of kings, nor of the people, ought the judge to be judged." Upon which place he that wrote the gloss writeth thus: "A general council cannot judge the pope; as appeareth in the Extravagants, in the title of election, cap. *Significasti.* Therefore, if the whole world should pronounce sentence in any matter against the pope, it seemeth that we must stand to the pope's judgment[9]." Hereunto pertain those common grounds of the clawback, flattering lawyers of the pope's court, very plausible and authentical: "That all the laws of the pope are to be received of all men, as if they proceeded from the very mouth of Peter[10]: That the authority of the pope is greater than the authority of the saints[11]: That the pope is all, and above all[12]: That God and the pope have one consistory;" which thing also Hostien. affirmeth, *In C. Quanto de Transl. præl.*[13]: "That the pope cannot be brought into order by any man, though he be accounted an heretic[14]: That he hath supreme power, neither

salis, quia universæ ecclesiæ principatur; et apostolicus, quia principis apostolorum vice fungitur; et summus pontifex, quia caput est omnium pontificum; a quo illi tanquam a capite membra descendunt, et de cujus plenitudine omnes accipiunt, quos ipse vocat in partem sollicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis.... Hic est Melchisedec, cujus sacerdotium non est ceteris comparatum.—Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lib. II. cap. I. 17. fol. 46. Lugd. 1565.]

[9 Neque ab Augusto, neque ab omni clero, neque a regibus, neque a populo, judex judicabitur.—Corp. Jur. Can. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Par. Caus. IX. Quæst. iii. can. 13, col. 877. Concilium non potest papam judicare, ut Extravag. de Elect. Significasti. Unde si totus mundus sententiaret in aliquo negotio contra papam, videtur quod sententiæ papæ standum esset.—Gloss. ibid. Papam nullus mortalium judicare potest.—Ibid. Caus. XII. quæst. II. col. 1238.]

[10 Sic omnes apostolicæ sedis sanctiones accipiendæ sunt, tanquam ipsius divini Petri voce firmatæ sint.—Agatho ap. Corp. Jur. Can. Decret. I. par. distinct. 19. Tom. I. p. 24.]

[11 The editor has not been able to verify this reference.]

[12 See Jewel's Works, ed. Parker Soc. Vol. I. pp. 69, 93, 443.]

[13 Consistorium Dei et papæ unum et idem est censendum. —Hostiens. de Transl. Episc. Opp. fol. 75. Par. 1512.]

[14 The editor has not been able to verify this reference.]

hath he any fellow[1]: That he hath all laws within his breast: That there is a general council where the pope is[2]: That he hath all laws in his breast[3]: That he hath both swords, whereby he may rightly be called an emperor; yea, that he is above the emperor: That he only can depose the emperor, and pronounce the sentence of the emperor to be of no effect: That he only may spare whom he will; and may also take away the right of one man, and give it to another; and finally, may take away privileges." To be short, they say, "he is lord of lords, and hath the right of the king of kings over his subjects; yea, and also hath fulness of power over the temporal things in earth[4]. Yea, and also the whole world is the pope's diocese, wherein he is the ordinary of all men[5]: and it standeth upon the necessity of salvation, that every man be subject to the bishop of Rome[6]." Hereunto, for

Read Anton. de Rosellis in his treatise of the power of the pope and the emperor.

[1 — eam potestatem (papæ) cui nulla par in terris esse potest. —Jo. Hieron. Albani. de Potest. Pap. par. II. num. 300. apud Tract. tract. tom. XIII. fol. 82. Venet. 1584.]

[2 The editor has not been able to verify this reference.]

[3 Romanus pontifex ... jura omnia in scrinio pectoris sui censetur habere.—Bonifac. VIII. Corp. Jur. Can. Sexti Decretal. tit. II. de Constit. cap. I. Tom. II. p. 285.]

[4 — est hodie apud pontificem gladius uterque et utraque jurisdictio. Par. I. cap. 11. Papa .... eum (imperatorem) deponit .... sic ipse solus dici debet monarcha. cap. 5. — nullas sententias principis esse declarat (pontifex). cap. 9. — fateri oportet pontificem Cæsare superiorem. cap. 44. Papa ... debet juste dici princeps regum terræ. cap. 12. — quoniam Christus fuit Dominus terrenorum et judex .... ergo et papa, vicarius ejus. cap. 17. Pontifex .... habet plenitudinem potestatis, et .... ei est commissa .... administratio temporalium. Par. II. cap. 7. — cui (pontifici) cuncta temporalia et spiritualia subsunt. cap. 3. Papa solus omnibus et in omnibus præest. cap. 4. — in terris dicitur habere cœleste arbitrium.—Anton. de Rosellis de Monarchia, apud Goldast. Hanov. 1611. The treatise abounds with similar statements.]

[5 ... cum dominus Papa sit judex ordinarius omnium hominum. Decret. Gregor. IX. Lib. II. tit. XXVIII. Gloss. in cap. 59. col. 962. Par. 1585. Universa Christianitas provincia sua (i.e. papæ) intelligitur. Hostiens. Aur. Sum. Lib. I. cap. 6. fol. 36. Colon. 1612.]

[6 Igitur ecclesiæ unius et unicæ unum corpus, unum caput .... Christus videlicet, et Christi vicarius, Petrus, Petrique successor; dicente Domino ipsi Petro, Pasce oves meas .... per quod commisisse sibi intelligitur universas .... In hac ejusque potestate duos esse gladios, spiritualem videlicet et temporalem, evangelicis dictis instruimur ... Si suprema (potestas, i.e. ecclesiastica, deviat) a solo Deo,

conclusion, I will add the words of the glosser, who saith, *In Ca. Quinto de Transl. Episcopi.* Tit. vii. "The pope," saith he, "is said to have a heavenly power; and therefore he altereth the very nature of things, by applying the things that are of the substance of one thing unto another: and of nothing he can make something; and that sentence which is of no force he can make to be of force; because in those things with him, what he willeth, his will is instead of reason. Neither is there any may say unto him, Why dost thou so? for he can dispense above the law, and of unrighteousness make righteousness, correcting and changing laws; for he hath the fulness of power[7]." Thus far he.

But who heareth these things without horror both of body and mind? Who understandeth not, that the saying of Daniel is fulfilled, "He shall think that he may change times and laws?" Who understandeth not, that the saying of Paul[8] is fulfilled, who saith, "I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock; also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them?" For from bishops, and from them that advance bishops, came forth this man of sin; who placeth himself in the throne of the Lamb, and challengeth those things to himself which are proper only to the Lamb: of which sort are the supreme government, priesthood, lordship, and full power in the church; whereof I have spoken enough in the former sermons. Whom doth it now not move to think, that that saying of Paul is fulfilled, "The adversary, or enemy[9] of Christ shall be revealed, and

Dan. vii. viii.

Acts xx.

2 Thes. ii.

non ab homine, poterit judicari.... Porro subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.—Bonifac. VIII. de Majorit. et Obed. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. tit. 8. cap. 1. Corp. Jur. Can. tom. II. p. 394. Par. 1687.]

[7 Papa dicitur habere cœleste arbitrium: et ideo etiam naturam rerum immutat, substantialia unius rei applicando alii; et de nullo (nihilo) potest aliquid facere: et sententiam quæ nulla est aliquam facere (facit aliquam): quia in his quæ vult ei est pro ratione voluntas; nec est qui ei dicat, Cur ita facis? Ipse enim potest supra jus dispensare, et de injustitia facere justitiam, corrigendo jura et mutando: nam plenitudinem obtinet potestatis.—Corp. Jur. Can. Decretal. Greg. IX. Lib. I. De Transl. Episc. Tit. 7. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 217. Lugd. 1624.]

[8 Pauli quoque, Lat.] [9 æmulus, Lat.]

shall be exalted above all that is called God, or that is worshipped[1]; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God?"

Whether it be profitable and necessary that some one should have pre-eminence over the bishops.

But the pope's champions dispute, that it is for the profit and salvation, yea, necessary for the church, to have some one bishop to have preeminence over the other, both in dignity and power. But let them dispute and set forth this their idol as they please: they which will simply confess the truth must needs freely acknowledge, that the pope is antichrist; for that which these men babble of the supremacy of the pope is flatly repugnant to the doctrine of the gospel and of the apostles. For what more evident thing can be alleged against their disputations, than that which the Lord said to his disciples, when they strived for sovereignty? "The kings of the Gentiles reign over them, and they that bear rule over them are called gracious lords. But ye shall not be so; but let the greatest among you be as the least; and the chiefest, as he that serveth. For who is greater; he that sitteth at table, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at table? And I am among you as he that serveth." This place I alleged and discussed briefly also in my former sermon[2]. This simple and plain truth shall continue invincible against all the disputations of these harpies*. The most holy apostles of our Lord Christ will not be lords over any man under pretence of religion[3]; yea, St Peter in plain words forbiddeth lordship over God's heritage, and commandeth bishops to be examples to the flock.

Luke xxii.

*A bird that defileth all things she toucheth. 2 Cor. i. 1 Pet. v.

Whereas they object, that Christ said to Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," &c. and, "Feed my sheep;" and thereupon that St Peter was appointed over all the apostles, and in them over all priests, ministers[4] and bishops, the chief and prince, yea, and the monarch of the whole world; it maketh nothing at all to establish their dominion or lordship. We willingly grant, that St Peter is the chief of the apostles; and we also ourselves do willingly call St Peter the prince of the apostles; but in that sense that we call Moses, David, Helias, or Esay, the chief or prince of the prophets; that is to say, such as have obtained far more excellent gifts than the rest. But that Peter was the

Peter, chief of the apostles.

[1 numen, Lat. and Erasmus.] [2 See above, page 87.]
[3 fidei, Lat.] [4 presbyterorum, Lat.]

chief or prince, after that sort that these men will have him, we deny, and deny again most constantly. And therewithal we defend St Peter, and clear him from those spots, wherewithal these men strive to defile him even being dead. He had not remained faithful towards his master, if he had taken to himself rule or dominion. In all places we read that Peter was equal with the other disciples; but in no place in the scripture that he was their master. And St Paul, in the beginning of his epistle to the Galatians, sheweth in many words, that he in apostleship is nothing inferior to Peter: neither, when he came to Jerusalem, came he to that end he might kiss his feet, or to profess subjection; but that by their meeting and friendly conference together every one throughout all churches might understand there was perfect consent in opinions between Peter and Paul, and that, as touching apostleship, their authority was equal. In the same place Paul calleth James, Peter, and John, pillars: he doth not attribute that prerogative to Peter alone; which notwithstanding he had rightly done, if he had received supremacy at the hands of the Lord, as these men do affirm. How cometh it, that Peter doth nothing of his own head, but referreth ecclesiastical matters to the rest of the disciples, as to his fellows in authority? which thing we may see in the Acts. In another place he calleth himself a fellow-elder, not the prince of priests. When he was sent by the apostles with John into Samaria, he requireth not another to be sent, lest his supremacy should seem to be diminished, but willingly obeyeth. But if we should grant, that Peter was chief of the apostles after that sort as these men do affirm; would it thereupon follow, that the pope is the prince of the whole church, yea, of the whole world? For as the pope is not Peter; so the twelve or eleven apostles are not the whole world. Moreover, Peter could not give that he had not: he had not an empire over the whole world; therefore he gave it not.

Of the donation of Constantine[5].

But Constantine gave it to Sylvester, say they. But if we never so perfectly agreed, that the donation of Constantine were true, and not feigned or forged (which yet the best learned men do affirm); yet would not Sylvester himself have received an imperie, or dominion, though it had been offered

[5 On the Donation of Constantine, see Fulke's Answers, ed. Parker Soc. page 360, note 4.]

him. For the voice of the high and heavenly prince, Christ, had been of more authority with him, ("The kings of the nations bear rule over them, but it shall not be so with you,") than the foolish affection of an earthly emperor. Shall we believe that Peter[1] would have received secular power with imperial government, if the emperor Nero had proffered it him? No, in no wise. For this word of the Lord took deep root in his inward bowels: "But it shall not be so with you." Before he had received the Holy Ghost, wandering in blindness with the rest of the multitude of Jews, he imagined that the kingdom of Christ in earth should be an earthly kingdom: but after he received the Holy Ghost, he understood that the throne of Christ, the chief king and emperor, was not on the earth, but situated in heaven[2]. He knew that Christ our Lord fled into the wilderness, when the people thought to
2 Kings v. make him a king. He knew that Helisæus by most wholesome counsel refused the reward of Naaman, the prince; and that Giesi his servant, to his everlasting reproach and overthrow of his own health, required it afterward at his hand. St Peter would not take upon him the charge of the poor, lest he should thereby with less diligence attend upon prayer and preaching of the word of God; which thing the Acts of the Apostles do witness. Who therefore thinketh it likely that he, casting aside the office of apostleship, would have received the empire even of the whole world? He denieth that one man can both happily execute the charge of the ministry of the word, and also minister unto the necessity of the poor[3]. But what pope will they give unto us, that hath the Spirit more fully than Peter had? which can perform that which Peter could not? which can not only now both serve at tables, but also can govern the whole world? Therefore they are trifles which they rehearse to us touching the donation of Constantine. Constantine was more sound than that he would frame such a donation, which he knew was repugnant to the doctrine of Christ. Sylvester was more upright than to receive that which he knew could not be received without the utter overthrow of the ministry of the word. But if

[1 Petrum apostolum, Lat.]

[2 Ac regnum ejus non esse ex hoc mundo, Lat. omitted; and that his kingdom is not of this world.]

[3 mensis ministrare, Lat.]

Constantine gave that altogether, which he is said to have given; and that Sylvester did not refuse his donation; both of them offended, because both dealt against the word of God.

Augustine Steuchus of the donation of Constantine.

I saw what of late years Augustine Steuchus, a man otherwise well learned and of much reading, hath written touching Constantine's donation against Laurentius Valla[4]: but he bringeth no sound arguments, though he wonderfully rage[5], and put all the force of his eloquence in ure, and finally, do busily heap together from all places whatsoever by any manner means may seem to further this cause. And truly, that book seemeth better worthy to be trodden under foot, than to be occupied[6] in good men's hands. For, that I make no words, that he calleth that ecclesiastical kingdom of Rome oftentimes eternal[7], whereas the kingdom of Christ and the saints is only eternal; doth he not most manifestly place the pope in the seat of Christ our Lord? For, after he had recited the testimony of one pope Nicolas, he forthwith addeth: "Thou hearest that the high bishop of Constantine is called God, and counted for God. This verily was done, when he adorned him with that famous edict; he worshipped him as God, as the successor of Christ and Peter. As much as he could, he gave divine honours unto him, he worshipped him as the lively image of Christ[8]." Thus far he in the sixty-seventh section of his book. Neither hath he written that which is unlike unto this, twenty-eighth section. For he, remembering certain imaginations of his own conceived of the pope, he feigneth I cannot tell what fruit would come thereof, if it were made known among the furthest Indians, that all

[4 Augustini Steuchi Eugubini Bibliothecarii contra Laurentium Vallam, De falsa Donatione Constantini. Libri duo. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 253, &c. Paris. 1577.]

[5 ringatur, Lat.] [6 teratur, Lat.]

[7 Vere profertur a nonnullis de ecclesia carmen Virgilianum oraculum summi Jovis, *Imperium sine fine dedi.* Hoc inquam de ecclesia, de Romanæ sedis majestate vere profertur, quæ fecit ut imperium Romanorum esset sine fine renatum in ipsa ecclesia.—Steuchi de falsa Don. Con. fol. 258.]

[8 Audis summum pontificem a Constantino Deum appellatum, habitum pro Deo. Hoc videlicet factum est, cum eum præclaro illo edicto decoravit, adoravit uti Deum, uti Christi et Petri successorem: divinos honores ei quoad ejus potuit contulit; velut vivam Christi imaginem veneratus est.—Ibid. fol. 277.]

the kingdoms of the world are governed by the pope's beck; that kings worship him, as being a thing very well known to them, that he is the successor of Christ; and therefore that they receive him not so much a mortal man, as God himself in him, who hath substituted him in his room on earth; and therefore we ought to abstain from reproachful words, if he sin in anything as a man, because in him they worship the Son of God[1]. These wicked rejoicings, and these flattering or rather sacrilegious voices, would Peter have suffered, think you; who lifted up Cornelius, when he fell down before him, and would

Acts x. have worshipped him, and said, "Arise; I myself also am a man?" We read also, that the angel himself said unto John, which fell down and would have worshipped at the angel's

Rev. xxii. feet: "See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets." It is also written of Herod

Acts xii. Agrippa, because he repressed not the flattering voices of the people, which cried when he had ended his oration, "It is the voice of a God, and not of a man," that therefore he was stricken of the angel of God, and he rotted away, being eaten of worms. Therefore we, since we know that Christ himself, the Son of God, doth reign as yet in the church, as to whom only all glory and power is given; and hath not substituted any man on the earth, in whom he will be worshipped and served; we worship and serve Christ Jesus, the Son of God, only; and utterly abhor the pope as antichrist, and a dunghill-god, or, if you will, a god of the jakeshouse, together with the sacrilegious[2] clawbacks and blasphemous flatterers.

Thou art Peter, &c. The Lord in very deed said to St Peter: "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church: and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," &c. But what make these sayings to establish the monarchy, prerogative,

[1 Cur non potius inducat (Laurentius) Sylvestrum nescio quam cogitationem concipientem quæ mihi interdum occurrit: Si quis apud remotissimos Indos degens.... prædicaret esse....religionem; cujus caput.... tantæ potestatis.... habeatur, ut omnia regna nutibus ejus regnantur;.... quem reges adorent, quibus perspectissimum sit.... successorem esse Christi.... Ob hanc causam solitum esse apud eos, ut non tam mortalem illum hominem, quam in eo Deum ipsum, qui eum sibi in terris suffecisset, suspicientes.... abstinentesque maledictis, si quid is ut homo peccet, propterea quod in eo venerentur filium Dei.—Ibid. fol. 258.]

[2 ed. 1577, *his* sacrilegious. Sacrilegis suis, Lat.]

and dignity of the pope? Peter is commended of the Lord for the constancy of his faith: whereupon also he received his name, being called Peter *a petra*, that is, of the rock, wherein he settled himself by a true faith. Christ is that rock whereunto Peter stayed. He heareth, that this shall be the perpetual foundation of the church; that all shall be received into the fellowship of the church, who with a true faith confess with Peter, that Jesus Christ is the very Son of God, and rest upon him as the only rock and salvation. Moreover, the keys of the kingdom of God are promised unto Peter: but when they are delivered, they are not given to Peter alone, but to all the apostles. For "the keys" are not (as these men imagine) a certain dominion and jurisdiction; but the ministry of opening and shutting the kingdom of heaven; to let into the church, and to shut out; which is wrought by the preaching of the gospel, as it shall anon be said more abundantly. After the same manner, when Christ said to Peter, "Feed my sheep," he did not give unto Peter the monarchy of the whole world and dominion over all creatures, but committed unto him a pastoral cure; of which thing I have spoken in my last sermon; as also elsewhere both often and largely against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome[3]. Unto the ancient writers of the church which they object unto us, testifying I know not what of the supremacy of Peter, we will answer in one word; that we care not so much what the old writers thought herein, as what Christ the Son of God instituted; and what the apostles (whose authority doth far excel the judgment[4] of the old writers) practised, and what they have left both in their writing and examples for us to judge and follow: whereof I have also spoken in the second sermon of this decade.

We have almost gone further than we determined: therefore, that we may draw to an end, we have spoken of the order or office, which the Lord instituted in his church; and whom he hath placed over it, by whose labour he will establish[5], govern, further, and preserve his church. These things which remain to be spoken we will put off until to-morrow: for they are longer than at this time can be finished; but more worthy and more excellent than that they ought to be restrained into few words, &c.

[3 See above, page 88, and Bullinger de Episc. Instit. et Funct. cap. 13, fol. 137. Tigur. 1538.]

[4 auctoritatem, Lat.] [5 fundare, Lat.]

OF CALLING UNTO THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD OF GOD. WHAT MANNER OF MEN, AND AFTER WHAT FASHION, MINISTERS OF THE WORD MUST BE ORDAINED IN THE CHURCH. OF THE KEYS OF THE CHURCH. WHAT THE OFFICE OF THEM IS THAT BE ORDAINED. OF THE MANNER OF TEACHING THE CHURCH; AND OF THE HOLY LIFE OF THE PASTORS.

THE FOURTH SERMON.

In this present sermon, by God's assistance, we will, as briefly and plainly as we can, set forth unto you, dearly beloved, what manner of men ministers should be; and after what sort at this day it behoveth us[1] to ordain ministers; not speaking again of the office, but of persons meet for the office. For neither do I think it necessary or profitable to shew at large, that that order or function instituted by Christ in the church sufficeth even at this day to gather[2], govern, and preserve the church of God on earth; yea, without these orders, which in these last ages new invention hath instituted: for that doth the thing itself witness, and the absolute perfection of the primitive church avoucheth it. But that it may be plainly understood of all men, whom it behoves the church at this day to ordain ministers, we will speak a little more amply of the calling of the ministers of the church.

Of the calling unto the ministry, and the kinds of calling.

Calling is no other thing than a lawful appointing of a meet minister. The same also may be called both ordination and election, though one word be more large in signification than the other. Election goeth before by nature; for whom we choose, those we call. Ordination comprehendeth either of them. But there are numbered almost of all men four kinds of calling. The two former are lawful, the two latter are unlawful. And the first kind is, whereby ministers are called, neither of men, nor by man, but by God; as it is read, that Esay the prophet and the apostle Paul were called. This kind for the most part is confirmed with signs or miracles, and is called a heavenly[3] and secret calling. The second kind of

[1 nobis conveniat, Lat.] [2 ad excitandam, Lat.]
[3 divina, Lat.]

calling is made of God indeed, but by the ordination of men: after which sort it is read that St Matthew, Luke, and Timothy, were created ministers of the church. This kind is ordinary, public, used of men, and at this day common: wherein indeed God calleth, bestowing necessary gifts upon his ministers, and appointing laws to those that do elect; and they, following those laws, do ordinarily elect him whom they by signs conjecture to be first called of God: I mean by signs, gifts necessary for ministers.

Calling by favour and gifts.

Now the third kind of calling, which of the unlawful callings is the first, cometh indeed from men, but not from God; when as for favour and rewards some unworthy person is ordained. And here is sin committed, as well of those that are ordained, as of those that bear rule in the ordination. Of those that are ordained; when they desire to be placed in the ministry, for which either they do not understand, or they will not understand, that they be very unfit, being destitute of necessary gifts: or else, when they are sufficiently furnished with knowledge of the scriptures and other things, yet they take not the right path to this function, that is to say, when they respect not the glory of God but their own gain. For there is required of them that are to be ordained a testimony of their own conscience, and a secret calling, to wit, whereby we are well known to ourselves to be moved to take upon us this office, not through ambition, not for covetousness, not for desire to feed the belly, nor of any other lewd[4] affection; but through the sincere fear and love of God, and of a desire to edify the church of God: of which thing very eloquently[5] and holily hath St Paul written in 1 Thess. ii. Besides this, the testimony of other of sound learning and skilfulness in things is also required: for all of us please ourselves, and esteem ourselves to be worthy, to whom the government of the church may be committed; whereas we foully deceive ourselves. And they that have the authority of ordination do offend, when as in ordaining of ministers they regard not what God by laws set down hath willed herein to be done, and what the state and safety of the church requireth; but what is for the commodity of him that is to be ordained. Oftentimes, therefore, unworthy persons are ordained; or such as are unlearned, and not very sound[6]; or else such as are

[4 pravo, Lat.] [5 elegantissime, Lat.] [6 parum sinceri, Lat.]

sufficiently learned, but not of good conversation; or such as are simple and are good Christians, but unfit and unskilful pastors: and unto this they are allured through favour or bribes. Wherefore they provoke the most heavy wrath of almighty God upon themselves, and make themselves partakers of all those sins, whereof they are the authors, in that they do not uprightly execute the charge which is committed unto them.

Simony. Our elders[1] called this sin simony, an offence punishable with no less punishment than shameful reproach[2] and death everlasting. Anthemius, the emperor, writing to Armasius, among other things saith: "Let no man make merchandise of the degree of priesthood by the greatness of price; but let every man be esteemed after his deserts, not according to that he is able to give. Let that profane thirst of covetousness cease to bear rule in the church, and let that horrible fault be banished far off from holy congregations. After this manner in our time let the bishop be chosen; being chaste and lowly, so as in what place soever he come he may purge all things with the uprightness of his own life: let a bishop be ordained not with price, but with prayers. He ought to be so far from desire of promotion, that he must be sought for by compulsion: and being desired, he ought to shun it; and if he be entreated, he ought to fly away: let this only be his furtherance, that he is importune by excuses to avoid from it. For truly he is unworthy of the ministry, that is not ordained against his will[3]." Thus much he; who, if he should at this day come to Rome, he would think without doubt he were come into a strange world; yea, into the mart of Simon, not of Peter, but both of Magus the Samaritan, and Giesi the Israelite.

[1 vetustas, Lat.]

[2 nunquam delendo probro, Lat. See Bingham, Orig. Eccles. Book IV. chap. iii. § 14; and Book XVI. Chap. vi. § 28.]

[3 Nemo gradum sacerdotii venalitate pretii mercetur; quantum quisque meretur, non quantum dare sufficit, æstimetur... Cesset altaribus imminere profanus ardor avaritiæ, et a sacris adytis repellatur piaculare flagitium. Itaque castus et humilis nostris temporibus eligatur episcopus, ut quocumque locorum pervenerit, omnia vitæ propriæ integritate purificet. Non pretio, sed precibus, ordinetur antistes. Tantum ab ambitu debet esse sepositus, ut quæratur cogendus, rogatus recedat, invitatus effugiat, sola illi suffragetur necessitas excusandi. Profecto enim indignus est sacerdotio, nisi fuerit ordinatus invitus.—Justin. Cod. Lib. I. tit. 4. cap. 29. Tom. I. p. 43. Lugd. 1551.]

The fourth kind of calling is that, whereby any man thrusteth himself into the ministry of his own private affection[4], being neither ordained of God, neither yet by man. Of these kind of men the Lord saith in Jeremy: "I have not sent them, and yet they ran." Jer. xxiii. Cyprian, writing unto Antonianus, calleth such schismatics, who usurp unto them the office of a bishop, no man giving it them[5]. And this kind of calling is unproperly called a calling.

A calling necessary in the church.

Wherefore it is evident, that in the church there must needs be a calling, and that public and lawful; as well for many other causes, as especially for these: that the ordinance of God be not neglected, and that the discipline of the church be retained, and that all men in the church may know who are preferred to the ecclesiastical ministry. Albeit therefore Paul, the apostle and doctor of the Gentiles, in the beginning were not sent of men, neither by men, but of God only; yet the same Paul, at the commandment of the Holy Ghost, is separated by the church of Antioch, together with Barnabas, to the ministry of the Gentiles. Acts xiii. After the same manner many other were sent or called of God; whom nevertheless it behoved to be ordained also by men. For Paul in another place saith: "And no man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron." Heb. v. And again: "How shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they be sent?" Rom. x. &c.

As concerning that second kind of calling, which is common, and at this day received in the church, and yet appointed[6] by the Lord, there are three things to be considered: first, who they be that call; that is, who have right and authority to call, or to ordain ministers: secondly, who, or what manner of men, are to be ordained: lastly, after what manner they that be called are to be ordained.

Who may choose ministers in the church.

And first of all; that the Lord hath given to his church power and authority to elect and ordain fit ministers, we have declared before, in the second sermon of this decade, by the example of the ancient[7] churches in the world, Jerusalem and Antioch: of which two, the church of Hierusalem did not only ordain seven deacons, but also Matthias the apostle; and the

[4 arbitrio, Lat.]

[5 Quisquis ille fuerit . . . profanus est, alienus est, foris est.—Cyprian. Ep. LV. Opp. p. 104. Oxon. 1682.]

[6 traditam, Lat.] [7 vetustissimarum, Lat.]

church of Antioch separated into the ministry the famous apo-
Acts xiv. stles of Christ, Paul and Barnabas[1]. Whereunto appertaineth[2], that the churches of the Gentiles, being instructed of Paul and Barnabas, ordained[3] them elders or governors of their churches by election had by voices[4]. The chiefest in this election were the pastors themselves; for Peter governing the action, Matthias was created apostle by the church. This form or order the ancient church diligently observed many years. For Cyprian, *Epist.* Lib. I. Epist. 4: "The common people," saith he, "hath especially power either to choose worthy priests, or to refuse them that be unworthy. Which thing also we see to descend from the authority of God; that the priest be chosen in the presence of the common people, before all men's eyes, and be allowed worthy and meet by public judgment and witness:
Numb. xx. as in Numbers the Lord commanded Moses, and said: 'Take Aaron thy brother, and Eleazar his son, and bring them up into the mount, before all the congregation.' God commandeth the priest to be ordained before the whole congregation: that is, he teacheth and sheweth that the ordaining of priests ought not to be done without the knowledge of the people being present; that in their presence either the vices of the evil might be discovered, or the deserts of the good commended; and that that is a just and lawful ordaining, which shall be examined by the election and judgment of all[5]." Thus far he. This custom and manner endured to the time of St Augustine;

[1 See above, page 43.] [2 Quibus accedit, Lat.]

[3 delegerunt, Lat.]

[4 collatis suffragiis, Lat. Illud χειροτονήσαντες ita ponitur, ut presbyteros vel populi delectos esse suffragiis, vel manuum impositione inauguratos fuisse, possimus intelligere.—Bullinger. de Episc. Instit. &c. fol. 98. Tig. 1538.]

[5 Quando ipsa (plebs) maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. Quod et ipsum videmus de divina auctoritate descendere, ut sacerdos, plebe præsente, sub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur; sicut in Numeris Dominus Moysi præcepit, dicens, Apprehende Aaron fratrem tuum, et Eleazarum filium ejus, et imponas eos in montem coram omni synagoga... Id est, instruit et ostendit (Deus) ordinationes sacerdotales non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsente vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur; et sit ordinatio justa et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata.—Cypr. Opp. Epist. 67. pp. 171, 2. Oxon. 1682.]

for it is to be seen in his hundred and tenth epistle, which witnesseth that, the people giving a shout, Augustine ordained Eradius for his successor[6]. In these latter times, because the people made often tumults in the elections of pastors, the ordination was committed to chosen men of the pastors, magistrates, and people. These three kinds of men propounded or named notable men, out of whom he which was thought the best was chosen. There is somewhat of this *In Justiniani Imperat. Novel. Constitut.* 123.[7]

That bishops alone have not power to make ministers. Tit. i.

They which think that all power of ordaining ministers is in the bishops', diocesans', or archbishops' hands, do use these places of the scripture: "For this cause I left thee in Creta" (saith Paul to Titus), "that thou shouldest ordain elders in every city." And again: "Lay hands suddenly on no man." 1 Tim. v. But we say, that the apostles did not exercise tyranny in the churches; and that they themselves alone did not execute all things about election or ordination, other men in the church being excluded: for the apostles of Christ ordained bishops or elders in the church, but not without communicating their counsel with the churches; yea, and not without having[8] the consent and approbation of the people; which may appear by the election or ordination of Matthias, which we have now once or twice recited. Truly, the Lord in the law saith to Moses: "Thou shalt appoint thee judges." Deut. xvi. But in another place he saith[9]: "Thou shalt seek out among all the people whom thou mayest make rulers." Exod. xviii. And again, Moses unto the same people[10]: "Bring you men of wisdom and understanding, and I will make them rulers over you," Deut. i. &c. Therefore, as Moses doth nothing of his own will in the election of the magistrate, though it were said to him, "Thou shalt appoint thee judges," but doth all things communicating his counsel with the people; so undoubtedly Titus[11], though it were said unto him, "Ordain elders in every city," yet he understood, that hereby nothing was permitted to him which

[6 — in omnium vestrum notitiam profero, presbyterum Eradium mihi successorem volo. A populo acclamatum est, Deo gratias, &c.—August. Ep. cx. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 100. col. 2. Par. 1531.]

[7 — ex tribus illis personis... maxime idoneus ordinetur.—Justin. Novell. Constit. 123. p. 353. Basil. 1561.]

[8 adeoque ex, Lat. and so with.]

[9 This was Jethro's direction.] [10 Ad ipsum populum, Lat.]

[11 beatus Titus, Lat.]

he might do privately as he thought good, not having the advice and consent of the churches. Wherefore they sin not at all, that, shaking off the yoke and tyranny of the bishops of Rome for good and reasonable causes, do recover that ancient right granted by Christ to the churches.

Neither makes it any great matter, whether discreet men chosen of the church, or the whole church itself, do ordain fit ministers; and that either by voices[1], either by lots, or after some certain necessary[2] and holy manner; for in these things godly men will not move contention, so that all things be done holily and in order. But I will not here rip up the crafts, deceits, practices, and grievous wars, taken in hand for this right of ordaining, with shedding of much blood, spoilings, and lamentable burnings of countries. The histories of the acts of Henry the IV. and V., and also of the affairs of the Frederiches[4], do most evidently witness, how impudently and abominably the popes of Rome, with their sworn friends the bishops, have behaved themselves. Peradventure I shall have occasion to speak of this matter elsewhere more at large.

Master Bullinger hath written more largely of this matter elsewhere in these words: "Because amongst the tumults and factions of the people nothing was done according to the prescript of God's word, but all things done upon affections, whereby the worst were ordained instead of the best; to the end that this might not be, and that the best, the learnedest, and the godliest ministers might be appointed unto churches, the whole right of choosing them was granted unto bishops, &c." And a little after: "Wherefore if any (of the bishops) do well use this right or authority to the edifying of the church, it is very well. But if any of them do abuse it through tyranny, let them either be brought into good order by the godly magistrate, or else let the right or authority to appoint ministers be put from them[3]."

What manner of men are to be ordained ministers.

Now we will declare, what manner of men it behoveth to ordain ministers: truly not whoso lust, but the most choicest men of sound religion, furnished with all kind of sciences, exercised in the scriptures, cunning in the mystery of faith and religion[5], strong and constant, earnest, painful, diligent, faithful, watchful, modest, of a holy and approved conver-

[1 suffragia, Lat.] [2 commoda, Lat.]

[3 These extracts from Bullinger's treatise De Episcop. Instit. et Funct. cap. 7, fol. 99, are not given in edd. 1577 and 1584; nor in the folio Latin ed. of the Decades, Tiguri, 1552; but they are found in the London ed. of the Latin, 8vo.—See above, p. 111.]

[4 See Foxe, Acts and Mon. Vol. II. pp. 125, &c. 174, &c. 190, &c. 455, &c. Lond. 1837; and Tytler's Elements of Gen. Hist. Part II. Sect. 14 and 16.]

[5 tenentes mysterium fidei, Lat.]

sation, lest through their corruption of life and scant good name and fame the whole ministry become vile, and that which with wholesome doctrine they build up their wicked life do pull down again. We will rehearse the rule of the apostle, fully comprehending all things pertaining to this matter: "Thou shalt ordain elders, or bishops," saith he, Tit. i. "if any be blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, which are not slandered of riot, neither are disobedient; for if a man cannot rule his own house, how shall he 1 Tim. iii. care for the church of God? For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God; (for it is required in the disposers, 1 Cor. iv. that a man be found faithful;) not froward, not angry, no striker, but gentle[6], not given to wine, not covetous, not given to filthy lucre, but harborous, one that loveth goodness, watchful, sober, righteous, godly, temperate, modest, apt to teach, holding fast the faithful word which is according to doctrine, that he may be able both to exhort in wholesome doctrine, and to improve[7] them that say against it, and to stop their mouths: no young scholar, lest he, being puffed up, fall into the condemnation of the devil. He must also have a good report of them that are without, lest he fall into the rebuke and snare of the devil." All these are the words of the apostle, recited out of the 1st Epistle to Timothy, and in his epistle to Titus.

Censure and examination.

Wherefore exact judgment and great diligence shall be very needful in this case, to discuss all the points of doctrine and life. I say there shall be needful of a strait trial of life and perfect examination of learning: for this is not a matter of small weight; the whole safety of the church hangeth hereupon. If any unworthy and unlearned be ordained, the whole church for the most part is neglected, led astray, and overthrown. But we do not mean a childlike and scholarlike examination; but a grave and strait examination of knowledge in the scripture and the true interpretation thereof, of the charge of a pastor, of the mysteries of sound faith, and of other such like points. And that the elders in times past were very diligent in these things, it may appear by that which Ælius Lampridius, in the life of Alexander Severus, rehearseth; that it was the manner among the Christians to offer the names of their bishops to the whole church afore

[6 alienum a pugnis, Lat. omitted.] [7 improve: convince.]

they were received, if happily any among the people would shew a reason that he were unworthy of such an office[1]. Whereupon Justinian the emperor, Const. 123: "If in the time of ordination (saith he) any accuser stand up, and say he is unworthy to be ordained; let all things be deferred, and let examination and judgment first be had[2]." And here I will at this present recite the decree of the 4th council of Carthage upon this matter, which is after this sort: "When a bishop is to be ordained, let him be first examined, whether he be by nature wise, if he be able to teach, if he be temperate in behaviour, if chaste in life, if he be sober, if careful about his own business, if lowly, if courteous, if merciful, if learned, if instructed in the law of the Lord, if wary and careful in the sense and meaning of the scriptures, if exercised in the opinions of the church; and above all things, if he teach the grounds of faith with substantial words (or perhaps, of less moment), that is to say, confirming that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are one God, and avouching the whole Godhead of the Trinity to be co-essential, and consubstantial, and co-eternal, and co-omnipotent; if he acknowledge every person by himself in the Trinity to be perfect God, and the whole three persons one God; if he believe the incarnation of God, not wrought in the Father, neither in the Holy Ghost, but in the Son only: so that he who was the Son in God the Father, the same should be made the son of man in the manhood of his mother; very God of the Father, and very man of his mother, having flesh in the womb of his mother, and having in him a human and reasonable soul together of either nature, that is to say, God and man, one person, one Son, one Christ, one Lord, creator of all things, and the author, lord, and governor of all creatures, with the Father and the Holy Ghost; who suffered a true suffering of his flesh, died with

What manner of examination the old bishops used.

The Fourth Council of Carthage.

[1 Ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciis dare, vel præpositos facere,... nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum ut siquis haberet criminis, probaret.... dicebatque grave esse, quum id Christiani et Judæi facerent in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, &c.—Æl. Lamprid. Vit. Alex. Sever. cap. 45. Hist. August. Scriptor. p. 570. Lugd. Bat. 1661.]

[2 Si quis adversus eum qui episcopus ordinandus est... accusationem instituat, suspendetur hujus ordinatio, atque prius... examinetur, &c.—Justin. Novell. Constit. 123, p. 354. Basil. 1561.]

the true death of his body, rose again with the true taking again of his flesh and a true taking again of his soul, wherein he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. He must also be asked, if he believe one and the selfsame author and Lord of the new and old Testament, that is to say, of the law, the prophets, and apostles; if the devil became evil, not by creation, but by choice. He must also be asked, if he believe the resurrection of this flesh which we bear, and none other; if he believe the judgment to come, and that every one shall receive, according to that they have done in the flesh, either punishments or rewards; if he forbid not marriage, if he condemn not bigamy or second marriage; if he condemn not the eating of flesh; if he have fellowship with penitent persons that are reconciled; if he believe that all sins in baptism are forgiven, as well original sin wherein we are born, as also those which we commit willingly; if he believe that none which are without the catholic church can be saved, &c. When he shall be examined upon all these points, and found fully instructed; then let him be ordained a bishop, with the consent of the clergy and laity, and by the assembly of the bishops of the whole province, and especially of the metropolitan[3]." This council is said to be celebrated in the year of

[3 Qui episcopus ordinandus est antea examinetur, si natura sit prudens, si docibilis, si moribus temperatus, si vita castus, si sobrius, si semper suis negotiis cavens, si humilis, si affabilis, si misericors, si literatus, si in lege Domini instructus, si in scripturarum sensibus cautus, si in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatus; et ante omnia, si fidei documenta verbis simplicibus (Bullinger wrote, verbis duplicibus, simplicibus forte) asserat, id est, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum unum Deum esse confirmans, totamque Trinitatis deitatem co-essentialem et consubstantialem et coæternalem et coomnipotentem prædicans; si singularem quamque in Trinitate personam plenum Deum (Bullinger read further, et totas tres personas unum Deum); si incarnationem divinam non in Patre neque in Spiritu Sancto factam, sed in Filio tantum credat; ut qui erat in divinitate Dei Patris Filius, ipse fieret in homine hominis matris filius; Deus verus ex Patre, homo verus ex matre, carnem ex matris visceribus habens, et animam humanam rationalem simul in eo ambæ (Bullinger read, utriusque) naturæ, id est, Deus et homo, una persona, unus Filius, unus Christus, unus Dominus, creator omnium quæ sunt, et auctor et dominus et rector cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto omnium creaturarum: qui passus sit vera carnis passione, mortuus vera corporis sui morte: resurrexit vera carnis suæ resurrectione (Bullinger read, receptione) et veræ

the Lord 400. But I do not rehearse these things to that end, as if I staid myself upon the decrees of councils and men; or as if I thought all things which pertain to true salvation and perfection were not contained in the holy scriptures; but to admonish our adversaries, that their manners and doings at this day do not only not agree with the examples and doctrines of the apostles, but not so much as with the decrees of the ancient writers: if happily they may enter into themselves, and, leaving the diverse doctrine of men, they may receive the most ancient tradition and the most infallible doctrine of the holy apostles.

How they that are called are to be ordained.

I come now to the declaration of the last point; that is to say, after what manner they that be called are to be ordained. The apostles in their ordinations exhorted the church to fasting and prayer; and they that were called they placed and set in the sight of the church, and, laying their hands upon the heads of them that were ordained, they committed the churches unto them. Of the laying on of hands I have spoken elsewhere[1]. It was a signification of the charge committed unto them. Neither is it read, that among the old fathers there was any other consecrating of pastors; as also all other things were simple and not sumptuous in the primitive and apostolic church. In the ages following ceremonies increased, but yet so that at the beginning to some they seemed not altogether

Acts xiii. Acts i. 1 Tim. iv. 2 Tim. i.

(Bullinger, vera) animæ resumptione, in qua veniet judicare vivos et mortuos. Quærendum etiam ab eo si novi et veteris testamenti, id est, legis et prophetarum et apostolorum unum eundemque credat auctorem et Deum; si diabolus non per conditionem sed per arbitrium factus sit malus. Quærendum etiam ab eo si credat hujus quam gestamus, et non alterius, carnis resurrectionem; si credat judicium futurum, et recepturos singulos, pro his quæ in carne gesserunt, vel pœnas, vel gloriam (Bullinger, præmia); si nuptias non improbet, si secunda matrimonia non damnet; si carnium perceptionem non culpet; si pœnitentibus reconciliatis communicet; si in baptismo omnia peccata, id est, tam illud originale contractum, quam illa quæ voluntarie admissa sunt dimittantur; si extra ecclesiam catholicam nullus salvetur. Cum in his omnibus examinatus inventus fuerit plene instructus, tunc cum consensu clericorum et laicorum, et conventu totius provinciæ episcoporum, maximeque metropolitani vel auctoritate vel præsentia, ordinetur episcopus.—Concil. Carthag. IV. Labb. et Coss. Tom. II. col. 1198. Lut. Par. 1671. The date of this council is A. D. 398.]

[1 Vol. II. page 221.]

to have exceeded measure. But to me that seemeth to be overmuch, which at man's pleasure is added to God's institution. And, I pray you, what need is there to patch men's fancies and customs unto the institutions of the apostles? Why doth not the laying on of hands suffice thee, since it sufficed the blessed apostles, who were far holier than thou, and more skilful in heavenly matters? There was afterward added oil; there was also added the book of the gospels. For after this manner the fourth council of Carthage decreeth: "When a bishop is ordained, let two bishops place and hold over his head and shoulders the book of the gospels; and one pouring upon him the blessing, let all the other bishops that are present touch his head with their hands[2]." They of latter time have added hereunto a pall. But at this day there is no end of ceremonies; nay rather, of follies. If any man do diligently compare their ceremonies with the attire of Aaron and the Jewish priests, he will swear the whole Aaronism is brought again by them into the church; yea, that this is more sumptuous[3] and burdensome; yea, and that contrary to the doctrine of the gospel: that at this time I affirm not their consecration to be both infamous, and fully stuffed with excess, pride, and offence, and by that means to be intolerable. There is another thing to be noted; which is, that albeit among the old fathers consecration increased by the multiplying of ceremonies, yet was it freely bestowed; neither was there anything either in it, or in the whole church of Christ, set to sale. But at this day how dear palls are sold by that Romish Canaanite[4], and with how great costs consecrations are made, it is a shame even to speak. Gregory, in the council at Rome, celebrated in the time of Mauricius and Theodosius, among other things thus decreeth: "Following," saith he, "the ancient rule of the fathers, I ordain, that there be nothing at any time taken of ordinations, neither for the giving of the pall, nor for the delivery of the bulls. For seeing that in ordaining of a bishop

A pall.

The pall was in old time freely given.

[2 Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo episcopi ponant et teneant evangeliorum codicem super caput et cervicem ejus; et uno super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes episcopi qui adsunt manibus suis caput ejus tangant.—Concil. Carthag. IV. Labb. et Coss. Tom. II. col. 1199.]

[3 instructiorem, Lat.]

[4 Cf. Vol. II. p. 45, note 7; and p. 153, n. 8.]

the high bishop layeth his hand upon him, and the minister readeth the lesson of the gospel, and the notary writeth the epistle of his confirmation; as it becometh not the bishop to sell the hand he layeth on, so neither the minister nor the notary ought in the ordination, either the one to sell his voice, or the other his pen. But if any man shall presume to take any gain thereby, he shall be sure before the judgment-seat of Almighty God to undergo the sharp sentence due to so horrible an offence." Yet forthwith he addeth: "But if he that is ordained, not required, but of his own free will, only for favour's sake, will offer any thing, we grant he may[1]."

Why we receive not orders at the hands of popish bishops.

I have hitherto declared what manner of men, and after what sort, bishops or pastors must be ordained in the church of God. And albeit out of those things it may easily be gathered, why at this day we suffer not ourselves to be ordained of those who are called, and seem to themselves to be, the only lawful ordinaries; that is to say, such as in the Romish Church by continual succession descend from the apostles; I will yet, if I can, declare the cause somewhat more plainly. Of the continual succession of bishops or pastors, and of the church, I have spoken elsewhere[2]; so that it were superfluous here to repeat and rip up the same again. I have also proved, that our churches are the true churches of God, though they agree not with the late upstart church of Rome. And it is evident, that true churches have power to ordain pastors, whether it be done by the voices of the whole church, or by the lawful judgment of such as are chosen by the church. Whereupon it consequently followeth, that they are lawfully

[1 Antiquam patrum regulam sequens, nihil unquam de ordinationibus accipiendum constituo, neque ex datione pallii, neque ex traditione chartarum.... Quia enim ordinando episcopo pontifex manum imponit, evangelii vero lectionem minister legit, confirmationis vero hujus epistolam notarius excipit; sicut pontificem manum non decet, quam imponit, vendere, ita minister vel notarius non debet in ordinatione ejus vocem suam vel calamum venundare.... Si quis aliquid commodi appellatione exigere vel petere præsumpserit, in districto omnipotentis Dei examine reatui subjacebit.... Is autem qui ordinatus fuerit, si non... exactus... offerre aliquid cuilibet ex clero gratiæ tantummodo causa voluerit, hoc accipi nullo modo prohibemus.—Decret. Gregor. I. Concil. Gen. stud. Labb. et Coss. Tom. v. col. 1587. Lut. Par. 1671.]

[2 See above, page 28.]

ordained which our, or rather which the churches of Christ, do ordain. And there are weighty causes, why the holy churches of God do refuse to have their ministers ordained of popish ordinaries. For St Paul saith: "Though we, or an angel Gal. i. from heaven, shall preach any other gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." But these men preach another gospel, beside that which Paul preached; which thing we will have to be understood as touching the sense (wherein there is more danger), and not as touching the words: and therefore from heaven these men are stricken with this curse or excommunication. But who can abide to be ordained of them that be stricken with a curse, or excommunicate? Moreover, the chief thing in the ordination is the doctrine of the gospel; seeing that to this end especially ministers of the church are ordained, that they preach the pure gospel of Christ unfeignedly unto the people, and without mingling of man's traditions. But this very thing they do not only most straitly forbid them that are ordained, but also they compel them to abjure by a certain kind of oath which they offer unto them. For they are bound by that wicked oath, not unto Christ, but to the pope against Christ. For, among other things, thus they which are elected bishops take their oath: "I, N. elected bishop of N., from this time forth will be faithful and obedient to blessed Peter, and to the holy apostolic church of Rome, and to our lord N. the pope, and to his successors entering canonically. The counsel, which they shall commit unto me by themselves or messengers, or by their letters, to their hinderance I will not willingly disclose to any man. I will be a helper unto them, to retain and defend against all men the popedom of Rome and the royalties of St Peter. I will do my endeavour to keep, defend, increase, and enlarge the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the church of Rome, of our lord the pope, and of his foresaid successors. Neither will I be in counsel, practice, or treaty, wherein shall be imagined against our lord the pope himself, or the same church of Rome, any sinister or prejudicial matter to their persons, right, honour, state, or power. And if I shall understand such things to be imagined or procured by any, I will hinder the same as much as lieth in me; and with as much speed as conveniently I may, I will signify the same to our said lord, or to some other, by whom it may

The oath of bishops.

come to his knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and commandments apostolical, I will observe with my whole might, and cause them to be observed of other. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels against our lord the pope, I will persecute, and to my ability fight against[1]." Since these men are sworn thus after this manner, who, I pray you, that is a faithful lover of Jesus Christ, of his church, of true faith, yea, and add thereunto, of the commonwealth, can abide to be ordained by such? There is no talk in their oath of the gospel, neither of our Lord Jesus[2] Christ himself. There is no mention of the holy scriptures; but of the rules and ordinances of the fathers there is most diligent mention. Peter is named; but not that apostle of Christ saying, "Silver and gold have I none;" but another, I know not who, having kingly dignity. Indeed, the apostolic church is named; but by

[1 Ego N. electus ecclesiæ N. ab hac hora in antea fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro apostolo, sanctæque Romanæ ecclesiæ, et domino nostro, domino N. papæ N. suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus... Consilium vero, quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuntios suos seu literas, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et regalia sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum, et defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem... Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, domini nostri papæ, et successorum prædictorum, conservare, defendere, augere, promovere curabo. Neque ero in consilio, vel facto seu tractatu, in quibus contra ipsum dominum, nostrum, vel eamdem Romanam ecclesiam, aliqua sinistra vel præjudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status, et potestatis eorum machinentur. Et si talia a quibuscumque tractari vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro posse; et quanto citius potero, significabo eidem domino nostro, vel alteri, per quem possit ad ipsius notitiam pervenire. Regulas sanctorum patrum, decreta, ordinationes seu dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones, et mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari. Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem domino nostro, vel successoribus prædictis, pro posse persequar et impugnabo, &c.—Pontificale Roman. p. 63. Rom. 1818.—Among the Simler MSS. in the City Library at Zurich is a letter from Martin Micronius, dated London, 14 April, 1553, in which he inquires of Bullinger, whence he had taken this form of oath: for he says; "Extat forma quædam juramenti episcoporum, Lib. II. Decretal. de juramento, titul. 24. c. 4. Ego N. sed ea non per omnia respondet formæ a te perscriptæ."]

[2 Jesu, ed. 1577.]

and by, by interpretation, they add what manner of church they would have understood, and call it the papalty. This papalty, not the church of God; I say, the papalty, and the honours, privileges, and rights of the popedom, against all men; behold, they promise they will defend this against all men. For they acknowledge the pope to be their lord, against whom they will have nothing to be imagined; yea, if they may know that other do devise anything against the pope and popedom, they promise discovery thereof and faithful help. But I think not that any man can bind himself more straitly to one. Neither is it unknown, that those, whom they call heretics, are not enemies to the christian faith, nor teachers of opinions contrary to the scriptures, but rebels to the pope: they are, I say, they, who as they neglect the decrees and laws of the pope, and preach the scriptures only, so they give all the glory unto Christ, as to the only head and high priest of the church; and therefore they teach that the pope is neither the head, neither the high priest, of the church. But who, loving true godliness, can bind himself with such an oath? Who will renounce and forsake the friendship of Christ, and humble himself to become the bond-slave and footstool of the pope of Rome? To be short, who will desire to be ordained a minister of Christ and of his church at the hands of those that have done after this manner?

Here may be added, that in the consistory of Rome all things as touching holy orders are most corrupt; insomuch as scarce any small tokens of Christ's institution do appear. I will not rehearse at this present, that there are many new constitutions of men joined unto them; that in a manner there remaineth no voice of the church in the ordination of pastors; that there is no choice made of such as the church deputeth thereabouts. For the right of presentation, collation, and confirmation, being dispersed among many, with some is become even an heritage; so as both daws and half fools[3] may be made ministers or[4] bishops. And neither can I let this thing pass, that with them is lost that true examination and sharp pastoral discipline. Indeed, there remaineth examination, but altogether childish; in the which lightly they that are ordained are asked that which scholars in common schools are wont to

[3 fatui aut semimoriones, Lat.]
[4 ministers or, not in Lat.]

be demanded; whether one can read well, construe well, sing, and be cunning in their numbers? They cannot deny this thing; neither also this, that priests are ordained more to read, to sing, and say mass, than to govern the church with the word of God: whereby the more regard is had of the voice, that it be apt for singing, than of skilfulness or experience in the holy scriptures. But they think the matter is cunningly handled, if some skilful lawyer be preferred to the office of a pastor. For it seemeth for the most part to be more profitable, to plead cunningly in the court for the increase and maintenance of riches, than to preach well in the church for the winning of souls. What? do not we see men sent from the law, and out of the courts of kings and princes, to possess churches, fitter for anything else than to govern the churches of God? For ecclesiastical offices are begun to be counted as princes' donatives: whereupon they are also called benefices. The bishops of Rome themselves have bestowed priesthoods upon their cooks, ravenous[1] soldiers, barbers, and muletors: and this was far more honestly, than when they bestowed them upon bawds. A great many of priests thrust themselves into the holy ministry by violence and simony; which office nevertheless he neither could nor would execute well. And they, that are received by an honester title, are received through commendation and favour. Herein availeth much either affinity or kindred, and consanguinity. In all these there is a greater regard had of the belly than of the ministry: they provide better for those which are accounted priests and are no priests, than for the church of God and salvation of souls. But by this means all things go to wrack in the church, and the flock of God is oppressed with the weight and ruin of the shepherds.

Plurality of benefices.

Hereunto pertaineth the plurality (as they call it) of benefices. Some one, either soldier or curtisan, oftentimes rakes to himself, the pope offering it to him, half a dozen benefices or more; of which benefices they take no further care, but to receive the gain. For he never teacheth; nay, he is very seldom at his flock, unless it be when he sheareth them. In the mean time the Lord's flock is neglected, and perisheth: for the vicars which are set over the flock by them, for the most part, are unlearned and hirelings. He that is content

Unlearned ministers and many benefices the spoil of the church.

[1 cupediariis, Lat.]

with least wages is placed over the flock, what manner of one soever he be; and he seems to have learning enough, if he can read, sing, say mass, hear confessions, anoint, and read the gospel out of the book upon the Sunday. That which remaineth moreover to be done seemeth to them to be small matters.

I am ashamed and sorry to rehearse what a censure for reformation of manners remaineth in the church. The thing itself crieth, and experience witnesseth, that unworthy persons are not shut out from this holy ministry; for without difference all are admitted; and as yet whoremongers, drunkards, dice-players, and men defiled, yea, overwhelmed with divers heinous crimes, are suffered in the ministry.

But lest they should seem to do nothing herein, the bishop asketh at giving of orders, "Who are worthy of honour?" and his chancellor, or the archdeacon[2], forthwith answereth the bishop, who before that time never saw or heard what manner of men they are of whom he beareth witness, "They are worthy[3]." Moreover, they use so many and such kinds of ceremonies in their consecration, that he that is studious of the truth of the gospel cannot receive them with a safe conscience. These causes, and other not unlike, make us, that we can so much less abide[4] to be ordained of the ordinaries or bishops of the Romish church.

What the office is of those that are ordained in the church.

The last point remaineth, which I purposed to declare in the beginning of this treatise; which is[5], the office of the ministers that are ordained in the church. I can shew you in one word; to govern the church of God, or to feed the flock of Christ. For Paul the apostle, speaking unto the pastors of Asia, saith: "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to rule (or feed) the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." And the pastors do govern the church of God with God his word, or with wholesome doctrine, and

Acts xx.

[2 his chancellor or the archdeacon, not in Lat.]

[3 Pontifex interrogat, dicens: Scis illos dignos esse? Respondet archidiaconus, Quantam humana fragilitas nosse sinit, et scio, et testificor ipsos dignos esse ad hujus onus officii.—Pontificale Rom. p. 37. Rom. 1818.]

[4 quo minus sustineamus, Lat.: that we cannot abide.]

[5 What is, ed. 1577.]

with holy example of life. For St Paul saith again unto
1 Tim. iv. Timothy: "Be thou unto them that believe an ensample in word, in conversation, in love, in spirit, in faith, and in pureness." He writeth also the same unto Titus, ii. chap. But forsomuch as the papists do forge far other things of the office or function of bishops, and do confirm the same, as they also do their other trifles, by the authority or power of the keys; as I said when I entreated of the power of the church[1]: I will therefore first of all speak somewhat (and that as much as I shall think to be sufficient for this matter) as touching the keys.

Of the keys of the church. A key is an instrument very well known to all men, wherewith gates, doors, and chests, are either shut or opened. It is transferred from bodily things unto spiritual things; and it is called the key of knowledge, and of the kingdom of
Luke xi. heaven. For the Lord saith in the gospel of Luke: "Woe unto you, interpreters of the law: for ye have taken away the key of knowledge; ye enter not in yourselves, and them that came in ye forbad." The same sentence St Matthew bringeth
Matth. xxiii. forth after this sort: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men: for ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye them that would enter to come in." Behold, that which Luke calleth, to "take away the key of knowledge," that Matthew expoundeth, "to shut heaven." The key therefore of knowledge is the instruction itself as concerning a blessed life, by what means we are made partakers thereof. He taketh away the key, which instructeth not the people of true blessedness; or else is a hinderance, that other cannot instruct[2] them. Therefore the keys of the kingdom of heaven are nothing else but the ministry of preaching the gospel, or word of God, committed by God unto his ministers, to that end that every one may be taught which way leadeth unto heaven, and which way carrieth down unto hell. These keys the Lord promised to Peter, and in him to all the other apostles, when
Matt. xvi. he said: "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind in earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." Let us inquire, therefore, when the keys

[1 See above, p. 38.]
[2 recte instituant, Lat.: rightly instruct.]

were delivered to Peter and to the rest? And the agreeable consent of all men is, that they were given in the day of the resurrection. But it is evident, the same day the ministry or function of preaching the gospel was committed to the apostles: whereby it followeth, that the keys are nothing else but the ministry of preaching the gospel among all nations. For this thing is declared unto the world; that salvation purchased by Christ is communicated to them that believe, and that hell is open for the unbelievers.

But now let us hear the testimonies of the holy evangelists. John the apostle and evangelist saith: "The Lord came unto his disciples, and said, Peace be unto you; as my Father hath sent me, so send I you. And when he had said that, he breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained." These sayings agree with the words whereby he promised the keys; for there he said: "Whatsoever ye shall bind[3] in earth, shall be bound in heaven:" here he saith: "Whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained." There he said: "And whatsoever ye shall loose[4] in earth, shall be loosed in heaven:" here he saith: "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them." Wherefore, "to bind" is, "to retain sins;" "to loose" is, "to remit sins." You will say, How do men remit sins, since it is written, that only God forgiveth sins? Let other testimonies therefore of the other evangelists be adjoined, expressing that the same history was done in the day of his resurrection. Luke saith: "Then the Lord opened their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures; and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." And Mark saith: "He appeared unto them as they sat together[5], and reproved them of their unbelief and hardness of heart[6]; and he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature: he that shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved; but he that will not believe, shall be damned." Therefore God only

John xx.

Luke xxiv.

Mark xvi.

[3 alligaveris, Lat.: thou shalt bind.]
[4 solveris, Lat.: thou shalt loose.] [5 discumbentibus, Lat.]
[6 and hardness of heart, not in Lat.]

forgiveth sins to them that believe in the name of Christ, that is to say, through[1] the merits and propitiation of Christ: but that sins are forgiven, the ministers do assuredly declare by the preaching of the gospel; and by that preaching do bind and loose, remit and retain sins. The matter will be made plainer by an example or two. St Peter, speaking unto the
Acts ii. citizens of Jerusalem: "Repent ye," saith he, "and let every one of you be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy
How the apostles did bind and loose. Ghost." And so St Peter used the keys committed unto him after this manner: he[2] looseth in earth, and remitteth sins unto men, that is, promising to them that believe assured remission of sins through Christ; which message God hath confirmed, giving remission of sins unto the faithful, as they believed. Moreover, the keeper of the prison at Philippos,
Acts xvi. being amazed, saith to Silas and Paul: "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" The apostles answered: "Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, and thy whole household." The apostles loosed him that was bound, and forgave him his sins, by the keys, that is, by the preaching of the gospel: which gospel since he believed in earth, the Lord judged him to be loosed in heaven. These things are taken out of the Acts of the Apostles. In the same Acts we read examples
Acts xiii. of the contrary in this manner. "The Jews, being filled with indignation, spake against those things which were spoken of Paul, and railed. But Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said, It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, and think yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the gentiles." Again, when the same Paul at Corinth had preached
Acts xviii. Christ to the Jews, and they resisted and reviled; "The apostle shook his raiment, and said, Your blood be upon your own heads: I am clean: from henceforth I will go unto the gentiles." And so he did bind the unbelievers. And God confirmed the preaching of Paul, because it proceeded from God himself. And unless you put the proper and true key into the lock, you shall never open it. The true and right key is the pure word of God; the counterfeit and thievish key is a doctrine and tradition of man, estranged from the word of God. I think I have sufficiently proved by evident

[1] propter, Lat.: for and on account of.] [2] Sic, Lat. So he.]

testimonies of the scripture, that the keys given to the apostles and pastors of the church, and so to the church itself, are nothing else than the ministry of teaching the church. For by the doctrine of the gospel, as it were with certain keys, the gate of the kingdom of heaven is opened, when a sure and ready mean and way is shewed to come to attain unto the participation of Christ and the joys of everlasting life by true faith. To the testimony of God man's record agreeth. For St John Chrysostom upon Matthew, chap. xxiii.: "The key," saith he, "is the word of the knowledge of the scriptures, by which the gate of truth is opened to men. And the key-bearers are the priests, to whom is committed the word of teaching and interpreting the scriptures[3]." Other testimonies of old interpreters of the scriptures, differing nothing from these of ours, for that I am desirous to be brief, I do not bring.

Since these things are thus, brethren, and are delivered unto us in the express scriptures, we will not therefore greatly pass[4] what the papists babble touching the power of the keys; and what offices, dignities, preferments, and I know not what other thing, and what authority of priests, they derive from thence. We have learned, not out of the words or opinions of men, but out of the manifest word of God, that the keys are the ministry of the preaching of the word of God; and that the keys are given to the apostles, and to their successors; that is to say, the office of preaching remission of sins, repentance, and life everlasting[5] is committed to them. Where- Whence doctrine is to be fetched.
upon we now conclude this, that the chief office of a pastor of the church is, to use those very keys which the Lord hath delivered to his apostles, and no other; that is, to preach the only and pure word of God, and not to fetch any doctrine from any other place than out of the very word of God. For there is a perpetual and inviolable law at this day also laid upon our pastors, which we read was laid upon the most ancient governors of the church, the Lord himself witnessing in Malachi, and saying: "My covenant was with Levi of life Mal. ii.

[3 Clavicularii sunt sacerdotes, quibus creditum est verbum docendi et interpretandi scripturas. Clavis autem est verbum scientiæ scripturarum, per quam aperitur hominibus janua veritatis.—Chrysost. Op. Imperf. in Matth. Hom. XLIV. p. 186. Opp. Tom. VI. Par. 1724.]

[4 pass, care for: curabimus, Lat.] [5 vita beata, Lat.]

and peace; and I gave him fear, and he feared me, and was afraid before my name. The law of truth was in his mouth, and there was no iniquity found in his lips; he walked with me in peace and equity, and turned many from their iniquity. For the priest's lips should preserve knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of
Ezek. iii. the Lord of hosts." Again, the Lord saith to Ezechiel: "Thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and give them warning
Jer. xxiii. from me." In Jeremy the Lord saith: "The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully[1]." He expressly puts a difference between heavenly things and earthly[2] things; between those things which are of the word of God, and those that are feigned and chosen by man, which he willeth[3] to let pass as uncertain things, and as dreams. For he immediately addeth: "Is not my word as fire, saith the Lord, and like a hammer that breaketh the hard stone[4]?" And again: "Hear not the words of the prophets, that preach unto you and deceive you: truly, they teach you vanity; for they speak the meaning of their own heart, and not out of the mouth of the Lord." Therefore all the true prophets of God have this continually in their mouth: "Thus saith the Lord; The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." And therefore they delivered unto the people nothing contrary unto the word of God. The old people had also the scripture; and the prophets were nothing else but interpreters of the law, applying the same to the place, time, matters, and persons. Also our Lord Jesus Christ saith oftentimes, that his doctrine is not his own, but the Father's: which thing if you understand literally and according to his words, I know not whether anything can be spoken more absurd. Therefore the Lord meaneth, that his doctrine is not of man, but of God. Doth not he send us continually to the writings of the law and the prophets, and confirmeth his own sayings by them? But Christ is the only teacher of religion, and master of life, appointed unto the universal church by God the Father. To this church he himself also sending teachers, and shewing them what they
Matt. xxviii should deliver[5], saith: "Teach them to observe those things

[1 faithfully, not in Lat.] [2 humana, Lat.] [3 jubet, Lat.]
[4 petram, Lat.] [5 ecclesiæ tradant, Lat.]

which I have commanded you." Also: "Go into the whole world, and preach the gospel to all creatures." But the apostle Paul witnesseth, that the gospel was promised by the prophets of God in the holy scriptures. And this doctrine received of Christ the apostles delivered to the nations, adding nothing unto it, taking nothing from it; and therewithal also they expounded the ancient writings of the prophets: yet neither in this matter trusting anything to their own wit, nor being ruled by their own judgment. For the apostle Peter saith: "As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold graces[6] of God. If any man speak, let him talk as the words[7] of God." Tertullian also in his book intituled *De Præscript. Hæret.* (which I have also elsewhere rehearsed), expressly saith: "It is not lawful for us in anything to rest upon our own fancy or judgment, neither yet to be negligent markers what any other man bringeth forth of his own brain. We have the apostles of the Lord for authors; for not they themselves did choose anything which they might establish after their own fancy; and the doctrine which they received of Christ they faithfully delivered to the nations. And therefore if even an angel from heaven should preach any otherwise, he shall be accursed at our hands[8]." Thus far he. We have moreover shewed in our sermons of faith and of the church, that faith dependeth upon the only word of God; and that it wholly stayeth upon the only word of God; and also that the churches of God are builded and preserved by the word of God, and not by man's doctrine[9]: all which seem to appertain to this matter.

Mark xvi.

Rom. i.

1 Pet. iv.

Neither is it left to the bishops of the church of Christ, as the popish pastors do falsely boast, to ordain new laws and to broach new opinions. For the doctrine, which was de-

The bishops are not permitted to make new laws.

[6 gratiæ, Lat.] [7 sermones, Lat. and Vulg.]

[8 Nobis vero nihil ex nostro arbitrio inducere licet, sed nec eligere quod aliquis de arbitrio suo induxerit. Apostolos Domini habemus auctores, qui nec ipsi quicquam ex suo arbitrio, quod inducerent, elegerunt: sed acceptam a Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus adsignaverunt. Itaque etiamsi angelus de cœlis aliter evangelizaret, anathema diceretur a nobis.—Tertull. de Præs. Hær. cap. 6. ap. Scriptor. Eccles. Opusc. ed. Routh. Vol. I. p. 126. Oxf. 1840.]

[9 See Vol. I. p. 93; and above, p. 26.]

livered to the apostles of Christ, is simply to be received of the church, and simply and purely to be delivered of the pastors to the church, which is the congregation of such as believe the word of Christ. And who knoweth not, that it is said by the prophet, "All men are liars; God only is true?" And the church is the pillar and ground of truth, because as it stayeth upon the truth of the scriptures, even so it publisheth none other doctrine than is delivered in the scriptures, neither receiveth it being published. And who is he that will challenge to himself the glory due unto God only? God is the only lawgiver to all mankind, especially in those things which pertain to religion and a blessed life. For Esay saith:

Isai. xxxiii. "The Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king; and he himself shall be our Saviour." And St

James iv. James also saith: "There is one lawgiver, which is able to save and to destroy." God challengeth this thing as proper to himself, to rule those that are his with the laws of his word, over whom he only hath authority of life and death. Moreover, those laws cannot be godly, which presume to prescribe and teach faith and the service of God after their own fancy. The doctrine concerning faith and the worship of God, unless it be heavenly[1], is nothing less than that which it is said to be. God only teacheth us what is true faith, and what worship he delighteth in; and therefore in Matthew

Matth. xv. the Son of God pronounceth out of Esay: "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." Join hereunto also, that from the new constitutions of men there springeth always up a wonderful neglecting, yea, and contempt, of the word of God and of heavenly laws: for through[2] our own traditions, as the Lord also saith in the gospel, we go astray, and despise the commandments of God.

Now since it is manifest from whence the pastor or doctor must fetch his doctrine, to wit, from no other place than out of the scripture of the old and new Testament, which is the infallible and undoubted word of God; and that therefore this doctrine is certain and immutable[3]: there remaineth now also something to be spoken of the manner of teaching, which the teacher or pastor of the church ought to follow. And here I will only briefly touch the short sum or effect of matters.

[1 divina, Lat.] [2 propter, Lat.] [3 definitam, Lat.]

Afore all other things, therefore, it is required of pastors, that continually they account that to be spoken unto them, which the apostle commanded to be often told to Archippus: "Take heed to the ministry that thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it." And moreover, that they never turn away their eyes from that lively picture of a good and evil shepherd, which Ezechiel, that famous prophet, setteth out after this manner: "Thus saith the Lord God, Woe be unto the shepherds of Israel that feed themselves: should not the shepherds feed the flocks? Ye eat the fat; ye clothe you with the wool; ye kill them that are fed; but ye feed not the sheep: the weak have ye not strengthened, the sick have ye not healed, neither have ye bound up the broken, nor brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with cruelty and with rigour have ye ruled them." And again: "I will feed my sheep, saith the Lord God; I will seek that which was lost, and bring again that which was driven away, and will bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen the weak; but I will destroy the fat and the strong, and I will feed them with judgment." Hereby we gather, that it is the duty of a good pastor or shepherd to feed, and not to devour, the flock; to minister, not to exercise dominion; to seek the safety of his sheep, not his private gain; and also to seek out again the lost sheep, that is to say, to bring again such as cannot abide the truth, and wander in the darkness of errors, home to the church and unto the light of the truth; and to restore and bring back again the sheep that is driven or chased away, to wit, such as are separated from the fellowship of saints[4], or godly, for some private affection's sake; to heal or bind up such as are broken; for he meaneth the wounds of sins, which Jeremy also commandeth to heal: and to be short, to strengthen the weak and feeble sheep, and not altogether to tread them under foot; and to bridle such sheep as be strong, that is to say, men flourishing in virtues, lest they be proud and puffed up with the gifts of God, and so fall away. But let him think, that these things cannot be performed but through sound and continual teaching derived out of God his word.

The scope or drift whereunto the pastors in the church should aim.

Col. iv.

Ezek. xxxiv.

Jer. viii. xxx.

Isai. xlii. viii. Matt. xii. xix.

The manner of teaching extendeth itself to public and

[4 the saints, ed. 1577.]

private doctrines. By public doctrine the pastor either catechiseth, that is to say, instructeth, them that be younglings in religion, or other which are grounded therein[1]. To the younglings or ignorant sort he openeth the principles of true religion. For catechesis, or the form of catechising, comprehendeth the grounds or principles of faith and christian doctrine; to wit, the chief points of the covenant, the ten commandments, the articles of faith or[2] Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and a brief exposition of the sacraments. The ancient churches had catechisers[3] appointed properly to this charge. And the Lord commendeth unto us, both in the old Testament and in the new, with great earnestness the charge of the youth; commanding us to instruct them both betimes, and also diligently, in true religion. Moreover, he setteth out great rewards and grievous punishments in that behalf. Assuredly, no profit or fruit is to be looked for in the church of those hearers, that are not perfectly instructed in the principles of religion by catechising: for they know not of what thing the pastor in the church speaketh, when they hear the covenant, the commandment, the law, grace, faith, prayer, and the sacraments, to be named. Therefore if in anything, then in this, ought greatest diligence to be used.

Of the manner of teaching the church.

The benefit of catechising.

The doctrine, which appertaineth to the perfecter sort, is specially occupied in the exposition of holy scripture. It may appear out of the writings of the old bishops, that it was the custom in that happy and most holy primitive church, to expound unto the churches, not certain parcels of the canonical books, neither some chosen places out of them, but the whole books as well of the new Testament as of the old[4]: and in so doing there came no small fruit unto the churches[5]. As at this day also we see by experience, that churches cannot be better instructed, nor more vehemently stirred up, than with the words of God himself, and with the faithful interpretation of the books of the gospel, the law, the prophets, and apostles. Where, by the way, we give warning, that the interpretation

The interpretation of the scripture.

[1 instituit publice vel catechemenos, vel perfectiores, Lat.]

[2 articles of faith or, not in Lat.]

[3 catechistas, Lat. Bingham, Book III. chap. 10.]

[4 So also 1584: but 1577, as the old.]

[5 See an incident in Zwingle's life. D'Aubigne's Hist. of Reform. Book VIII. chap. 6.]

of the scriptures is not a liberty to feign what one lust, and to wrest the scriptures which way one will; but a careful comparing of the scripture[6], and a special gift of the Holy Ghost; for St Peter saith: "No prophecy in the scripture is of any private interpretation." Wherefore no man hath power to interpret the scriptures after his own fantasy. Neither is that the best exposition which hath most favourers; as if that were the best interpretation which hath the consent of the greater multitude: for Arianism and Turcism would, by many degrees[7], excel Christianism. That exposition is best, which is not repugnant to faith and love, neither is wrested to defend and spread abroad the glory and covetousness of men. But I have spoken of interpretation of the scriptures in the second sermon of the first decade[8]. 2 Pet. i. 20.

Application of scripture.

But unless the scripture be aptly applied, respect being had of place, time, matter, and persons of every church; and to this end (which I also taught in the third sermon of this decade[9]), that the church may be edified, not that the teacher in the church may seem better learned or more eloquent; his exposition of the canonical books of the scripture shall be fruitless to the people. The Lord commendeth unto us the wise steward, and saith: "Who is a faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord hath made[10] ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season?" and as followeth in the xii. of Luke. St Paul also, writing to Timothy the bishop, saith: "Study to shew thyself approved unto God, a workman not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." Meat is unprofitable unless it be divided and cut into parts. But here the householder knoweth what portions he should give to every one in his family, not having regard what delighteth every one, but what is most profitable for every one. The same apostle, teaching that all the actions of a preacher in the church ought to be directed to edification, saith: "He that prophesieth, speaketh unto men to edifying, and to exhortation, and to comfort." Therefore to the teaching of the perfecter sort pertaineth, not only the exposition of the holy scripture, but also a plain demonstration, and manifest as may Luke xii. 2 Tim. ii.

[6 scriptures, ed. 1577.] [7 parasangis, Lat.]
[8 Rather, the Third Sermon. See Vol. I. p. 70, &c.]
[9 See above, p. 101.] [10 constituet, Lat.: shall make.]

be, of the principles and grounds of Christianity[1]; and chiefly an evident doctrine of repentance and remission of sins in the name of Christ; and also a sharp rebuking to be used in due time, or a grave, but yet a wise, reproving of their faults. For the
Matt. v. Lord, speaking to his apostles, saith: "Ye are the salt of the earth; if the salt become unsavoury, wherewith shall it be salted?" Hereunto also pertaineth the confuting of errors and repressing of heresies, and the defence of sound doctrine.
Tit. i. Paul saith, that the "mouths of vain talkers and seducers of minds must be stopped and sharply rebuked." Neither is it enough simply to teach true religion, unless the teacher in the church, by often teaching, constantly urge, defend, and maintain the same. Hereunto chiefly belong these words of Paul:
2 Tim. iv. "I charge" (or adjure) "thee therefore before God, and before the Lord Jesus Christ, which shall judge the quick and dead at his appearing and in his kingdom; preach the word, be instant in season and out of season, improve, rebuke, exhort, with long-suffering and doctrine. For the time will come, when they will not suffer wholesome doctrine; but, having their ears itching, shall after their own lusts get them a heap of teachers, and shall turn their ears from the truth, and shall be given unto fables. But watch thou in all things, suffer adversity, do the work of an evangelist, make thy ministry fully known[2]." Therefore they need very often exhortations, that what the church by often and plain teaching understandeth either to be followed or to be avoided; the same she may, being stirred up and compelled by a fervent exhortation, either constantly follow or refuse. And here it shall be needful for a preacher[3] to use long-sufferance, lest forthwith he cast away all hope, if he see not by and by such happy success as he wisheth for; and that some mighty and impudent adversaries obstinately strive against him. For Paul
2 Tim. ii. saith: "The servants[4] of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, suffering evil[5] with meekness, instructing them that are contrary-minded; if God at any time will give them repentance to the knowledge of the truth; and that they may come unto themselves again out of the snares of the devil, which are taken captive of him at his

[1 rerum Christianarum, Lat.]
[2 ad plenum probatum reddito, Lat. and Erasmus.]
[3 episcopo, Lat.] [4 servum, Lat.] [5 malos, Lat.]

will." There needeth, moreover, mild and quickening[6] comfort: for many are troubled, being tried with divers temptations; whom unless you faithfully comfort, they are overcome of Satan. These, and such other like, do pertain to the teaching of the perfecter sort.

Here I may also make mention of the care of the poor; for this especially pertaineth to a minister[7] and to their public preaching, whereby he may continually provoke the richer sort to mercy, that they may be ready to distribute. The apostle Paul hath left us notable examples of this matter almost in all his epistles; but specially in the sixteenth chapter to the Romans, and in the first to the Corinthians, and also in the eighth and ninth chapter of the latter epistle to the Corinthians. St Peter, James, and John, commended very diligently to St Paul the care of the poor; as Paul himself rehearseth in the second chapter to the Galatians. And albeit Peter in some place refuse the office of distribution; yet herein he is altogether careful, that godly and faithful disposers may be appointed for the poor. Therefore the care of the poor pertaineth chiefly to the pastors, that they be not neglected, but tenderly cherished, as the members of Christ.

Care of the poor.

Acts vi.

The private kind of teaching differeth nothing in the thing itself from that public kind, but it is called private in respect of the learners. For some one cometh to the pastor, after the manner of Nicodemus, and desireth very familiarly to be instructed of him in things properly concerning himself. Besides that, this shepherd goeth privately and instructeth those, whom by evident tokens he hath learned by private conference may be more easily won unto Christ than by public preaching. Moreover, he privately admonisheth, and taketh heed in time, lest they that are more unadvised be deeplier plunged in evil. Hitherto pertaineth the visitation both of sick persons and prisoners, none of whom a faithful pastor neglecteth; but visiteth them so much the more diligently, as he perceiveth them more grievously tempted. For a good pastor is always watchful over the whole flock of Christ, for whom Satan layeth snares, ranging about, seeking whom he may devour. Him the pastor resisteth by prayer, admonitions, teaching, and exhortations. If so be that every church had such a pastor, which would

Private kind of teaching.

[6 vivida, Lat.] [7 episcopum, Lat.]

not easily forsake the flock, how great fruit, I pray you, should we hope for! Wherefore not without cause are we commanded incessantly and earnestly to pray unto God, that he would give faithful, wise, godly, and diligent pastors unto his church.

Prayer for faithful pastors.

What things are joined to teaching.

Thus have I hitherto spoken of the doctrine of bishops in the church of God. And unless a bishop teach after this manner, and do those things which are joined to teaching, he is unworthy either of the name of a bishop, pastor, or doctor, howsoever he pretend an apostolic title. For certain things are joined to the doctrine of the church, which also are required of a preacher of the gospel, and belong to his office; as are these, to gather together an holy assembly, wherein he may preach, conceive prayer[1], and minister the sacraments. But of these things shall be spoken in their place.

Of the holy and unblameable life of bishops. Matt. v.

Now there resteth to be considered, how bishops may govern the church of Christ with holy example of their life. The Lord in the gospel saith to his apostles: "Ye are the light of the world: a city that is set on a high hill cannot be hid; neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." Wherefore pastors, not only in doctrine but in holy life, do give light unto the church; which, beholding their life agreeable to their doctrine, is herself also moved to practise innocency of life. For the example of a good man much prevaileth to the furthering of the love of virtues; and contrariwise the scripture witnesseth, that the corrupt example of the sons of Heli, the chief rulers in religion, was very available to corrupt the people. For the scripture saith: "And the sin of the children of Heli was too abominable before the face of the Lord, so that[2] the people began to abhor the sacrifices of the Lord." For men, seeing the corrupt life of the ministers of the church, begin somewhat to doubt of the whole doctrine, crying: If the pastor thought those things true which he teacheth unto us, he himself would not live so dissolutely. Therefore such teachers are said to overthrow that with their naughty life, which they have builded with

1 Sam. ii.

[1 oretur, Lat.] [2 quod, Lat. for.]

wholesome doctrine. Wherefore Paul requireth a bishop, or pastor of the people, which should be blameless; that is to say, which cannot rightly and worthily be reprehended of the faithful. For otherwise by how much every bishop shall be more sincere and upright, by so much more shall he be subject to slanders and reproaches of the wicked; the Lord himself foretelling the same in the gospel: "If they have called," saith he, "the Lord of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household!" And, "If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you." And again, "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and lying shall say all manner of evil saying against you for my sake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven." Therefore a pastor ought very carefully, and as much as in him is, to take heed that, both at home and abroad, he live a life worthy of himself and his calling. Let him live chastely, as well being single as married. Let temperance, soberness, thriftiness or good husbandry, hospitality, and other virtues, which I have before rehearsed out of the apostle, flourish in a bishop. Let him govern his own household wisely, and godlily instruct them; and so bridle them, that he give not occasion of offence to the church through riotousness or other misdeeds. For so also the apostle Paul hath commanded, who (framing again the exercises of a bishop) saith: "Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, and doctrine." He requireth of Timothy a diligent reading, that is to say, a continual study, whereby he may more perfectly[3] exhort and teach. But Paul requireth of him that hath been brought up in the knowledge of the scriptures from a child, as elsewhere he writeth, a continual study of the scriptures[4]. How great diligence then doth the apostle require of them, who as they have not obtained so plentiful gifts of the Spirit as Timothy had, so they are not exercised in the scriptures from their infancy! Let a sort of them[5] therefore be ashamed of their unskilfulness: let them be ashamed of leisure not bestowed in study, and of their travelsome idleness. For as many read not anything at all, but continually live idly, and, as it were, rot away in idleness; so a number of

Matt. x.

John xv.

Matt. v.

1 Tim. iv.

[3 evidentius, Lat.] [4 of the scriptures, not in Lat.]

[5 multos, Lat.: sort, number, multitude. Becon's Works, ed. P. S. Vol. I. p. 5. n, 2.]

innumerable others are busied in those things which nothing become bishops. Therefore the apostle saith[1]: "No man which goeth a warfare entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him which hath chosen him to be a soldier." Here were a fit place to speak of stipends due unto pastors; but we will defer it to another place. But if bishops come abroad among the people at any time for business' sake, and be present in assemblies of honest men[2]; with no less care ought they to endeavour, lest either by deed or word, or by apparel, or company keeping, or finally, in the whole course of their life, they give any just occasion of offence to the church. Let there appear in pastors, in all places and at all times, holy uprightness, meet ripeness of judgment, honest behaviour, wisdom, modesty, humanity, humility, and authority worthy of God's ministers; but let the contrary vices and wicked misdeeds be far from them.

2 Tim. ii.

In these few words I think are contained those things, which other have handled at large, in treating of the discipline and behaviour of the clergy. For all ages understood, that a dissolute and loose life was evil in all degrees and kinds of men; but in the ministers of the church worse and most intolerable. For what can a minister of the church do in the church, whose authority is altogether lost? Authority therefore is requisite in pastors.

Of the want hereof many do complain; and, seeing it under foot, go about to rear it up again with I cannot tell what kind of props of titles and ceremonies. But authority is not gotten with such light and vain things. It is rather obtained by the grace of God, through the love of truth and uprightness of life; if happily God touch men's hearts, so as they understand, that God worketh his work in the church by his ministers as by his instruments; if they perceive that ministers do the work of the Lord with ferventness of spirit, and not coldly; not fearing anything in a good cause, no, not the wicked and mighty men of this world, but do resist them; and yet that they do nothing of hatred or malice, but do all things of a fatherly affection, with a good courage, constancy, and wisdom. Whereunto if there be joined, not an hypocritical, but a holy and upright life indeed, together with honest, modest,

Authority of pastors.

[1 rursus, Lat. omitted: again.]

[2 cœtibus hominum honestis, Lat.]

and comely behaviour[3], all wise men shall perceive, that there is sufficient authority thereby proved[4] to a godly minister.

I would not yet the Donatists, or anabaptists[5], should hereby claim any kind of defence or protection, were it never so small. They contend, that the ministry of the word and sacraments, executed by a minister whose life is unclean, becometh thereby of no value. But albeit a holy life be requisite in a minister, yet their ministry becometh not of no value through the minister's unhonest life, so his doctrine be sound and perfect. For the Lord in the gospel commandeth to hear them that teach in Moses' chair, but he forbiddeth to follow their doings; for they teach good things, but do them not. Of this matter I have spoken in the second sermon of this decade[6]. Nazianzen very properly saith: "The print of a seal is all one, whether it be graven in iron or in gold[7]." And it is one and the same gospel, it is one and the selfsame heavenly treasure sent of the Father, whether it be brought by a good messenger or a bad. But in the mean space the unhonest life of the ministers of the church ought not to be winked at, but to be chastened; and such as are past cure ought to be put out of the ministry, lest through their continual offence[8] they make the holy ministry infamous.

For the scarce good life of ministers good doctrine must not be rejected.

But many will say: Why handle you these things in public preaching? These things were to be told the ministers privately. I answer; that the very laws, which properly pertained to the priests, were in times past communicated to the magistrates and governors of the people, and read before the people themselves. Moreover it is manifest, that Christ our Lord handled those things in public sermons, which properly pertained to the doctors and pastors of the people. Hereunto may be added, that St Paul, speaking of elders or ministers[9], saith: "Them that sin rebuke openly, that the rest also may fear." 1 Tim. v.

The holy scripture, with great diligence describing good

[3 moros suaves et jucundi, Lat.] [4 paratum, Lat.: gained.]

[5 Mosheim. Eccles. Hist. Book II. Cent. 4. part 2. chap. v. § 8. Vol. I. p. 379. ed. Soames. Bullinger. adv. Anabapt. Lib. III. cap. 7.]

[6 See above, p. 56.]

[7 Ἔστω χρυσὸς, ἔστω σίδηρος, δακτύλιοι δὲ ἀμφότεροι, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐγκεχαράχθωσαν εἰκόνα βασιλικήν.—Greg. Naz. Orat. XL. cap. 26. p. 713. Tom. I. Par. 1778.]

[8 offendiculo, Lat.] [9 or ministers, not in Lat.]

and faithful shepherds and teachers, with no less faithfulness
Hirelings. and diligence doth paint out the false teachers and false shepherds or wolves[1], to the end all men[2] may know them, and take heed of them. These things are everywhere to be seen in the writings of the prophets and apostles; yet singular places, if any man would know, are to be seen, Deut. xiii. and xviii., Isai. lvi., Jeremy xxiii., Ezechiel xxxiv., Daniel xi., Matthew vii. and xxiii. The epistles of Paul in describing and confuting of them are very plentiful; and St Peter in overthrowing of such men spendeth a great part of his latter epistle.

The testimonies and examples of the same prophets and apostles do shew, that godly ministers and faithful pastors shall be vexed with all kinds of afflictions and persecutions. Yet the very same nevertheless do witness evidently, that the ministry shall never be utterly oppressed, but that the ministers shall continually have the victory, yea, even when they are slain. For the Lord always giveth ministers unto his church, who, though they be tried as gold is in the fire, yet they overcome through him which hath overcome the world and the prince of the world. The last times shall be very wicked, as we read the times of Noe and Loth were: but as then also, in that uttermost corruption, those two most excellent men, with a few other singular men in all godliness and true worshippers of God, are read to have flourished and done their duty; even so, unto the very end of the world, the ministry of the word shall also endure; and worthy doctors and pastors shall flourish, striving against and persecuting all ungodliness and looseness of life. Let the enemies of the truth cease to hope for the overthrow of the ministry and ministers of the word of God. "I will," saith the Lord in the gospel, "be with you always, even unto the end of the world."
2 Thess. ii. He cannot lie who hath spoken this. "He[3] shall consume antichrist," saith the apostle, "with the spirit of his mouth; and shall[4] abolish him with the brightness of his coming unto judgment." There shall be therefore ministers in the church and preachers, yea, in despite of the gates of hell, rage they never so horribly, even unto the end of the world.

[1 depastores, Bullinger's one word for "false shepherds or wolves."]
[2 omnibus sanctis, Lat.: all the saints.]
[3 Idem, Lat.: The same.]
[4 quem mox abolebit, Lat.: yea, he shall shortly, &c.]

These things hitherto have I comprehended, as briefly as I could, touching the ministry of the word, and the ministers of the churches of Christ. But it is not in our power to frame or give such pastors. By the grace and goodness of God good pastors are given, and the wicked are taken away. Let us all therefore call upon God, praying him to give us faithful and godly ministers[5], whereby his name may be always sanctified and the church of God may be happily governed, to the salvation of all those that believe.

OF THE FORM AND MANNER HOW TO PRAY TO GOD; THAT IS, OF THE CALLING ON THE NAME OF THE LORD: WHERE ALSO THE LORD'S PRAYER IS EXPOUNDED; AND ALSO SINGING, THANKSGIVING, AND THE FORCE OF PRAYER, IS ENTREATED.

THE FIFTH SERMON.

After the ministry of the word of God in the church of Christ handled, methinketh I have convenient place to entreat of the prayer of the faithful, whereunto godly ministers never leave to stir up the church.

What prayer is.

The word prayer is very largely taken among writers, and in daily use. At this present we use it after the same manner that David the prophet used it, saying: "Hear my prayer, O God; and let my cry come unto thee." For prayer is an humble and earnest laying forth of a faithful mind, whereby we either ask good things at God's hands, or else give him thanks for those things which we have received. And[6] of prayer chiefly there are two parts; invocation or asking, and thanksgiving. By petition we lay open unto God the requests and desires of our heart; beseeching him to give us good things, and that he will turn from us evil things, as may be to his glory and good pleasure, and according to

The definition of prayer, and what be the parts thereof.

[5 episcopos, Lat.] [6 Etenim, Lat.: For.]

our necessity. In invocation or petition we comprehend obsecration, which is a more vehement prayer; and also intercession, whereby we commend other men's matters to the Lord. For we offer prayers to the Lord our God, not only for ourselves, but also for our brethren, and for their manifold necessities; for them that are distressed with perils; for those that be sick; for them which suffer persecution, or are in a manner oppressed with other calamities and afflictions. Neither[1] do we exclude beseechings, whereby we earnestly desire evils to be turned away from ourselves or from others. There are also complaints, whereby the saints in their prayers do holily expostulate with God. Thanksgiving comprehendeth both divine praises; and also celebrateth with a joyful spirit God his noble power[2], and the benefits received at his hand. Hereunto is referred a great part of the Psalms: whereof part pertain to invocation or calling upon God; and some serve to teach or instruct, and some to declare or expound: whereof at this present there is no place to speak. Paul, the blessed apostle of Christ, acknowledging these parts of prayer, writing

Col. iv. to the Colossians, saith: "Continue in prayer, and watch in

Phil. iv. the same with thanksgiving." And to the Philippians: "Let your requests be shewed unto God, in prayer and supplication

1 Tim. ii. with giving of thanks." And again unto Timothy: "I exhort, therefore," saith Paul, "that first of all prayers, supplications, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men."

Kinds of prayers. Kinds of prayers are these. There is a private prayer of every faithful man; and there is also a public prayer of the whole church. Private prayer is made unto God by every faithful man, in what place soever, either in the house or without doors, in the closet of his heart and temple of his

Acts x. own body: for St Peter went up into the uppermost part of

1 Tim. ii. the house and prayed; St Paul saith, "I will therefore that the men pray everywhere, lifting up pure hands;" and Christ our Lord himself very often departed even out of the temple into the mount to pray. And in the gospel he saith:

Matt. vi. "When thou prayest, enter into thy chamber; and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret."

Public prayer is that which is used of the church, which

[1 Ergo nec, Lat.] [2 virtutes eximias, Lat.]

is made unto God in the holy assembly, according to the accustomed order of every church. Now the pastor's duty is, as Paul also admonisheth in the 1 Tim. ii., and we in the last sermon before this have rehearsed, to gather together, instruct, and preserve the assemblies, in which supplications or common prayers are made. And they are greatly to be blamed, who are more negligent in this behalf than becometh them; neither are they indeed to be suffered, which seldom or never teach diligently, and are cold in stirring up a desire in men, to pray. Men by nature are slow and slack in the study of religion, and therefore we have need of a sharp spur; and the charge and office of stirring up, and provoking, is committed to the pastors of churches. The prophets somewhere cry: "Blow out the trumpet in Sion, assemble a congregation." For in a holy congregation three things are chiefly used; the teaching of the gospel, faithful prayers, and religious celebration or administration of the sacraments: and sometimes there is a collection made for the relieving of the poor and of the church. The holy scripture witnesseth, that these things are not instituted at the will and pleasure of man, but by the authority of God; yea, and immediately after the first beginning of things; and that they were also used of the most holy worshippers of God. Of those most ancient patriarchs, both which were first before the flood and which followed immediately after, there is no doubt; since the scripture plainly witnesseth of Jacob himself, the nephew[3] of Abraham, that he erected an altar in Bethel, whereunto he assembled his whole household, though it were exceeding great, and there offered sacrifice[4] unto God. In Moses' time by the law, in most evident commandments, he instituted holy assemblies: yea, in the ten commandments he diligently commandeth to sanctify the sabbath-day; which also comprehendeth holy assemblies. The holy prophets of God do everywhere praise and commend the ecclesiastical assemblies of God's people. Neither did Christ our Lord disallow them, when he came in the flesh: for as in the most notable[5] assemblies and feasts he taught with great diligence; even so he gathered and assembled together both the people and also his disciples, whom he specially commanded that they should not depart from Hierusalem, but

Of holy assemblies.

Gen. xxxv.

Exod. xx.

Luke xxiv.

[3 nepote, Lat.: grandson.]

[4 cultum exhibuerit, Lat.] [5 frequentissimis, Lat.]

wait for the promise of the Father: which thing, when they
Acts ii. were gathered together into an assembly and in prayer, we read in the Acts to have been performed. There also the assembly of the faithful is commended to us; as appeareth both in[1] the xi. and xiv. cap. of the 1 epist. of Paul to the Corinth. Those supplications, which the same Paul commandeth to be made for all them that are set in authority, are made chiefly in holy assemblies. Truly Pliny, an heathen author, writing to Trajanus the emperor, doth make very manifest mention of holy assemblies[2]. Holy assemblies had of old time very
1 Kings viii. excellent promises; as we may see in the prayer of Solomon, which is described unto you in the first book of the Kings, the viii. cap. And at this day the church of Christ hath promises nothing inferior to them; Christ our Lord saying:
Matt. xviii. "I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree in earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Behold, the Lord himself is in the midst of the assemblies of saints; and where the Lord is, there is both plenty and the treasure of all good things. And therefore experience itself which we have of matters teacheth, that the supplications of the church are effectual; for the Lord heareth the prayers of the church, and delivereth from evil those whose safety the church commendeth unto him[3]. We have oftentimes had experience, that they which were in extreme danger have found very present help, even at the same instant wherein the congregation hath offered their prayers to the Lord. Moreover, the example moveth very many, otherwise hard-hearted and barbarous; for they see the devout godliness of the holy congregation, and the fervency of the faithful in assemblies, and are thereby moved; so that entering into themselves, they acknowledged that they are miserable, and desire to be partakers of this fellowship, ac-
1 Cor. xiv. cording to the saying of St Paul: "If therefore, when the

[1 Ibidem... sicut et, &c. Lat. There also (i. e. in the Acts) ... as likewise in, &c.]

[2 Affirmabant (Christiani) quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire; carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem, &c.—Plin. Ep. Lib. x. Ep. 97.]

[3 Domino, Lat.: to the Lord.]

whole church is come together in one, and all speak strange tongues[4], there come in they that are unlearned, or they which believe not; will they not say, that ye are out of your wits? But if all prophesy, and there come in one which believeth not, or one unlearned, he is rebuked of all men, and is judged of all. And so are the secrets of his heart made manifest; and so he will fall down on his face, and worship God[5], and say plainly, that God is in you indeed." With what confidence, therefore, and how shamefully, dare some set light by holy assemblies; and not only set light by them, but also scorn at them, as if they were assembled together without any profit at all? David in his banishment maketh complaint of nothing so much, as that he was compelled to wander in the wilderness, and was shut out from holy assemblies. For[6] he promiseth the Lord, he will enter into his holy congregation, if ever he be restored again. Verily, when the Lord saith in the gospel, "He which is of God heareth God's word;" it followeth, that they which love the congregation, wherein the word of God is preached, have the natural mark of the sons of God.

We must pray.

But because many do not only loathe holy assemblies, but also say that prayers are altogether superfluous, vain, and unprofitable; before we proceed any further, we will shew that the godly must pray, and that the prayers of the faithful are both effectual, profitable, and[7] necessary. They say, All things are done by the providence of God, and therefore prayers are unprofitable; for that which God hath foreknown, that verily will he bring to pass after the manner of his foreknowledge, neither can it be hindered by prayers. But these men abuse the providence of God; for that out of it they gather that thing, which the holy scriptures do not teach them to gather. For in Deuteronomy, in express words, Moses hath left written: "The Lord had determined to destroy you; therefore I made intercession unto the Lord, and I found favour." Jonas threateneth so certain destruction unto the Ninevites from the Lord, that he even foretold the number of days: but when the men of Nineveh believed the Lord, and repented, the Lord became favourable to them again; neither did he destroy them, when they repented.

Deut. ix.

Jonah iii. iv.

[4] linguis, Lat.: *strange* not in Lat.] [5] God, not in Lat.]
[6] Autem, Lat.: And.] [7] adeoque, Lat.: and so.]

Moreover, Esay had spoken to Ezechias out of the mouth of
Isai. xxxviii. the Lord, "Thou shalt die, and not live:" but when the king poured forth his prayers, even from the bottom of his heart unto the Lord, God changed his sentence that he had
Jer. xviii. pronounced. For the Lord himself saith in Jeremy: "I will speak suddenly against a nation or a kingdom, for to pluck it up, and to root it out, and to destroy it[1]: but if this nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their wickedness, I will repent of the plague that I thought to bring upon them," &c. Wherefore the prayers of the faithful are effectual, staying the wrathful judgments of God, yea, and taking them clean away.

Objection. For whereas they object again, That prayer is a declaration of things which we require of the Lord; and that God foreknoweth all things; therefore that these[2] things are unprofitably and superfluously declared unto him, which he already knoweth; and so for that cause that prayer is unprofitable: it is confuted of Christ our Lord himself, who, when
Matt. vi. he had plainly said, "Your heavenly Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask of him;" yet nevertheless, adding a form of prayer, he teacheth us to pray. In another place he commandeth us and stirreth us up to pray often: "Watch and pray," saith he, "lest you enter into
1 Thess. v. temptation." And Paul saith: "Rejoice always; pray continually." In every place there are many precepts of this kind. Neither do we declare our matters to him as to one that knoweth them not; but we utter them to him that understandeth the desires of our heart, and do humble ourselves at the feet of his majesty. We ask that of him which we know we want; but yet of him certainly to be received, who is the author of all goodness; for we believe his sure and infallible promises. In the meantime prayers are not superfluous, for that the Lord would assuredly give that which we asked. The Lord promised the delivery of his people, whereof the godly doubted nothing at all: yet with incessant supplications
Jer. xxix. they prayed unto the Lord, crying, "Deliver us, O Lord our God;" neither did they think they laboured in vain. To
Anabaptists. the anabaptists[3], pretending absolute pureness, and therefore,

[1 and to — destroy it, not in Lat.]
[2 So also 1584; but 1577, those.]
[3 See Vol. III. p. 66, note 2.]

being pure, neither can nor ought to pray, "Forgive us our debts," since there remain no debts, the most holy evangelist and apostle John answereth, and saith: "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we acknowledge our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us." For as long as we live in this world, there remain remnants of sin to be washed away every moment by the grace of Christ. 1 John i.

Moreover, whereas they object, it is written, "We know that God doth not hear sinners;" but we are all sinners, therefore God doth hear none of us, and so men's prayers are found to be unprofitable: we answer, that of sinners some are altogether ungodly and despisers of God: those God heareth not. There are again repentant men, and such as fear God; which nevertheless are sinners, and rightly so called, because of the remnants of sin: those God heareth. Which might be shewed by the examples of David, Manasses, Peter, the thief crucified with Christ, and many other; which were both sinners, and when they prayed were heard. John ix.

Therefore we say, that the prayers of the faithful are not only profitable and effectual, but also necessary unto men. For we are men, defiled with sin, destitute and void of all goodness. "Every good giving, and every perfit gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights." He commandeth us to pray, and offereth to them that pray very large promises. Wherefore our fathers were both very often exercised, and very fervent, in prayer; by their example teaching us that prayers are necessary. The scripture also diligently and at large rehearseth, how great things by their prayers in very weighty affairs and dangers, yea, in matters most necessary, they obtained of our most true and most bountiful Lord and God. The apostles pray for the Holy Ghost, faith, and the increase of faith; and they receive their requests, not sparingly, but liberally, being made partakers of all manner graces of Christ. In the gospel the publican prayeth in the temple, and saith: "God, be merciful to me a sinner:" and he forthwith found the Lord merciful unto him. What and how great things Helias by his prayers obtained of the Lord, the holy history recordeth. And the blessed Prayers are necessary. James i. Luke xviii.

apostle James applieth his example unto us also, that we also in faith should call upon God: which I rehearse, lest any man should think that that pertaineth nothing unto us. Again, how much the faithful prayers of Moses, David, Josaphat, Ezechias, and other valiant men, prevailed in wars, in famines, in sickness, and in other exceeding great dangers, it were long to recite. These examples prove, that prayer is both always necessary unto men, and very effectual. For we plainly see that God is moved with the prayers of his faithful; for he is good and merciful, he loveth us, he took flesh, that he might be touched with feeling of our infirmities, lest we should be dismayed at him: he is true and faithful, performing those things faithfully which he promiseth. What? doth he not freely, liberally, and bountifully call all men unto him, offering himself wholly to them that call upon him in faith?

God is moved with prayers.

But in that they which pray do not always receive that which they ask, it doth not prove that prayer is altogether unprofitable; for it is oftentimes profitable for him that prayeth not to receive his requests. There are moreover many causes, for the which God either putteth off the things that are asked, or doth not grant them. There is a kind of men which pray, of whom we read written: "He that stoppeth his ear at the cry of the poor, shall cry himself, and not be heard." Again: "Though ye make many prayers, yet will I hear nothing at all, seeing your hands are full of blood." So again in Solomon Wisdom crieth, testifying that she will not hear them that call on her, because they would not first hear her giving them warning in time. All these things in a manner are gathered from the person of them that pray: from the thing itself which they pray for, that which followeth is derived. St James saith: "Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss, even to consume it upon your lusts." For the Lord also, answering two even of his chosen[1] disciples which required the highest rooms[2] in the kingdom of Christ, saith: "Ye know not what ye ask." Furthermore, holy men when they ask holy and necessary things, or at the least not unjust or evil, which nevertheless they receive not of the Lord; they forthwith think, that God is a God of judgment and justice, and therefore that he will not immediately deliver

Why they that pray do not always receive that they ask.

Prov. xxi.

Isai. i.

Prov. i.

James iv.

Matt. xx.

[1 alioqui selectis, Lat.: otherwise choice.] [2 primatum, Lat.]

out of afflictions: yet desire they deliverance with continual prayers. "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth:" whom he chasteneth, he doth[3] not to this end, to destroy them; but "that they should not be condemned with the wicked world." For it is lawful in such distresses to pray with David, "Rebuke me not in thine anger, O Lord; neither chasten me in thy displeasure:" and with Jeremy, "Lord, correct me in judgment, not in fury:" and with Abacuch, "When thou art angry, remember thy mercy." The godly doubt nothing of the power and goodness of God to men-ward. That which God will, and which is profitable for the children of God, God can do. Innumerable examples of this thing the old and new Testament[4] doth afford us. Wherefore, when we are not delivered, when we obtain not our desires, it is most sure that God will have it so, and that it is profitable for us it should so be. By this means he heareth our prayers, when he heareth us; for our prayers tend to this end only, that it might go well with us. God, since he is only wise, knoweth what can profit and what can hurt us, and doth not give us that we ask; yet by not giving he in very deed granteth that which is good for us. Therefore the lawful prayer of the faithful is always effectual, and evermore obtaineth his purpose; the Lord granting to his that which he knoweth to be good.

Prov. iii. Heb. xii.

Psal. xxxviii.

Furthermore, the Lord deferreth to perform that which is asked, yea, and at sometime seemeth altogether to neglect our prayers: but he doth that by prolonging to try his, that he may make their faith the more fervent, and his gifts also more acceptable; which are so much the more joyfully received, by how much they are looked for by an ardent[5] desire. In this temptation let that saying of the prophet comfort us: "Can a woman forget her child, and not have compassion on the son of her own womb? Though they should[6] forget, yet will not I forget thee." For the church had said: "God hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me."

Why God deferreth to give that which he meaneth to give.

Isai. xlix.

Let us now consider, what manner of prayer that should be which he that calleth on God useth. That question cannot be better resolved, than by weighing the chiefest circumstances.

Who is to be called upon of them that pray.

[3] corripit, Lat.: he doth chasten.]
[4] historia vetus et evangelica, Lat.]
[5] ardentiori, Lat.: more ardent.] [6] poterit, Lat.: she may.]

First therefore let us consider, Who must be called upon of them that pray. None verily, but the one and only God. For three things are required of him which is prayed unto: first, that he hear the prayers of all the men in the whole world; that he pierce and exactly know their hearts; yea, that he know more rightly and better all the desires of men than men themselves can utter them: secondly, that he be present everywhere, and have power over all things in heaven, in earth, and in hell; which hath in his power all the ways and all the means to help: thirdly, that his will be exceeding good and ready prepared; that that which he can, he may also be willing to do. But these properties are found in God only. For God only searcheth the reins and the hearts: he only seeth and heareth all things: he only knoweth more perfectly those things which are within and without man, than man himself: he only is present in all places: he only is almighty: he only is wise: the will of God only embraceth man with most perfect goodness, and is always ready, and only procureth faithfully that which is profitable for man: therefore ought God only to be called upon. But who can attribute these properties, were it to the most chosen souls in heaven, without blasphemy and sacrilege? Therefore the souls in heaven, living with God, are not to be called upon: especially since the scripture in plain words testifieth, that "Abraham and Jacob know us not;" and commandeth us to call on God, and forbiddeth to communicate those things which are God's to creatures. And, that we say nothing else; to whom, I pray you, of all the saints or angels in heaven can we say without blushing, "Our Father, which art in heaven," and that which followeth in the Lord's prayer? Let us therefore call upon God only, that heavenly Father, whom alone all the saints, or godly men, as many as have been in the church, have called upon.

Isai. lxiii.

By whom God the Father is called upon.

But since no mortal man, how good soever[1] he seem to be, is worthy to come forth into the sight of the eternal and most holy God; which thing all men with one voice confess: many indeed and divers patrons, intercessors, and advocates, are chosen and received of them that pray; by whose intercession either they themselves might be brought to God, or their prayers presented unto God. Wherefore some have

[1 et sanctus, Lat.: omitted, and holy.]

chosen to themselves angels, other apostles, other the most holy and among all other women that blessed virgin, the mother of Christ[2]; other some have chosen other, as they have put confidence in this man or that man: but they have forged these things unto themselves out of the imagination[3] of their own heart, and have not learned them at the mouth of the Lord. The scripture, that only rule of truth, setteth forth to us one mediator, intercessor, patron, and advocate, by whom we may come unto God, and by whom we may present our prayers unto the Lord. All the prayers of all men are unpleasant and abominable, which are not made by Jesus Christ. Neither doth true faith teach us[4] to forge and imagine another advocate for Christ, or some other with Christ, in the sight of God; nor ourselves alone without our advocate Christ to rush into the presence of God the Father. Here true[5] Christians are separated from Jews, from Turks[6], yea, and papists also. For they, despising[7] the Son of God, call upon the Father only, without the mediation of Christ Jesus. But the voice of God, by the gospel and his apostles, pronounceth against them. In the gospel we read the Lord said: "The Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son, because that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, the same honoureth not the Father which hath sent him." John v.
And again: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the Father, but by me." John xiv.
And John, the apostle and evangelist, saith: "Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father." 1 John ii.
But these men do not acknowledge Christ to be the only intercessor; but teach that saints in his stead, or with him, ought to be called upon, as patrons before God. But the same John[8], shewing an advocate unto Christians, did not appoint himself; did not lay before us saints instead of Christ, or them with Christ; "but," saith he, "we have an advocate with God the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." Neither doth Paul shew us any other in 1 Tim. ii. cap., and Heb. vii. cap. To the Ephesi. iii.

[2 of Christ, not in Lat.] [3 arbitrio, Lat.]
[4 So also 1584; but 1577 *suffer* us, patitur, Lat.]
[5 true, not in Lat.] [6 Mahumeticis, Lat.]
[7 So also ed. 1577; but 1584, despising of.]
[8 apostolus, Lat. omitted.]

Ephes. iii. "By Christ," saith he, "we have boldness and entrance with confidence by faith in him." Christ is sufficient for them that believe, as in whom alone the Father hath stored up all good things, commanding us to ask those things in him and by him through prayer. These things are sufficient for minds not desirous of contention. They that will, let them search further in the fifth sermon of the fourth decade[1].

What things provoke man to call upon God.

I have told you, who is to be prayed unto or called upon of the godly worshippers of God; and by[2] whom: to wit, God alone, by[2] the only Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ. Let us now see, what should stir up man to call upon God. Surely, the Spirit of our God principally; for prayer is rightly counted among the gifts of grace: for neither could we earnestly nor heartily call upon our God, unless we be stirred up and provoked thereunto by the Spirit of God. For albeit the commandment of God will us to pray, and present necessity and danger drive us, and the example of other allure us to pray; yet all these things would do nothing, unless the Spirit enforce our minds unto his will, and guide and keep us in prayer. Therefore, though there be many causes concurring which move men to prayer, yet the chief original of prayer is the Holy Ghost; to whose motion and government, in the entrance of all prayers, whosoever pray with any fruit do beg with an holy preface. To this pertain these words of the holy

Rom. viii. apostle: "The Spirit also," saith he, "helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what to pray as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh requests for us with sighs which cannot be expressed. But he which searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the meaning of the Spirit; for he maketh requests for the saints according to the will of God." Indeed, the Spirit of God is said to make intercession; not that he in very deed prayeth and groaneth; but because he stirreth up our minds to pray and to sigh, and bringeth to pass that, according to the pleasure of God, we should make intercession or pray for the saints, that is to say, for ourselves.

With what abilities he must be furnished which cometh to pray unto God.

But let us consider, with what abilities he must be furnished, which cometh of purpose to pray unto God. First, it is necessary that he lay aside all opinion of his own worthiness and righteousness; that he acknowledge himself to be a sinner, and to stand in need of all good things; and so let

[1 See Vol. III. p. 212, &c.] [2 per, Lat.: through.]

him yield himself unto the mere mercy of God, desiring of the same to be filled with all things that are good. For that great prophet of God, Daniel, saith: "We do not present our prayers before thee in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold mercies." Also you read the like prayers offered unto God, Psalm lxxix.; for the people of the Lord cry: "Help us, O Lord of our salvation, for the glory of thy name: deliver us, and be merciful unto our sins, for thy name's sake. Remember not our sins of old; make haste, and let thy mercy deliver us." In the new Testament, the Pharisee in Luke, trusting in his own righteousness, is put by, and cast off from the Lord; but the publican, freely confessing his sins and craving mercy of God, is heard and justified. For unless we acknowledge our nakedness, weakness, and poverty, who, I pray you, will pray unto God? "For not they that be strong, but they that be sick, have need of the physician." And the Lord in the gospel saith: "Ask, and ye shall receive; knock, and it shall be opened unto you; seek, and ye shall find." He therefore that is commanded to ask, that he may receive, hath not as yet that he asketh; he that knocketh, by knocking signifieth that he standeth without doors; and he which seeketh, hath lost that which yet he seeketh for. We therefore, being shut out from the joys of paradise, by prayer do seek and ask for that which we have lost and have not. Therefore, whereas David and Ezechias and other saints of God in prayer do allege their own righteousness, for which they seem worthily to require to be heard; truly they regard not their own worthiness, but rather the truth of God. He hath promised, that he will hear them that worship him; therefore the godly say: Behold, we are thy worshippers; therefore it is meet thou shouldest not neglect us, but deliver us. In the meanwhile, in other places they speak in such sort of their righteousness, that we cannot doubt that in their prayers they made mention of their righteousness with a certain measure and limitation. "Enter not into judgment with thy servant," saith David; "for in thy sight shall no man living be justified," &c.

Dan. ix.

Luke xviii.

Matt. vii.

Furthermore, and that which is the chief of all; it is needful that they which pray must have a true and fervent faith. Let the doctrine of faith, therefore, in the matter of prayer, shew us light as the morning-star; and with an assured

Faith is chiefly needful to them that pray.

hope to obtain of God the thing which is asked, let him that prayeth make his petition. "Let him ask in faith," saith
James i. St James[1], "nothing wavering: for he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea, tost of the wind, and carried with violence. Neither let that man think that he shall receive anything of the Lord." And[2] Paul also saith: "How shall they call upon him, on whom they have not believed?" I have spoken of faith in the fourth sermon of the first decade. But to the end that faith may increase in just measure, and flourish and continue stable; we must labour in the promises and examples from every place gathered together. We will
Psal. l. recite a few. In the book of Psalms we read: "Offer unto God thanksgiving, and pay thy vows unto the most Highest."
Psal. cxlv. And: "Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." Again: "The Lord is nigh unto all that call upon him, unto all such as call upon him in truth (or faithfully). He will fulfil the desire of them that fear him: he will also hear their cry, and will save them."
Isai. lxv. Again, in Esay, the Lord saith: "And it shall come to pass, that before they call, I will answer them; and while they are but yet thinking how to speak[3], I will hear them." In
Matt. vii. Matthew the Lord saith: "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For whosoever asketh receiveth, and whosoever seeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened," &c. In
Matt. xxi. the same gospel the Lord saith: "And all things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive it[4]." In the
Mark xi. xi. of Mark the same sentence is thus alleged: "Whatsoever," saith he, "ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye shall have it, and it shall be done unto you." Again, in the gospel
John xiv. according to St John the Lord saith: "Whatsoever ye shall
John xvi. ask in my name, that will I do." Again: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you. Ask, and ye shall receive." David frameth an argument of the example of the fathers,
Psal. xxii. and saith: "Our fathers hoped in thee, they trusted in thee, and thou didst deliver them; they called upon thee, and they

[1 apostolus, Lat.: omitted.] [2 Nam, Lat.: For.]

[3 So Coverdale, 1535; but Lat. adhuc illis loquentibus: while they are yet speaking.]

[4 So also 1584; but 1577 omits *it*.]

were helped; they did put their trust in thee, and were not confounded:" for thereupon he gathereth, that he also shall not be forsaken of the Lord. In the history of the gospel are very many examples to be seen, which exceedingly confirm and establish the faith of the godly.

Let the life of him that prayeth be answerable to his faith.

But since faith is not a vain imagination, but an effectual power, working by the Holy Ghost all kind of good works, (though they neither trust unto these, neither think in consideration of them to be heard;) yet nevertheless such sinners as are faithful do not impudently, and without repentance, trust to their own wits[5], dealing only in words with the Lord; but they join a holy life with prayers. For Salomon saith: "He that turneth his ear from hearing the law, his[6] prayer shall be abominable." And the Lord saith in Esay: "Though ye make many prayers, yet will I hear nothing at all, seeing your hands are full of blood." Of such impenitent persons we understand that in the gospel: "God heareth not sinners." But that more is; the saints shall obtain nothing, if they continue prayer for such; for Jeremy, praying earnestly for his people otherwise being obstinately wicked, heareth: "Thou shalt not pray for this people; thou shalt neither give thanks nor bid prayer for them[7]; make thou no intercession for them; for in no wise will I hear thee. Seest thou not what they do in the cities of Juda? The children gather sticks, the fathers kindle the fire, the women knead the dough to make cakes for the queen of heaven. They pour out[8] drink-offerings unto strange gods, to provoke me unto wrath." After the same manner saith the Lord in Ezechiel: "If I send a pestilence into this land, and if[9] Noe, Job, and Daniel, were[10] therein," (or in the midst of it,) "as truly as I live, saith the Lord God, they shall deliver neither son nor daughter, but save their own souls in their righteousness." Wherefore it followeth, that the supplications of unrepentant men and impudently

Prov. xxviii.

Isai. i.

John ix.

Jer. vii.

Ezek. xiv.

[5 ingenio indulgent, Lat.: rather, give loose to their lusts.]

[6 etiam, Lat.: even his, &c.]

[7 neque attollas pro illis clamorem et deprecationem, Lat.: but the Vulgate, nec assumas pro eis laudem et orationem; and Coverdale, 1535, as above.]

[8 et ut, Lat.: and to pour out, &c.]

[9 tres viri, Lat. omitted: the three men.]

[10 steterint, Lat.: stood.]

persevering in their sins, though they cry without ceasing, "Help us, O God, our Saviour; deliver us, O Lord; we beseech thee to hear us," are altogether fruitless; for they desire to be preserved, that they might take their further pleasure and commit wickedness. And though God give us freely those things which we ask, yet it is necessary, that an affection or desire to live well do accompany so great benefits received at the hands of God: for here we ought most diligently to take heed, that we think not we shall be heard for our virtues' sake, but for the mere mercy of God in Christ Jesus[1].

Our minds must be lifted up to heavenly things.

Moreover, whosoever desireth to have his prayers to be acceptable unto God, let him lift up his mind from earthly things unto heavenly things. Touching that thing the blessed martyr of Christ, Cyprian, eloquently[2] and holily entreating, saith: "When we stand occupied in prayer, we must with our whole heart watch, and be diligent in prayer. Let all worldly and fleshly thoughts depart; neither let the mind think upon anything else at that time than only that which it prayeth. Let thy breast be shut against the adversary, and let it be open to God only; neither let it suffer the enemy of God to enter into it in the time of prayer. For he oftentimes stealeth upon us, and entereth in; and, subtilly deceiving us, turneth away our prayers from God, that we may have one thing in our heart, and another thing in our mouth. But not the sound of the voice, but the mind and sense, ought to pray unto God with an unfeigned affection[3]." Thus far he.

But that the mind of him that prayeth may be lifted up from earthly things unto heavenly things, that is chiefly the work of the spirit of true faith, the stedfastness of hope, and the fervent love of God; if also we have in remembrance the dreadful majesty of God, before whose eyes we stand pray-

[1 So also 1584; but 1577, Jesu.] [2 eleganter, Lat.]

[3 Quando autem stamus ad orationem, fratres dilectissimi, vigilare et incumbere ad preces toto corde debemus. Cogitatio omnis carnalis et secularis abscedat, nec quidquam tunc animus quam id solum cogitet quod precatur.... Claudatur contra adversarium pectus, et soli Deo pateat, nec ad se hostem Dei tempore orationis adire patiatur: obrepit enim frequenter et penetrat, et subtiliter fallens preces nostras a Deo avocat, ut aliud habeamus in corde, et aliud in voce, quando intentione sincera Dominum debeat non vocis sonus, sed animus et sensus orare.—Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. Opp. p. 152. Oxon. 1682.]

ing. Him all the creatures in heaven and earth do worship and reverence; thousand thousands of angels serve him. Let us think with ourselves, how profitable and necessary things we ask of God, without which we cannot be happy. Let us, moreover, remove from us all those things, which either detain and keep us in this world, or pull us back unto earthly things; of which sort are these, slothfulness, covetousness, and surfeiting, and, to be short, all other sins like unto these: and contrariwise, let us apply ourselves to watchfulness, soberness, gentleness, and liberality. Surely the scripture almost everywhere joineth unto prayer fasting and mercy; for these virtues make us more cheerful and ready to pray through faith. Daniel saith: "I turned my face unto the Lord God, and sought[4] him by prayer and supplication, with fasting, sackcloth, and ashes." Dan. ix. Neither unlike to this do Jonas and Joel teach. Yea, in the gospel and writings of the apostles we everywhere hear: "Watch; be fervent in prayer; be sober." For, the belly being full, either no prayers at all, or else fat and unwieldy prayers, are made. Whereof we read that St Augustine said: "Wilt thou have thy prayer fly up unto God? make it two wings, fasting and alms-deeds[5]." For in the Acts of the Apostles the angel of the Lord saith to Cornelius, the centurion: "Thy prayers and thine alms-deeds are had in remembrance in the sight of God." Acts x.

Let prayer proceed from love.

And surely God requireth of us fervent prayer; but it cannot choose but be cold, which is not inflamed with charity. Therefore they that be cruel, and unwilling to forgive their brethren their trespasses, and do still retain hatred toward their brethren, cannot pray before God, who saith: "And when ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have ought against any man; that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses." Mark xi. And again: "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father shall also forgive you: but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, no more shall your heavenly Father forgive you your trespasses." Matt. vi. And in another place he saith: "Therefore if thou bring thy gift unto the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought Matt. v.

[4 ut rogarem, Lat.: to seek.]

[5 Vis orationem tuam volare ad Deum? Fac illi duas alas, jejunium et eleemosynam.—August. Enarrat. in Psalm. xlii. 8. Opp. Tom. VIII. fol. 81. col. 4. Par. 1531.]

against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift:" for otherwise all thy gifts shall not be acceptable unto God. Let us therefore willingly forgive, and let us love and do good unto our neighbours; so our prayers shall pierce the heavens.

We must not pray with the mouth only, but with the heart.

Agreeable unto this is, that we pray not only with the mouth or voice, but with the mind and inward affection of the heart, and with the spirit and fervency. There was no voice heard of Moses, neither of Anna, the mother of Samuel, when they prayed; but most earnestly in spirit they cried unto God: who also heard, and led him safely with all the people of Israel through the Red sea, out of the most bloody hands of the Egyptians; and her which afore was barren he made fruitful. And contrariwise we read that the Lord in the gospel out of Esay

Matt. xv.

alleged these words against the Pharisees: "This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, howbeit their heart is far from me: but in vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines precepts of men." Therefore aptly said Paul: "I will pray with the spirit, and will pray with the understanding also;" where he calleth the lively breath and voice of man "spirit[1]." By these heavenly testimonies their prayers are condemned, who, with a marvellous rolling[2] and swiftness of the tongue, in a short space babble many words, and those maimed and curtailed, uttering words without sense; for their mind in the meanwhile is otherwise occupied. No other desire is there felt of them, unless happily this seem a desire, in that they pant and blow, hasting to make an end of praying. Among which kind of men monks and priests are chief, who pray for money and for their hire; that is, sell a thing of nought for a great price unto the mad people. Not that prayers are vain of themselves, but because, being used after that manner, they become vain. Of these

Cor. xiv.

Matt. xxiii.

men the Lord pronounceth in the gospel: "Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye devour widows' houses, and that under a pretence of long prayer; therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation." I know what those[3] sophisters[4] do here bring forth and allege for the defence of prayers said for reward or stipend; but in few words I give

[1] See Vol. III. p. 298.]
[2] volubilitate, Lat.]
[3] So also 1584; but 1577, *these*.]
[4] logodædali, Lat.]

them this knot to loose. These men, that pray in this sort, either have faith and charity, or else they have not: if they have, they pray without reward, for charity's sake; if they have not, their prayers are of no effect: and therefore with a false shew they deceive the ignorant people, paying their money for lawful prayers, whereas they requite them with unlawful; and if they were lawful, yet were they neither to be sold or bought.

We must require nothing that is unworthy for God to grant, and contrary to his laws.

This is also required of him that prayeth; that he desire not things unworthy for God to grant, nor require those things that are contrary to the laws of God. For St John the apostle saith, "If we ask anything according to his will, he heareth us:" therefore when we ask things unworthy for God to grant, he heareth us not. Moreover, always and in all our prayers our will and our desires ought to be obedient to God and his will. Therefore let no man go about wickedly to tie God to certain circumstances; let no man prescribe unto God at what time, in what place, or after what manner, he shall bring to pass anything that he will do. God, who is only wise, knoweth when it is time to help. He is also both faithful and omnipotent, and able indeed to do greater things than either we can ask or understand; which thing we also read that Paul hath said. Therefore, not without cause is that most honest widow, Judith, very angry with Osias the priest, because he appointed a set number of days unto God; which being ended, he should deliver, or otherwise they would give up the city. For Judith saith: "What manner of sentence is this, whereunto Osias hath consented; to deliver this city unto the Assyrians, if within five days there come not succour for us? And who are ye that tempt the Lord? This is not a sentence like to obtain mercy, but rather to provoke wrath and kindle displeasure. You have set the mercy of God a time, and have appointed him a day after your own phantasy. But forasmuch as the Lord is patient, let us so much the rather repent, and crave pardon at his hands, by pouring out of tears." Therefore David is read to have spoken most godly, being in extreme danger: "If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again; but if he say to me, I have no lust to thee; behold, here am I; let him do with me what seemeth good in his eyes."

1 John v.

Judith viii.

2 Sam. xv.

We must continue in prayer.

And now also long continuance is very needful in prayers.

"Ask," saith the Lord in the gospel, "and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." And by this heaping together of words, he often remembereth us[1] of continuance in prayer. "Ask," saith he, earnestly and constantly, as they do which require things whereof they stand in need; "seek," as they are wont, that search for things that are hidden and precious; "knock," as they are wont, who with earnest desire covet to come in to their friend. For all these sayings do not only signify a desire, but also a continual study to obtain things required. In the gospel according to St Luke, the Lord put forth a parable tending "to this end, that we ought always to pray, and
1 Thess. v. never to be wearied." For Paul also saith: "Rejoice alway; pray continually; in all things give thanks." Yet let no man think, that by these words of the Lord and the apostle the error of the heretics Psallini, or Euchitæ[2], is confirmed. They did nothing else but pray. The Lord commandeth to pray always; that is to say, as often as we conveniently may, at all times and in all places, to be of an upright heart toward God[3] in all things, which should always wait for good things at God's hand, and give him thanks for benefits received; which should also continually ask favour of him. Such an endeavour is commended unto us in Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, of
Luke ii. whom Luke maketh mention, that she "departed not from the temple, but night and day served the Lord with fastings and prayers." Not that she did nothing else, having no regard to her body, nor did at any time eat, drink, or sleep; but because that was her continual and chiefest business. For at this day, speaking after the same manner, we say that the husbandman doth labour without ceasing, and the student read night and day; when as yet all men understand, that by this kind of speech is signified a continual and exceeding great diligence in work and reading. The woman of Syrophœnissa, in Matt. chapter xv. sheweth unto us a notable example of unwearied continuance in prayer or invocation. But if so be God seem to neglect us, or to defer our requests longer than

[1 inculcavit, Lat.]

[2 Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Book II. cent. 4. part 2. chap. 5. § 24. Vol. I. p. 409, note 5, ed. Soames. Bullinger. adv. Anabapt. Lib. I. cap. 12.]

[3 erecto ad Deum corde, Lat.: a heart raised unto God.]

is meet, let us always remember what the prophet hath said: "Yet a little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry;" and, "The just shall live by faith," &c. Habak. ii. Heb. x.

Here[4] it shall be very easy to shew the time of prayer, whereof inquiry is made; to wit, when we ought to pray. We ought therefore privately to pray always; for continually while we live there is divers and manifold matter offered unto us to pray. Pray therefore as oft as the Spirit moveth thee, and as often as necessity itself or matter provoketh thee to pray. Yet let nothing here be of constraint; let all things proceed from a willing and free spirit. But public prayers are restrained to time; for there are set and fore-appointed hours to pray. Set hours are those certain times received of the church, wherein in the morning or evening the whole congregation assembleth together, to hear the word of God, to pray, and to receive the sacraments. That the ancient churches, which were in times past, did not meet together in an holy assembly all at one time and the selfsame hours, Socrates in his history beareth witness; and in this diversity there is no danger[5]. Let it be left to the discretion of the churches to come together[6] unto the service of God, when it shall seem most necessary, comely, meet, and profitable unto themselves. Moreover, fore-appointed hours of prayer are those which are set or forewarned for a certain time by the church for present necessity's sake. In dangerous times, and in weighty affairs, the holy apostles appointed prayers and fastings; which thing also at this day is lawful, without superstition, and with just moderation. And that this is a most ancient ordinance, it appeareth out of these words of the prophet Joel: "Blow the trumpet in Sion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly, gather the people together," &c. Doth not the apostle command man and wife privately to separate themselves for a time, and to abstain from their lawful delights, that prayer in necessity may be the more fervent? When we must pray. Joel ii. 1 Cor. vii.

And now also it will not be hard to judge of the place of prayer; for as at all times privately, so also in all places, I have said in the beginning of this sermon, that holy men may pray. For the true prayer of holy men is not tied to any Of the place of prayer.

[4 Ex his, Lat.: Hence.]

[5 Socratis Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. cap. 22.]

[6 Conveniant ecclesiæ, Lat.: let the churches come together.]

place, neither is it judged better in one place than in another; for the goodness or worthiness of the prayer is not esteemed by the place, but by the mind of him that prayeth. For the Lord in the gospel saith: "The hour will come, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth, &c." But they are in no wise to be passed over in this place, who are persuaded that the godly may pray in no other place but at home in their chamber; to the confirmation whereof they wrest these words of our Saviour: "But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy chamber; and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father, which is in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly." But these words have an *antithesis*, or contrary sentence, to that which goeth afore. For there went before: "And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be[1] as the hypocrites are; for they love to stand praying[2] in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men." Against this immediately he opposeth: "But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy chamber." And as in reproving the abuse of prayer, he did not properly condemn the place, but rather spake figuratively after this manner, The Pharisees, with their prayers which they make in the streets, do hunt after praise and commendation of the people; so on the contrary part, making mention of a chamber, he meant not that the place of itself maketh the prayer either better or worse; but he taught by a figurative speech, that we ought to pray with an upright mind, and most free from hunting after the praise of men. For he that prayeth with a mind not troubled with affections, having regard only unto God, he prayeth in his chamber, whether he pray in the church or in the street. For otherwise, the Lord prayed with his disciples in the temple, in the city, in the field, and wheresoever occasion was offered. Also it followeth: "And the Father, which seeth thee in secret, shall reward thee openly;" that is to say, the Father, who alloweth the mind that is not proud, but humble and free from ambition, will reward thee openly. But public prayers are used in the church or assembly of saints; which if any man despise, saying that prayer ought not to be tied to any place, I cannot think him worthy

John iv.

To pray in the chamber.

Matt. vi.

[1 cum oraveritis, non eritis, Lat.] [2 stantes orare, Lat.]

the name of a Christian, since he shamefully abuseth christian liberty. Finally, of assemblies I have spoken before[3]: we will peradventure speak more in the last sermon of this decade.

Here cometh also to be handled the gesture of those that pray. But let all riot, all pride, all immoderate trimming of the body, be far from them that shall come into the church of Christ to pray. He should seem filthily to have scorned the godly magistrate, whosoever he were, that, in coming to crave pardon for his fault, would lay aside his mourning weeds; and, putting on white apparel, proudly appear before the assembly of grave and godly senators. Such a one might be judged worthy, not only to be denied of his request, but also to be cast into prison. And who will deny, that they more shamefully mock God, who, coming into the church to ask pardon, being oppressed with the burden of their sins, and yet in that place to be so far off from being humble, that they rather appear before the presence of God and his saints having their bodies so attired, as they thereby both provoke the wrath of God anew against them, and do grievously offend the most godly that are in the church? Wherefore Paul at large teacheth, that modesty, comely and humble behaviour, is to be used in the church. The place is to be seen in the xi. chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. That which remaineth of this matter the blessed martyr of Christ, Cyprian, comprehendeth in these words: "Let the words and prayers of such as pray be orderly governed, keeping modesty and shamefacedness. Let us think we stand in the sight of God. God his eyes must be delighted both in the gesture of our body, and manner of our words; for as it is the part of an impudent person to use clamorous shouts in praying; so, contrariwise, it beseems a shamefaced person to pray with modest prayers[4]."

The gesture of them that pray.

Some foolishly imagine, that prayer is made either better or worse by the gesture of our bodies. Therefore let them hear St Augustine, Lib. ii. *ad Simplicianum, Quæst.* 4, saying:

[3 See Vol. I. p. 261. Vol. II. p. 263.]

[4 Sit autem orantibus sermo et precatio cum disciplina, quietem continens et pudorem. Cogitemus nos sub conspectu Dei stare; placendum est divinis oculis et habitu corporis et modo vocis. Nam ut impudentis est clamoribus strepere, ita contra congruit verecundo modestis precibus orare.—Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. Opp. p. 140. Oxon. 1682.]

"It skilleth not, after what sort our bodies be placed, so that the mind, being present with God, do bring her purpose to pass. For we both pray standing, as it is written, 'The publican stood afar off;' and kneeling, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles; and sitting, as did David and Elias. And unless he might pray lying, it should not have been written in the Psalms, 'Every night wash I my bed.' For when any man seeketh to pray, he placeth the members of his body after such a manner as it shall seem most meet to him for the time to stir up his devotion. But when prayer is not sought, but an appetite or desire to prayer is offered; when anything cometh on the sudden into our mind, whereby we are devoutly moved to pray with sighs that cannot be uttered; after what manner soever it findeth a man, doubtless, prayer is not to be deferred, until we have sought in what place we may sit, or where we may stand or kneel down[1]." Tertullian, making mention of the behaviour of the Christians of his time when they prayed, in his Apology against the Gentiles, saith: "We Christians are all of us evermore praying for all men, looking up into heaven, with our hands spread abroad, because we are harmless; we are bare-headed, because we are not ashamed; to be short, we need none to put us in remembrance, because we pray from the heart[2]." Where, notwithstanding, we must chiefly have in our remem-

[1 Quibus admonemur exemplis, non esse præscriptum quomodo corpus constituatur ad orandum, dummodo animus Deo præsens peragat intentionem suam. Nam et stantes oramus, sicut scriptum est, Publicanus autem de longinquo stabat; et fixis genubus, sicut in Actis Apostolorum legimus; et sedentes, sicut, ecce, David et Helias. Nisi autem jacentes oraremus, non scriptum esset in Psalmis, Lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum.... Cum enim quisque orationem quærit, collocat membra sicut ei occurrerit, accommodata pro tempore positi corporis ad movendum affectum. Cum autem non quæritur, sed infertur appetitus orandi, hoc est, cum aliquid repente venit in mentem, quo supplicandi moveatur affectus gemitibus inenarrabilibus; quocunque modo invenerit hominem, non est utique differenda oratio, ut quæramus quo sedeamus, aut ubi stemus, aut ubi prosternamur.—August. Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 139. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

[2 Illuc sursum suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis, quia innocuis, capite nudo, quia non erubescimus, denique sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus. Precantes sumus omnes semper pro omnibus imperatoribus, &c.—Tertul. Apol. adv. Gentes. cap. 30. ed. Semler. Tom. v. p. 63.]

brance the doctrine of our Saviour in the gospel, saying: "When thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are; for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily, I say unto you, they have their reward." For above all things we must beware, that we neither pray privately nor publicly to this end, neither yet fashion the gesture of our body, to get the vain praise of the people, that we may seem to be renowned and accounted holy before men: it sufficeth that we please God, and be allowed by his judgment.

What we must ask or pray for of God.

In the discourse of prayer, no man will say that it is the smallest thing, to know what you ought to pray, what thing you should ask of God, or for whom you should pray. Here are to be considered the persons and things. Persons are either public or private. Public persons are bishops, teachers, magistrates, and all set in authority. For these men the writings of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles, give commandment to pray. Paul more than once requireth intercessions to be made by the church unto the Lord for him, that he might be delivered from disordered and froward men; and that he might freely preach the gospel, as it became him to preach it. The same Paul commandeth us to pray for all those that be set in authority, "that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." Private persons are our parents, wife, children, kinsfolk, allies, neighbours, citizens, friends, enemies, sick persons, captives, such as are afflicted, and, to be short, all that are nigh about us, whose health and safety nature and Christian charity willeth by prayers to commend unto God; and whereof there are also testimonies and examples in the scripture. But the things we should pray for are those good things that are to be desired; whereof some are heavenly, spiritual, or eternal; and other earthly, corporal, or temporal. Moreover, some things verily are common, other some again are private: those things that are common pertain to the whole church and commonwealth; neither belong they to a few, as do private things. And spiritual things are chiefly reckoned to be these; faith, hope, charity, perseverance, and that whole company of all manner virtues, the profit and safety of the church, forgiveness of sins, and life everlasting. Among the which not unfitly are reckoned the gifts of understanding, the liberal sciences, well

Ephes. vi. 2 Thess. iii. 1 Tim. ii.

ordered schools, faithful teachers, godly magistrates, and upright laws. Corporal things are, a peaceable commonwealth, strong and valiant armies for war, health, strength, and comeliness of body, abundance or sufficient wealth, the safe prosperity of wife and children, the protection and defence of friends and citizens, peace, a good name, and other things which are of this kind. But no man is ignorant, that we ought to have a greater care of spiritual things than corporal things, and principally to desire heavenly things. And in corporal things there is also a choice to be used; that the profit of the commonwealth be preferred before our own private gain. For the commonwealth continuing in safety, the citizens may also be safe; and so long as schools and universities, or places of learning, be maintained, there is hope that the commonwealth shall never be destitute of wise and upright governors. There are also in temporal goods some better than other some: those things that are best, therefore, the saints or godly men do chiefly require of the Lord; and nevertheless those which are of less value they understand to come from him, and therefore they ask them also of the Lord. They that are but meanly exercised in the scriptures affirm, that it is not lawful in prayer to ask corporal goods of the Lord; but they are confuted by many examples of the scripture. For not only the patriarchs and prophets, but also the apostles of Christ, asked temporal goods of the Lord; as defence against their enemies, a good report, and other things necessary for the body. Which thing we shall learn anon by the form of prayer which the Lord himself hath taught us, diligently shewing us what we should ask.

It is lawful to ask corporal goods of the Lord.

This also cometh in question, In what tongue prayer must be made? They that affirm that privately and publicly we must pray in Latin, seem in my judgment to be out of their wits, unless they speak of such as are skilful in the Latin tongue. For since we must pray, not only with mouth and voice, but also with heart and mind; how, I pray you, shall he pray with heart and mind, who useth a language he understandeth not? Indeed, he uttereth godly words, but he knoweth not what he saith. For it cometh all to one reckoning, to pray never a whit or not at all, and to babble out words which are not understood. Let every nation therefore pray in that language, which it understandeth best and

In what tongue we must pray.

most familiarly. And no less madness is it in public assemblies to use a strange language: which thing also hath been the root of the greatest evils in the church. Whatsoever the priests that were ordained of God, and the prophets which were sent from him, spake[1] or rehearsed to the people of old time in the church, they did not speak or recite them in the Chaldean, Indian, or Persian, but in the Hebrew tongue, that is, in their vulgar and mother-tongue. They wrote also books in their vulgar tongue. Christ our Lord, together with his apostles, used the vulgar tongue. He furnished the apostles with the gift of tongues, that they might speak to every nation; and forsomuch as in that age the Greek tongue of all other was most plentiful and common, the apostles wrote not in the Hebrew tongue, but in the vulgar Greek tongue. Truly, it behoveth that those things, that are done in the public church for the holy assemblies' sake, should be understood of all men; for otherwise in vain should so many men be assembled together. Whereby it is clearer than the daylight, that they, that have brought in strange tongues into the church of God, have troubled all things, have quenched the ferventness of men's minds, yea, and[2] have banished out of the church both prayer itself and the use of prayer, and all the fruit and profit that should come of things done in the church. And truly, the Roman and[3] Latin prince hath brought this Latin abomination into the church of God. He crieth out, that it is wickedly done, if Germany, England, France, Poland, and Hungary[4], do use, both in prayer and other kind of service in the church, not the Roman or Latin tongue, but Dutch or[5] German speech, English, French, Polonish, or the Hungarian language. St Paul, once handling[6] this controversy, saith in plain words: "If I pray in a strange tongue[7], my spirit or voice prayeth, but my understanding is without fruit. What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, but I will pray with the understanding also. I will sing with the spirit, but I will sing with the understanding also. Else, when thou blessest with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say 1 Cor. xiv.

[1] egerunt, Lat.: did.] [2] adeoque, Lat.: and so.]
[3] Roman and, not in Lat.] [4] Pannonia, Lat.]
[5] Dutch or, not in Lat.] [6] dirimens, Lat.: deciding.]
[7] lingua, Lat.: strange, not in Lat.]

Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest? Thou verily givest thanks well[1], but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak languages more than you all: yet had I rather in the church to speak five words with mine understanding, that I might also instruct others, than ten thousand words in a strange tongue." And truly, this very place doth Justinian the emperor cite *In Novell. Const.* 123, where he straitly commandeth bishops and ministers, not secretly, but with a loud voice which might be heard of the people, to recite the holy oblation and prayers used in holy baptism, to the intent, that thereby the minds of the hearers might be stirred up with greater devotion to set forth the praises of God[2]. Moreover, it is evident that Gregory himself, who is called the Great, spake to the citizens[3] in the city of Rome in their country language: which thing he himself witnesseth in the preface of his commentary upon Ezechiel to Marianus the bishop[4]. Of the Greek bishops, no man is ignorant that they had their whole service in their churches in their own native language, and have left their writings unto us in the same tongue. We might therefore worthily be judged mad and void of understanding, if we also in the administration of divine service in the church use not our own language; since so many and so excellent examples, both of most famous churches, and of most singular bishops and governors of the church, have gone before us; that I speak not again of the most express and manifest doctrine of St Paul the apostle.

Of singing in the church.

This place now requireth, that I speak somewhat of singing in the church, and of canonical hours. But let no

[1 Well, not in Lat.]

[2 Πρὸς τούτοις κελεύομεν πάντας ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους μὴ κατὰ τὸ σεσιωπημένον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φωνῆς τῷ πιστοτάτῳ λαῷ ἐξακουομένης τὴν θείαν προσκομιδὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι προσευχὴν ποιεῖσθαι, πρὸς τὸ κἀντεῦθεν τὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων ψυχὰς εἰς πλείονα κατάνυξιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δεσπότην Θεὸν διανίστασθαι δοξολογίαν. Οὕτως γὰρ ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος διδάσκει, λέγων ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους πρώτῃ ἐπιστολῇ, &c.—Corp. Jur. Civil. Auth. Coll. IX. Tit. XX. Novell. CXXXVII. 6. Tom. II. pp. 196, 7. Amst. 1663.]

[3 So also 1584; but 1577 his citizens, suis civibus, Lat.]

[4 Homilias, quæ in beatum Ezechielem prophetam, ita ut coram populo loquebar, exceptæ sunt, &c.—Gregor. Pap. Homil. in Ezech. Præf. Tom. I. p. 1173. Par. 1705.]

man think, that prayers sung with man's voice are more acceptable unto God, than if they were plainly spoken or uttered; for God is neither allured with the sweetness of man's voice, neither is he offended, though prayer[5] be uttered in a hoarse or base sound. Prayer is commended for faith and godliness of mind, and not for any outward shew. Those outward things are rather used, as means to stir us up; albeit even they also take little effect, unless the Spirit of God do inflame our hearts. Neither can any man deny, but that the custom of singing is very ancient; for the holy scripture witnesseth, that the Levites in the ancient church, long before the coming of Christ, did sing; yea, and that they did sing at the commandment of God. And again; I think no man can deny, that the same cunning[6] kind of music, brought into the church of God by David, was both accounted among the ceremonies, and that the same was abolished together with the temple and the ceremonies. We read not of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true Messias and full perfection of the law, that he sung in any place, either in the temple or without the temple; or that anywhere he taught his disciples to sing, or commanded them to ordain singing in the churches. For that which is read in Matthew and Mark, (Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν, which may be Englished, "And when they had sung an hymn, or psalm, they went out into the mount of Olives,") is such a kind of saying, as doth not necessarily force us to understand, that the Lord sang with his disciples; for a hymn, which is the praise due unto God, may be humbly uttered without quavering[7] of the voice. Truly, the old translation in both places, as well in Matthew as in Mark, constantly interpreteth it: *Et hymno dicto exierunt in montem Olivarum;* that is to say: "When they had said a hymn, they went out into the mount of Olives." Erasmus, in Matthew, hath translated it, *Et cum hymnum cecinissent;* "When they had sung an hymn:" but translating Mark, he saith, *Et cum hymnum dixissent;* "When they had said an hymn:" but in either place is read, ὑμνήσαντες. And ὑμνέω signifieth, to praise, or to set forth one's praise; which both by singing, and also without singing, hath been accustomed to be done.

2 Chron. xxix.

Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv.

[5 So also 1584; but 1577 prayers.] [6 operosam, Lat.]
[7 modulatione, Lat.]

And albeit we neither read, that the Lord himself commanded singing to his apostles, neither that they ordained singing in the church; neither yet do read in the Acts of the Apostles, that they themselves did sing in holy assemblies; yet Paul did not rebuke the church at Corinth, which began to sing, either of her own accord, or by a certain imitation of the old church; because he saw their manner of singing differed much from the old. He therefore suffered singing of psalms; but, in the mean time, he preferred before it prophecy, or the office of preaching: and he also required of them that did sing, both a measure to be kept, and also that it should be done with understanding; without which, doubtless, both prayer and singing is not only unprofitable, but also hurtful. "I will pray with the spirit," saith the apostle, "and will pray with the understanding also. I will sing with the spirit, and will sing with the understanding also." Neither do I know, that in any place else the apostle maketh mention of singing in holy assemblies; unless we list to apply that hither, which Paul hath left written in the iii. to the Colossians; though that may seem to be a private institution. For that which he hath left written in the epistle[1] to the Ephesians in these words, "Be not drunken with wine, wherein is excess; but be fulfilled with the Spirit; speaking unto yourselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody to the Lord in your hearts; giving thanks always for all things unto God, even the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ;" what manner of saying it is, it is easily judged by the occasion and order of the words. For he speaketh nothing of the public singing accustomed to be used in the church, but of the private manner of singing; for he had respect unto riotous banquets, where, for the most part, were used to be sung, of such as were well tippled, songs which were not very honest. "Be ye not, therefore, drunk with wine," saith the apostle, lest ye sing songs that are scarce honest; but rather, if ye list to sing, sing psalms and spiritual songs. Whereunto this also may be added; that even in those kinds of songs, he requireth rather the song of the heart than the warbling of the voice; so far off is it that he at any time alloweth uncomely shriekings, either public or private. Albeit, the sense and meaning shall be more simple

Paul rebuked not them that sung.

1 Cor. xiv.

Eph. v.

[1 So also 1584; but 1577, his epistle.]

and plain, if we understand *in corde*, which signifieth "in the heart," to be spoken in that place instead of "joyfully," or[2] "from the heart." Wherefore no man can or ought to disallow moderate and godly singing of psalms, whether it be publicly used in holy assemblies, or at home in private houses. And truly you shall find many testimonies in the ecclesiastical history written by Eusebius and Sozomenus, declaring that the eastern churches, even immediately after the time of the apostles, did use to sing psalms and hymns unto Christ our Lord[3]. Ye shall also find this, that by certain decrees of councils it was ordained, that no other thing should either be read or sung in holy assemblies but only the canonical scripture[4]. For even betimes there began neither a mean to be kept in the church, neither the canonical scripture only to be used, for that certain men intermeddled their own songs.

The manner of the ancient singing in the church.

Yet here, dearly beloved, I thought good to put you in mind of two excellent things concerning this matter. The first of them is, that the singing of the ancient church was a far other kind of singing than that which at this day is used. For Erasmus Roter. doth rightly judge, that the singing used in the ancient churches was no other than a distinct and measured pronunciation, such as at this day in some places is used in pronouncing of the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Lord's Prayer[5]. Truly Pliny, the lieutenant[6] in Asia, by diligent search or examination of matters found out, that the Christians at certain appointed times met together before day, and sung a psalm together among themselves unto Christ their God. The place of Pliny is to be seen in the 10. book of his Epistles to Trajanus the emperor[7]. Also Rabanus Maurus, *lib. Instit. Cler.* 2. cap. 48. saith: "The primitive church did so

What manner of singing was in old time used.

[2 joyfully or, not in Lat.]

[3 Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 33. v. cap. 28. VII. cap. 30. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 16. VIII. 8.]

[4 Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βίβλια, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης.—Can. 59. Concil. Laod. Labb. et Coss. Tom. I. col. 1507. Item placuit, ut præter scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum.—Can. 47. Concil. Carthag. III. Labb. et Coss. Tom. II. col. 1177. Lut. Par. 1671.]

[5 Erasm. Annot. in 1 Cor. xiv. 26. Opp. Tom. VI. col. 731. Lugd. Bat. 1705.]

[6 proconsul, Lat.] [7 See above, p. 166.]

sing, that with a little altering of the voice it made him that sang to be heard the further; so that the singing was more like loud reading than song[1]." These things he borrowed out of the 33. chap. of St Augustine's 10. book of Confessions; who in that one place plainly confesseth, that he doth sin when he is more delighted with the sweetness of the voices than with the sense of the words; and therefore desireth, that all the melodious tunes of sweet songs, wherewith the Psalter of David is replenished, might be removed from his ears and the hearing of the church. For it seemed to be more safe, which he remembered he had often heard concerning Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria; who with so little straining of the voice made the reader of the psalm to utter it, that he rather seemed to read than to sing[2].

Song was always free, but not universally used.

The last of the things I said I would put you in mind of is, that singing, howsoever it be an ancient institution, nevertheless was never universal, and of necessity thrust upon the churches; but it was free, neither was it always used in all churches. Whereunto may be added that which Sozomenus witnesseth, that those churches which did sing used not the very same kinds of prayers, or psalms, or reading[3], or the very same time[4]. Socrates also, in the 5. book of his history, chap. 22. saith: "To be short, in all countries, everywhere, you shall not find two churches, which in all points agree together in prayer[5]." And that it was long

[1 Primitiva ecclesia ita psallebat, ut modico flexu vocis faceret resonare psallentem, ita ut pronuncianti vicinior esset quam canenti.—Raban. Maur. de Instit. Cler. Lib. II. cap. 48. Opp. Tom. VI. p. 28. Col. Agrip. 1626.]

[2 Valde interdum, ut melos omne cantilenarum suavium quibus Davidicum Psalterium frequentatur ab auribus meis removeri velim atque ipsius ecclesiæ; tutiusque mihi videtur quod de Alexandrino episcopo Athanasio sæpe mihi dictum commemini, qui tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuntianti vicinior esset quam canenti.... Tamen, cum mihi accidit ut me amplius cantus quam res quæ canitur moveat, pœnaliter me peccare confiteor, et tunc mallem non audire cantantem.—August. Confess. Lib. x. cap. 33. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 38. col. 4. Par. 1531.]

[3 So also 1584; but 1577, readings.]

[4 Καὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ ψαλμῳδίαις ταῖς αὐταῖς ἢ ἀναγνώσμασι, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν, οὐ πάντας κεχρημένους εὑρεῖν ἐστίν.—Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VII. cap. 19. p. 308. Cantab. 1720.]

[5 Καθόλου μέντοι πανταχοῦ καὶ παρὰ πάσαις θρησκείαις τῶν εὐχῶν οὐκ

ere the western churches received melody, or the custom of singing, it appeareth even by the testimony of Augustine; who, in his 9. book of Confess. chapter 7. rehearseth, that Ambrose, being oppressed with the snares and persecutions of Justina, the Arian empress, ordained that hymns and psalms should be sung according to the custom of the east parts; since which time the custom of singing hath been retained and also received of other parts of the world[6]. Nevertheless, before the western churches received the order of singing, they were esteemed of all them of the east to be true churches; neither came it into any man's brain, that therefore they were heretical and schismatical churches, or not rightly governed, because they were destitute of song or melody. No man gathered, The eastern churches sing, the western do not so; therefore they are no churches.

Agreement in singing in the church.

If this uprightness and liberty had remained safe and unaltered[7]; that is to say, if, according to that ancient use of singing, nothing had been sung but canonical scriptures; if it had been still in the liberty of the churches to sing or not to sing; truly at this day there should be no controversy in the church about singing in the church. For those churches, which should use singing after the ancient manner practised in singing, would sing the word of God and the praises of God only; neither would they think that in this point they surpassed other churches, neither would they condemn those churches that sang not at all; whereas also these would not despise them that used soberly and godlily to sing. For if godly men persevere in the study of godliness, and in daily[8] prayers; though they sing not, yet remain they nevertheless the sons of God. Neither yet doth all singing and in every place edify; neither are all churches fit to sing. Doth not Rabanus say, in the same place that I even now cited, "For

ἔστιν εὑρεῖν συμφωνούσας ἀλλήλαις δύο ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό.—Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. cap. 22. p. 297. Cantab. 1720.]

[6 Annus erat, aut non multo amplius, cum Justina Valentiniani regis pueri mater hominem tuum Ambrosium persequeretur hæresis suæ causa, qua fuerat seducta ab Arianis.... Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem orientalium partium.... institutum est; et ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac pene omnibus gregibus tuis et per cetera orbis imitantibus.—August. Confess. Lib. IX. cap. 7. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 33. col. 3.]

[7 intemerata, Lat.] [8 assiduis, Lat.]

fleshly-minded men's sake, and not for such as are guided by the Spirit, the custom of singing is instituted in the church; that they, that are not moved by words, may be allured with the sweetness of the melody, &c.[1]?"

But the singing, about which there is controversy at this day, is not that ancient singing; but, that more is, both in matter and tune for the most part it is clean contrary to the old. The common sort call it Gregory's singing; doubtless not of that great Gregory, who seemeth not to have been very friendly to singing; as it appeareth by his constitution, which is read in the Registry, in the fifth part thereof, cap. 44[2]: we shall therefore seem to judge more truly, if we refer it to Gregory the fifth, which is said to have been enthronized[3] about the year of our Lord 995, and moreover to have used the help of I know not who, one Robertus Carnotensis[4]. Yet there are some which ascribe it to Vitalianus, some to Gelasius[5]. It irketh me to rehearse what Durandus hath patched together of this matter in his *Rat. Divin.* lib. v.; for I little weigh it.

Gregory's singing.

There are many things in this kind of singing to be discommended. For first of all, many things, yea, the most, are sung contrary to true godliness; neither are all things that are sung taken out of the holy scriptures, but out of I know not what kind of legends, and out of the traditions of men. And those things which are sung out of the scriptures are for the most part so wrested and corrupted, that there remaineth no part of the heavenly sense or meaning. Creatures and dead men are called upon. Moreover, this kind of singing is commanded; and they sing not of their own accord or good will, but upon constraint: yea, they sing for money, and to the end that they may get an ecclesiastical benefice, as they term it. Only clerks hired for that purpose do now-

What things are to be discommended in the use of singing in the church.

[1 Propter carnales in ecclesia, non propter spirituales, consuetudo cantandi est instituta, ut qui verbis non compunguntur, suavitate modulaminis moveantur.—Raban. Maur. de Instit. Cler. Opp. Tom. VI. p. 28.]

[2 The reference is to Gregor. Regist. Epistol. Lib. IV. Indict. 13. Ep. 44, which contains a decree of a synod at Rome, ut sacri altaris ministri cantare non debeant, &c.—Opp. Tom. III. p. 143. Rom. 1591. Bullinger de Episc. Instit. et Funct. cap. 6. fol. 87. Tigur. 1538.]

[3 sedisse, Lat.] [4 Platina de Vitis Pontif. in Greg. V.]

[5 Polydor. Vergil. de rer. invent. Lib. VI. cap. 2.]

a-days sing; not the whole church of Christ, as in time past hath been accustomed. Neither is there any end or measure in their singing; they sing day and night. And to this foolish and ungodly kind of singing, as to a heavenly or meritorious work, there is more attributed than true faith doth allow. A man may well say, that it is that much babbling, which the Lord in Matthew forbiddeth and condemneth as an heathenish superstition. They sing moreover in a strange tongue, which few do understand; and that without any profit at all to the church. There is heard a long sound, quavered[6], and strained to and fro, backward and forward, whereof a man cannot understand one word[7]. Oftentimes the singers strive among themselves for the excellency of voices; whereby it cometh to pass, that the whole church ringeth with an hoarse kind of yelling, and through the strife that riseth about their voices the hearers little understand what is sung. I say nothing at this present of their music which they call figurative, and of their musical instruments, all which are contained in a manner in their organs, as they term them. I say nothing of their dirges, or prayers for the dead: of which I have also entreated in another place[8]. But these, and such other like, so occupied the whole time of divine service in the church, that very little or none was left for true prayers, and for the holy and heavenly preaching of the word of God. Therefore for most just causes they that believe the gospel do neither use such singing, neither suffer it in the church of God. And they seem to deal very devoutly, and in like manner most wisely, which bestow the best part of the time, or even the very whole time, of ecclesiastical assemblies in fervent and quiet[9] prayers, and in the wholesome preaching of the word of God, omitting that singing: especially since it is a hard thing so to limit or restrain singing, which otherwise is tolerable, lest at some time it exceed and go beyond the appointed bounds.

Of canonical hours.

Furthermore, that our ancient predecessors had certain and appointed hours, wherein they prayed both privately in their houses and publicly in assemblies, all the holy scripture

[6 suspensus, Lat.]
[7 sine verbis significantibus, Lat.] [8 See Vol. III. p. 395.]
[9 tranquillis, Lat.]

witnesseth in many places. David more than once in his Psalms saith, that he will go unto the Lord in the morning
Dan. vi. and evening. Daniel prayed unto the Lord at three several hours or times of the day. Again, David saith: "Seven times in a day do I praise thee;" but by seven times he understandeth many times. For so elsewhere we read written:
Lev. xxvi. "I will smite you for your sins seven times;" and again:
Prov. xxiv. "The just man falleth seven times, and riseth up again;" and
Luke xvii. also: "If thy brother sin seven times in a day, and turn seven times in a day unto thee," &c. Seven times therefore in divers places, as also in this of David, is put for many times. And Christ our Lord hath tied the private prayers of the faithful (as we have also told you before[1]) neither to place, nor yet to time: he hath not taken away public prayers; for he is the Lord, not of confusion, but of order: but his disciples, when they were in the land of Jury[2], did themselves also observe the accustomed hours of praying which that nation kept, at liberty, not of necessity, and specially for
Acts iii. the assembly's sake. For Peter and John go up into the
Acts ii. temple at the ninth hour of prayer. In the day of Pentecost all the saints with one accord were gathered together, and received the Holy Ghost, at the third hour of the day. And it is also read, that Peter privately went up into the upper part of the house about the sixth hour. The temple being destroyed, and the Jews scattered abroad, the churches gathered out of the gentiles did not observe like hours of gatherings together[3], or of assemblies; but at their own liberty, as to
Trip. lib. ix. cap. 39. every church it seemed most meet and convenient. Of which diversity truly the ecclesiastical history also maketh mention; yet for the most part there were hours in the morning and evening used for assemblies. St Hierome, in his epitaph upon Paula, expounding not the rite or order of the universal church, what it should do in holy assemblies, but what the companies of solitary virgins are wont to do of their own accord, saith: "In the morning, at three, six, and nine of the clock, at evening, at midnight, they did sing the Psalter by order. Only upon the Sunday they went unto the church,

[1 Vol. II. p. 264; and above, p. 183.]
[2 cum agerent in gente Judaica, Lat.]
[3 collectarum, Lat.]

near unto the which they dwelt[4]," &c. So it pertaineth to private institution, which of the same sort is read written to Læta, touching the institution of her daughter[5]; and to Demetriades, *De Custodienda Virginitate*[6].

And truly, the greater or more famous and solemn churches (which at this day they call cathedral, to wit, of *cathedra*, a chair, or of the order of prophets teaching or professing there; as some time the church of Antioch, Corinth, Alexandria, and such like, seemed to have been), at certain hours, to wit, in the morning, at noon, yea, at evening also, assembled to expound or discuss the holy canonical scriptures. The foundations of that observation seem to be laid in the church of the Corinthians; of which the apostle abundantly witnesseth, 1 Cor. xiv. chapter. Eusebius, in the fifth book of his ecclesiastical history and ninth chapter, making mention of an ecclesiastical school at Alexandria, saith: "From a long time the doctrine and exercise of the holy scriptures flourished among them: which custom also continueth even to our time; which we have heard also to be instituted by men mighty in eloquence, and in the study of the holy scriptures[7];" to wit, after the example of the Corinthian church. Some marks[8] of this most wholesome rite or custom appeared sometime in the occidental or west church, as it is to be gathered out of the writings of St Ambrose and Augustine. But truly in these very times, and in the times immediately following, when all

[4 Mane, hora tertia, sexta, nona, vespere, noctis medio, per ordinem psalterium cantabant (virgines in monasteriis Paulæ).... Die tantum dominico ad ecclesiam procedebant, ex cujus habitabant latere &c.—Hieron. Ep. 86. ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ matris. Opp. Tom. IV. par. 2. col. 682. Par. 1706.]

[5 — virgo veterana.... assuescat (illam) exemplo ad orationes et psalmos nocte consurgere; mane hymnos canere, tertia, sexta, nona hora stare, &c.—Hieron. Ep. 57. ad Lætam de Instit. filiæ. Ibid. col. 595.]

[6 Præter psalmorum et orationis ordinem, quod tibi hora tertia, sexta, nona, et vesperum, media nocte et mane semper est exercendum, &c.—Hieron. Ep. 97. ad Demetriadem de Servanda Virginitate, ibid. col. 793.]

[7 — ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους διδασκαλείου τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων παρ' αὐτοῖς συνεστῶτος, ὃ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς παρατείνεται, καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐν λόγῳ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ θεῖα σπουδῇ δυνατῶν συγκροτεῖσθαι παρειλήφαμεν.—Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. cap. 10. Tom. I. p. 336. ed. Burton.]

[8 vestigia, Lat.]

nations in a manner were together by the ears with perpetual wars; and when the Roman empire, in revengement of the blood of Christ, of his holy apostles and martyrs, according to the prophecy of Daniel and St John the apostle and evangelist, was torn in pieces, and made a prey for all people[1]; the Goths or Germans rushing upon them on this side, the Huns and other barbarous soldiers on the other side assaulting Rome sharply[2]; the best schools were spoiled, goodly libraries were burned, honest and good studies perished: whereupon were given unto the churches doctors or teachers most unlike unto the ancient doctors and teachers, who were not furnished with that ability, that they could deal in the holy scriptures with such dexterity and fruitfulness as their predecessors. In this disorder and downfal, lest nothing should remain of the canonical scriptures[3] untouched, it is evident, that there rose up men not altogether negligent of the canonical doctrine, who divided the whole canonical scripture after such a sort into parts, and for the whole course of the year, that they might once in a year read over the whole bible, and the psalter oftener, yea, even every sevennight[4]. They used the Psalms instead of prayers, to which, as times increased, many other prayers also were joined. And lest the very reading of the scriptures should seem to want all exposition, the readings, lectures, or homilies of the fathers were thereunto added at the length: not that the priests[5] should read them secretly to themselves, (as at this day in a manner they are wont to do,) or that they should with a post-haste reading mumble them up instead of matins[6]; but that they should throughly handle them in the open church, as an exercise before the people, to the edification of the church[7]:—that I may not now rehearse that this rite was not received of all men, so far off is it from being strictly commanded. Of which thing there remain some tokens or

[1 See Vol. II. p. 109.]

[2 in cervicem Romæ involantibus, Lat.: cf. Isai. xi. 14.]

[3 tractationis canonicarum scripturarum, Lat.]

[4 See Preface to Common Prayer, Concerning the Service of the Church.]

[5 soli, Lat. omitted: alone.]

[6 precum loco; Lat.: prayers, *not* matins.]

[7 Bingham, Antiq. Book xiv. chap. 4. § 22.]

proofs, *In Distinct.* 15. *Sancta Rom.*[8] Furthermore, of reading the canonical scriptures those hours wherein they were read seemed to be named canonical[9]; as also canons[10] are so called, of studying and reading the canonical scriptures. But at what time this was done, and who were the doers thereof, it is not certainly known. Some do attribute some part hereof to Hierome, other some to Damasus, and some to Pelagius, the second of that name; other some also to Gelasius and Gregory[11].

And because homilies and lectures not a few were said[12] to be Beda's, and other doctors' of later times[13]; finally, for that many other things are read in those hourly prayers[14], which savour never a whit of antiquity; truly, as it is an institution patched up diversly and at sundry times, so is it far more new than the papists think or take it to be. Neither are there some wanting which affirm, that, at the request of Carolus Magnus, Paulus Diaconus or monk of Cassina, and monk Isuard, ordained and delivered to the church selected or chosen lessons, those especially which concern the saints and are accustomed to be read in these hours[15]. But howsoever the matter standeth, most certain it is, that those hours at this day commanded, and called canonical, are the invention of man and not of God, and ragged or[16] rotten relics or shadows of the old law[17]. Whereunto beside, that there are many fables, toys, and follies annexed, it cannot be denied. Truly, at this day there appeareth such a mingle-mangle or hoch-potch, that it seemeth utterly unworthy either to be used or suffered any longer in the church of Christ; unless we had rather, that care were taken for the bellies of some than for the good state and welfare of the whole church. Of which thus much thus far.

How we must pray.

It remaineth, in the last place, to discuss how we must

[8 Sancta Romana ecclesia post illas veteris testamenti et novi scripturas....etiam has suscipi non prohibet, &c.—Gratian. Decret. par. I. Distinct. 15. cap. 3.]

[9 Bingham, Book VII. chap. 3. § 17.]

[10 Canonici, Lat.: Bingham, Book I. chap. 5. § 10.]

[11 Polydor. Vergil. de rer. invent. Lib. VI. cap. 2.]

[12 So ed. 1584; but 1577, are said.]

[13 So ed. 1584; but 1577, time.] [14 precibus horariis, Lat.]

[15 Magd. Centur. Cent. VIII. cap. 10. coll. 473-475. Basil. 1624.]

[16 So ed. 1584; but 1577, and.] [17 veteris prophetiæ, Lat.]

pray; what words, or what form of prayer, we must use. Truly, there are many forms of prayer; but none better than that which our Lord, the only-beloved Son of God the Father, hath delivered. Neither is there a more certain form, as comprehending in few words all in all. In this summary he hath prescribed what is worthy of him, what is acceptable to him, what is necessary for us, and, to be short, what he is willing to grant. Whereupon St Cyprian, expounding the Lord's Prayer, among other things saith: "He that made us to live, the same hath taught us also to pray; even of the same his bountifulness, whereby he hath vouchsafed both to give and to bestow all other things whatsoever: that when we speak with the Father in that prayer and supplication which the Son hath taught us, we may be the more easily or readily heard, and may truly and spiritually worship him. For what prayer can be more spiritual, than that which is given unto us of Christ, from whom also the Holy Ghost is sent unto us? What prayer before the Father more true, than that of the Son, proceeding out of his mouth, who is truth itself? So that to pray otherwise than he hath taught is not only ignorance, but also offence, since he himself hath set down and said: 'Ye cast aside the commandment of God to stablish your own tradition.' Therefore, dearly beloved brethren, let us pray as God our master hath taught us. It is a friendly and familiar prayer, to call upon God in such manner as he hath taught us, and when that the prayer of Christ cometh to his ears. Let the Father acknowledge the words of his Son, when we pray. He that dwelleth within the heart, let him also be in the tongue. And since we have him our advocate with the Father for our sins, when we, being sinners, ask pardon for our offences, let us utter the words of our advocate. For since he saith, 'Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you;' how much more effectually do we obtain that which we ask in the name of Christ, if we ask it in his prayer!" Thus far he.

[Qui fecit vivere, docuit et orare; benignitate ea scilicet qua et cetera dare et conferre dignatus est, ut cum prece et oratione, quam Filius docuit, apud Patrem loquimur, facilius audiamur; ... ut ... vere et spiritaliter adoremus. Quæ enim potest esse magis spiritalis oratio, quam quæ a Christo nobis data est, a quo nobis et Spiritus Sanctus missus est? Quæ vera magis apud Patrem precatio, quam quæ a Filio,

From hence ariseth a question, Whether we be so tied to the words of the Lord's Prayer, that we may not pray in other words at all? I answer, That the Lord would not so tie us to his[2] words set down and conceived, as though it were not lawful to use other words or another form; but he set forth unto us certain universal things, unto the which we might refer all our prayers. For Augustine also to Proba, *de Orando Deo*, Of praying unto God, sheweth, that there is nothing in any place in the holy scriptures prayed for, which is not comprehended in the Lord's Prayer. "For," saith he, "if you run over and through all the words of all holy prayers, you shall find nothing which this prayer of the Lord doth not comprehend and contain." To which words he addeth immediately: "So that it is free to use such and such words in praying, howbeit to say the same things; but to speak other things it is not free[3]." Most warily therefore and wisely do they, who refer all their prayers unto the Lord's Prayer, unto the which they attribute the chief and principal place; and keeping it continually in their mind, do meditate thereupon, and exercise themselves therein.

Whether we be tied to the words of the Lord's prayer.

There is wont also another question to be asked, What need there is to express and open our desires in words unto God, since he already knoweth all things? We told you anon after the beginning of this sermon, that our prayer is

What it needeth to express our desires unto God in words.

qui est veritas, de ejus ore prolata est? Ut aliter orare quam docuit, non ignorantia sola sit, sed et culpa; quando ipse posuerit et dixerit, Rejicitis mandatum Dei ut traditionem vestram statuatis. Oremus itaque, fratres dilectissimi, sicut magister Deus docuit. Amica et familiaris oratio est, Deum de suo rogare, ad aures ejus ascendere Christi oratione (Bullinger read, orationem). Agnoscat Pater Filii sui verba, cum precem facimus; qui habitat intus in pectore, ipse sit et in voce; et cum ipsum habeamus apud Patrem advocatum pro peccatis nostris, quando peccatores pro delictis nostris petimus, advocati nostri verba promamus. Nam cum dicit, Quia quodcunque petierimus a Patre in nomine ejus dabit nobis, quanto efficacius impetramus quod petimus in Christi nomine, si petamus ipsius oratione!—Cypr. de Orat. Domin. Opp. p. 140. Oxon. 1682.]

[2 his, not in Lat.]

[3 Si per omnia precationum sanctarum verba discurras... nihil invenies quod non ista dominica contineat et concludat oratio. Unde liberum est aliis atque aliis verbis eadem tamen in orando dicere, sed non debet esse liberum alia dicere.—August. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 121. col. 2. Par. 1531.]

an humbling of ourselves before the majesty of God. Whereunto, moreover, we add this: we do not express and open our desires unto God, as though he knew them not; or that we would teach him being ignorant; or that we would entreat and get God's favour with our curious, laboursome, and eloquent[1] prayer: but for our own sakes we use words, wherewith to stir up ourselves. And to this end also[2] the most holy men of God are read, in the Psalms and holy histories, to have declared their desires largely unto the Lord. "We are not," saith St Hierome, "declarers, but cravers. For it is one thing to declare a thing to him that is ignorant, and another thing to crave a thing of him that knoweth: in that, it is a declaration; in this, a duty: there we faithfully declare; here lamentably beseech[3]." And St Augustine saith: "Words are needful for us, wherewith we may be moved, and diligently consider what we should ask; not wherewith we should believe that the Lord is either taught or entreated[4]."

How lip-labour or much babbling is forbidden.

Wherefore, when the Lord forbad much babbling or vain lip-labour in prayer, he did not simply tie the prayer of the faithful unto a few and short sum of words: but he forbiddeth us, after the manner of ethnics, to pour out many words without wit, reason, meaning, and understanding; and so finally to think, that we shall be heard for our much babbling sake, and often repeating of prayers; as at this day they do falsely think, which say a certain number of prayers, which they call Rosaries of prayers[5]. For the Lord addeth: "They

[1 eleganti, Lat.]

[2 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, *all:* sanctissimi quique, Lat.]

[3 — breviter respondendum est, nos non narratores esse, sed rogatores. Aliud est enim narrare ignoranti, aliud scientem petere. In illo judicium est, in hoc obsequium: ibi fideliter indicamus, hic miserabiliter obsecramus.—Hieron. Comment. in Matth. cap. 6. Opp. Tom. IV. col. 20. Par. 1706.]

[4 Nobis verba necessaria sunt, quibus commoveamur et inspiciamus quid petamus; non quibus Dominum seu docendum seu flectendum esse credamus.—August. Ep. 121. ad Probam. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 121. col. 1. Par. 1531.]

[5 et rosaria contexentes, Lat. The bead-roll, by which the private devotions of multitudes in the church of Rome are reckoned, was made up of tens of smaller beads, having a bead of a larger size between each decade. In the *Rosary*, properly so called, there were five of these decades: and the *Ave Maria* was repeated fifty times, the *Pater Noster* five times, and the *Credo* once.]

think they shall be heard for their much babbling sake." St Augustine maketh difference between babbling much, and praying much. "To babble much," saith he, "is in praying to make many superfluous words in a necessary matter. But to pray much, is to call unto him whom we pray unto with a long and godly stirring up of the heart. For this business, for the most part, is accomplished more with sighings than with speakings." And anon: "It is not wicked and fruitless, when we have leisure, to pray the longer; for it is written of our Lord himself, that he spent the whole night in prayer, and prayed a long time. Wherein what did he else, but give us an example[6]?" Thus far he. And if it be a hard matter for any man to pray long and continually, he may break off his prayer: howbeit he must to it again, and oftentimes renew the same afresh; for such short speaking in prayer is praiseworthy. And, that we may make an end of this place; let no man think, that in praying he declareth our affairs unto God as not knowing them: let no man think, that he is heard for his setting forth, and even for his laboursome and exact setting forth, and that oftentimes repeated, and with most earnest outcries instilled or poured into the ears of God: let no man think, that his prayer must stand upon a certain number; that is to say, that *Paternosters* must be numbered up to our God as not having a good memory, and to a Lord ill to be trusted, upon corals and beads, put together upon a lace[7], serving (as it were) to make a reckoning or accompt[8].

And because I have said, which all godly men also throughout the whole world confess, that a most perfect platform of praying is delivered unto us in the Lord's Prayer by our Lord Jesus Christ himself; it remaineth, that we cite word

[6 Multum loqui est in orando rem necessariam superfluis agere verbis. Multum autem precari est ad eum quem precamur diuturna et pia cordis excitatione pulsare. Nam plerumque hoc negotium plus gemitibus quam sermonibus agitur... cum diu orare vacat... non est improbum nec inutile... Nam et de ipso Domino scriptum est, quod pernoctaverit in orando, et quod prolixius oraverit: ubi quid aliud quam nobis præbebat exemplum?—August. Ep. 121. ad Probam. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 121. col. 1.]

[7 upon a lace, not in Lat.]

[8 Etenim talia non citra fœdissimam superstitionem fiunt, Lat. omitted. For such things are not done but with most abominable superstition.]

for word that most holy form of praying, orderly made with most divine words even by the mouth of the Lord, as Matthew the apostle hath left it recorded unto us; and then to expound the same as briefly and plainly as may be, to the intent that every one may the better understand what he prayeth, and feel a more effectual working inwardly. Of that most heavenly prayer this is the form:

O our Father, which art in heaven; hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as well in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses*, as we forgive them that trespass against us†. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.

* Or debts.

† Or our debtors.

The Lord's Prayer divided.

This most holy prayer of our Lord Jesus Christ, our saviour, our doctor or teacher, and highest priest, delivered to the catholic church to be a catholic form or rule to pray unto God, is wont to be divided into a little preface, and six petitions. Some reckon seven. Some say, that the three former petitions serve chiefly to the spreading abroad of God's glory; the three latter concern the care of ourselves, and ask those things that are needful for us. But they seem in manner all[1] to contain both.

The little preface is this: "O our Father, which art in heaven." By this we call upon God; and, dedicating ourselves unto him, we commit ourselves wholly unto his protection and mercy. And every word hath his high mysteries; for our Lord would have us rather pray with understanding than with words. These therefore do admonish us, and suffice to be thought upon. But the mind, being instructed with the Holy Ghost, which I told you is needful before all things to them that pray, and being lifted up to the beholding of God and of heavenly things, doth devoutly and ardently meditate these things.

Father.

And truly the word, "Father," putteth us in mind of many things together. For first, it teacheth us, that all our prayers ought to be[2] offered to none other than to him, which is a father; that is to say, that only God is to be called upon, and not another for him, or another with him. For our God and Father is one, the fulness and sufficiency of all good things,

[1 plerœque, Lat.] [2 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, are to be.]

in whom only the faithful are acquicted and do rest, and without whom[3] they seek nothing that is truly good. And verily this prayer can be offered to no creature. For to which of the angels, or the saints, canst thou say without sacrilege: "O our Father, which art in heaven?" &c.

The Lord's prayer offered to the Father by Christ.

Furthermore this word Father teaches us, through whom we should call upon this Father; not by the mediation or by the mouths of saints, but by Jesus Christ our Lord; through whom only we are made the sons of God, who were otherwise by birth and by nature the children of wrath. Who, I pray you, durst come forth before the presence of the most high and everlasting God, and call him "Father," and himself "son," unless the Father in his beloved and natural Son had adopted us the sons of grace? Therefore, when we say, "Father," we speak from the mouth of the Son, who hath taught us so to pray, and by whom we be promoted into this dignity; that it needeth nothing at all to add the name of Christ, and to say, We pray thee, O heavenly Father, for Christ's sake; since in the first word, "Father," we comprehend the whole mystery of the Son of God and our redemption. For insomuch as he is our Father, we are his sons, and that by the merit of Christ: therefore we call upon the Father, and so call him through Christ; that I may not now repeat, that we pray so from the mouth of Christ. Moreover, this sweet and favourable word, "Father," disburdens us clean of all distrust of heart; for we call him "Father," not so much in consideration of his creating of all things, as for his singular and fatherly good-will toward us. Whereupon, though he be Lord God, and indeed a great Lord, and an Almighty God; yet when we pray, we attribute none of these names unto him; but call him Father, because indeed he wisheth us well, loveth us, taketh care and charge over us, and, having pity upon us, is desirous, yea, of his own accord and good-will toward us, to store and heap upon us all good things whatsoever. Hitherto appertain the testimonies of the prophets, especially that of David: "The Lord is full of compassion and mercy, slow to anger, and of great kindness. He will not alway chide, neither keep his anger for ever. He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our iniquities. For as high as the heaven is above the earth, so great is his

Ps. ciii.

[3 extra quem, Lat.; out of whom.]

mercy toward them that fear him, "As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our sins from us. As a father hath compassion on his children, so hath the Lord compassion on them that fear him. For he knoweth whereof we be made, he remembereth that we are but dust." A very excellent example of this thing is to be seen in the gospel after St Luke; where the loving father is painted out with wonderful affections receiving into favour again that prodigal son and waster of his wealth.

Luke xv.

Our.

Hereunto is added this word "Our;" which putteth us in mind of two things. For first, it is a small matter to acknowledge God to be the God and Father of all, or to be the God and Father of others, unless we also believe that he is our Father; unless we dedicate and yield ourselves wholly into his faith and protection, as of our Father, who wisheth well unto us, loveth us, hath a care over us, at no time and place neglecteth us. For unless we do so believe, neither with faith nor with the love of God is our prayer commended, and therefore not a whit acceptable unto God. But that that best and greatest God is our God, we do understand as well by his manifold benefits, as also especially by the mystery of our redemption through Christ: of which thing we have spoken elsewhere[1]. Furthermore, since he bad us pray, "Our Father," and not "My Father;" straightway, upon the very beginning, he requireth love of us. For his will is, that we should not only have care of our own salvation, but of the salvation of all other men. For we are all the members of one body; whereupon each several one prayeth not severally for themselves, but every one for the safety of all the members and also the whole body. Touching that matter I spake before, when I entreated of the manner of praying unto God[2].

Which art in heaven.

There is by and by added, "Which art in heaven;" not that God is shut up in heaven as in a prison. Solomon, the happiest and wisest king of all, confuting that error long agone, said: "If the heavens of heavens are not able to contain thee, how much less this house!" To which words I think that may be annexed, which Stephen alleged in the Acts of the Apostles out of Esay concerning the same thing. He is therefore said to be in heaven, because his divine majesty, and power, and glory, shineth most of all in the

1 Kings viii.

Acts vii.

[1 Vol. I. p. 125.] [2 See above, p. 179.]

heavens: for in the whole course of nature there is nothing more glorious, nothing more beautiful, than the heavens. Moreover, the Father exhibiteth and giveth himself unto us to be enjoyed in the heavens. Heaven is the country common to us all, where we believe that God and our Father doth dwell, and where we worship God and our Father; albeit we believe that he is in every place, and always present with all. For as heaven compasseth and covereth all things, and is everywhere distant from the earth by even spaces; so the presence of his Majesty also doth fail us in no place. We have heaven everywhere in our sight; we are everywhere in the sight of God. But beside this, by mention made of heaven we are put in mind of our duty, and our wretchedness. It is our duty, to be lifted up in our minds, by praying, into heaven, and to forget earthly things; and more to be delighted with that heavenly Father and country than with this earthly prison and exile: it is our wretchedness, that being banished out of that country for our sins, and wandering[3] in this earth, we are subject to divers calamities; and therefore, being constrained by necessity, we never cease crying unto the Father. But first of all[4], saying, "Which art in heaven," we make a difference between the Father whom we call upon, saying, "our," and our earthly father; attributing almightiness unto him. He surely, that is called upon and ought to hear, must know all, see all, and hear all; yea, and more too, will and be able to do all. Therefore to his good-will to us-ward, which in these words, "Our Father," we have expressed, we do now join knowledge of all things, and power to do all things, adding, "Which art in heaven." By these words the faith of them that pray is stirred up and confirmed.

Hallowed be thy name.

Now there do follow in order six petitions. The first is, "Hallowed be thy name." We have called God our Father, and ourselves his sons. But it is the part of sons to honour or glorify their father; and therefore immediately upon the beginning we desire, that the name of the Lord God, and our Father, might be sanctified or hallowed. That truly is holy and undefiled always in itself; neither is it made any whit the better or the worse by us. Whereupon we pray, that that which is and remaineth holy in itself should be acknowledged of us to be such, and always sanctified of us.

[3 reptantes, Lat.] [4 in primis, Lat.: especially.]

The name of God.

A name is the definition of anything whatsoever; and names are invented to make a difference of one thing from another, whereby they might be known among themselves. But God is infinite and unmeasurable; moreover, he is one: therefore he hath not a name whereby to be defined; he needeth not a name whereby to be discerned from other gods. Therefore those names, that are attributed unto him in the scriptures, are attributed for our infirmity; to the end that by some reason and comparison we might understand some things that are spoken of him that is unmeasurable and infinite. Therefore the name of God, in very deed, is God himself, with all his majesty and glory.

To sanctify, or hallow.

To "sanctify," or "hallow," otherwhiles signifieth, to separate things from a profane unto an holy use. In this place it signifieth to magnify, to praise, and to glorify. We desire therefore, that God himself, who of his own nature is a good, holy, and for ever blessed, gentle, bountiful, and a merciful, Father, might as he is in himself be acknowledged and magnified of all us; that all nations, leaving their error[1] and heresies, might consecrate themselves in truth to this one only Father and God; that all things which defile the name of the Lord, of which sort are wicked deceits or practices, ungodliness, epicurism, an unclean life, and especially corrupt and antichristian doctrine, may be taken away; that, being enlightened, we might sanctify or hallow the name of the Lord.

Wherefore in this petition we desire the Holy Ghost, the very only author itself of all true sanctification; we pray for true faith in God by Christ throughout the whole world; we pray for holy thoughts and a pure life, wherewith we might glorify the name of the Lord; which is done, while every one doeth his own duty; while Satan, the author of all uncleanness, is cast out; while corrupt doctrine is taken away, and deceit ceaseth; while the filthiness of the world is banished. This petition the most excellent king and prophet David setteth forth in these words: "God be merciful unto us, and bless us, shew us the light of his countenance, and be merciful unto us[2]; that thy way may be known[3] upon earth, thy saving health among all nations. Let the people praise thee, O God;

[1 erroribus, Lat.] [2 benedicat nobis, Lat.]

[3 ut cognoscamus, Lat. and Vulgate. That we maye knowe, Coverdale, 1535.]

yea, let all the people praise thee:" and as followeth in the threescore and seventh psalm. To this belongeth the whole prayer of our Saviour, described by St John in the XVII. chapter of his gospel.

The second petition is, "Thy kingdom come;" for the name of God and our Father cannot be sanctified or hallowed unless he reign in us. There is one kingdom of God, another of the devil. Furthermore, one kingdom of God is said to be of glory, and another rightly of grace. The kingdom of glory is not of this world, but of another world. The kingdom of grace is the kingdom of Christ in this world; wherein Christ reigneth by the Holy Spirit in his faithful ones, which of their own accord submit themselves unto him to be governed, saying and doing those things which beautify and beseem Christians. The devil also[4] reigneth in the children of unbelief, which yield themselves unto him to be governed according to his ungodliness and wickedness; doing those things which are not only delightful to the flesh, but which turn to the reproach of God's majesty; whom after this life, by the just judgment of God, the devil, the king of the ungodly, catcheth unto hell, into the kingdom of death and judgment, there continually to burn. Moreover, the earthly kingdom, which princes of this world govern, is called either the kingdom of God, or the kingdom of the devil, even as it shall fashion and frame itself to one of the twain. All these things we do knit up in few words, because we have more plentifully entreated of them in another place[5]. Wherefore we pray in this second petition, that Christ might reign and live in us, and we in him; that the kingdom of Christ might be spread abroad, and enlarged, and prevail through the whole world; that doctors or teachers, and ecclesiastical magistrates, finally, that princes also, yea, and schools too, and whosoever may further the kingdom of Christ, being anointed and watered with his graces, may flourish, overcome, and triumph. Furthermore, we pray that the kingdom of the devil and antichrist may be broken and vanquished, lest it hurt and annoy the saints; that with the kingdom of the devil all ungodliness may be dashed and trodden under foot: to be short, that all the weapons and armour of antichristianism may be broken into shivers, and come to nought. Lastly, we pray in this second petition, that, after

Thy kingdom come.

[4 vero, Lat.: but.] [5 See Decade IV. Serm. 7.]

we have sailed out of the tempestuous gulf[1] of this world, we might be received and gathered unto Christ and all the saints, into the everlasting kingdom of glory. For as we desire the kingdom of God to come unto us, and God to reign in us; so we pray to come or to be received into his kingdom, and to live for ever with him most holily.

Thy will be done.

The third petition is: "Thy will be done, as well in earth as it is in heaven." God reigneth not in us, unless we be obedient unto him; therefore after his kingdom, we desire the grace of perfect obedience. For we desire not that God do what he will; for continually God's will is done, albeit we never pray for it, and though we wrestle and strive against it with all our might. For the prophet saith: "Our God is in heaven; he hath done whatsoever pleased him in heaven and in earth." We ask, therefore, that what he will, the same he may make us both to will and to do[2]. For his will is always good; but our will, through the corruption of sin, is evil. Therefore we pray him to be present with us with his grace, that our will may be regenerated and framed to the good will of God, that of its own accord it yield itself to the Holy Ghost to be framed; that his grace will that which he inspireth[3]; that he finish in us that which he hath well begun; give us, moreover, strength and patience hereunto; that, as well in prosperity as in adversity, we may acknowledge the will of God[4], lest we will anything of ourselves, and swell and be puffed up in prosperity, in adversity also faint and perish; but that we may apply ourselves in all things, and through all things, to be governed by his will; to wit, after this manner to submit our will to his will: furthermore, if we ask anything contrary to his will, that he would not grant it, but rather pardon our foolishness, and weaken our will, which is not good for us; to instruct and teach us in his good will, to the end we may doubt nothing that this is always to be followed, that this is always good, and that this worketh all things for our commodity and benefit.

Psal. cxv.

[1 Euripo, Lat. See Erasmi Adag. Chiliad. p. 345. Hanov. 1617; *inconstantiæ*.]

[2 semper, Lat. omitted: at all times.]

[3 The German translation more correctly renders this sentence:—That it (i. e. our will) by the grace of the Holy Ghost may will that which he inspireth into it.]

[4 bonam, Lat. omitted: to be good.]

In this point the faithful feel a very great battle in themselves; Paul witnessing and saying: "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh. And these two are at mutual enmity between themselves, that what things ye would that ye cannot do." Therefore we desire not any kind of framing our will to God's will, but we add: "As well in earth, as it is in heaven;" that is, Grant, O Father, that thy will may be done in us earthly men, as it is done in thy saints[5], the blessed spirits. These do not strive against thy most holy will in heaven; but, being in one mind[6], they only will that which thou wilt, yea rather, in this one thing they are blessed and happy, that they agree and acquiet[7] themselves in thy will. Truly, it is not the least part of felicity or happiness in earth, to will that God willeth; it is the greatest unhappiness, not to will that which God willeth. And this, truly, by infinite examples might be declared. I will allege only one, and that common too. Some one is grievously sick, and feeleth pains and torments scarce tolerable[8]; but he in the mean time acknowledgeth, that he suffereth these things by the commandment and will of God, his most good, bountiful, and just Father, who wisheth him well, and hath sent this grievous calamity for his salvation and for his own glory. Doth not he, in the midst of his torments, by submitting himself to the will of God feel refreshing? And that which seemed most sharp and most bitter to man, by this voluntary and free submission he maketh it delightful and most sweet. Again; another is sick, vexed not with a very great disease; but this man doth not acknowledge this sickness to be laid upon him by the good will of God; yea, rather thinketh that God knoweth not the disease, that God doth not care for the disease: therefore he referreth it unto divers and sundry causes, and imagineth and seeketh divers means to heal it. And in these things he is wonderfully vexed and afflicted; and yet, by striving so against the will of God, he feeleth no refreshing or comfort at all. What therefore doth he else, nilling[9] that which God willeth, than (which they are wont to do), by ill means avoiding evil, double the same? Wherefore

As well in earth, as it is in heaven.

To will that which God willeth is a good part of happiness.

[5 cœlitibus tuis, Lat.: in thy heavenly ones.]
[6 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, of one mind.]
[7 acquiescunt, Lat.] [8 tolerabilia homini, Lat.]
[9 nolens, Lat.; not willing.]

the foundation of all happiness is faithful obedience, whereby we fully submit ourselves and whatsoever else unto us belongeth to the good will of God. And therefore in this greatest petition we pray unto the Father, that he would give us regeneration or newness of heart[1], true obedience, persevering patience, and a mind always and in all things agreeing with and obeying God.

Bread. The fourth petition is such: "Give us this day our daily bread." For the will of God cannot be done in us, unless we be nourished and strengthened with the bread of God. Bread, among the Hebricians, signifieth all kind of meats, and the preserving or sustenance of the substance of man. Whereupon we read it said in the prophet[2]: "I will break the staff of bread." But man consisteth of two substances, the soul and body. The soul is the spirit; the body is made of earth and other elements. Therefore it is preserved with two kinds of bread, spiritual and corporal. The spiritual meat of the soul, whereby it is preserved in life, is the very word of God, proceeding out of the mouth of God; the Lord out of the law repeating, and saying: "Man liveth not by bread only, but by every word that cometh out of the mouth of God." And for because this only setteth forth unto the faithful the eternal and incarnate Word of God, I mean, the very Son of God; we rightly acknowledge him to be the meat of the soul, yea, the meat of a whole faithful man. For he himself witnesseth, that he is "the bread that came down from heaven; of which they that eat shall not die," but have life everlasting. Corporal bread consisteth of elements, and is earthly, and comprehendeth meat, drink, raiment, prosperous health of body, maintenance, to be short, the safety and good estate of man's life.

Matt. iv. Deut. viii.

Ours. And this bread truly we call ours; not that it is not the gift and benefit of God, but because it is appointed for us, and pertaineth to our preservation, and is necessary for us. Yet

Daily. in the mean season, when we call it daily, or ἐπιούσιον, that is to say, for the morrow, we signify, that it is the most excellentest of all, which only can sustain and preserve our substance, as much as is sufficient and as long as it is meet, and altogether after the same manner and order which is needful: for we said afore, that it is not our part to prescribe unto God a manner of doing or giving. To this also pertain

[1 mentis, Lat.] [2 prophetis, Lat.]

these words following, "Give us this day:" for it belongeth only unto God to give; neither agreeth this petition to any creature. David saith: "All things wait upon thee, that thou mayest give them meat in due season. When thou givest them, they gather it; when thou openest thy hand, all things are filled with good." Again: "The eyes of all things do look upon thee, O Lord, and thou givest them meat in due season; thou openest thy hand, and fillest with thy blessing every living creature." Now we pray, "Give us," not, "Give me;" which putteth us in mind again both of brotherly love and unity: for we ought not only to seek our own, but also to pray for the safety and preservation of all other men. The word, "this day," appointeth us a measure. For this we say: Suffice thou us, O Lord, daily and every moment with as much as is needful and enough for us, which thou thyself only knowest best of all. For we are admonished by the way, that we should not burn with immoderate desire of transitory things; and that we should not lavish them out riotously when we have them, losing both our goods and our souls. And therefore that wise man is read to have said: "Two things have I required of thee; deny me them not before I die. Remove far from me vanity and lies; give me neither poverty nor riches; only feed me with food convenient for me: lest peradventure being full, I should deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or being oppressed with poverty, fall to stealing, and forswear the name of my God." Therefore, in this fourth petition, we yield ourselves wholly into the care and tuition of God the Father, and commit ourselves to his providence; that he, which only is able to save us, might feed, defend, and save us. For unless he pour his blessing upon us, unless he give us strength by those things that are means pertaining to our sustentation and maintenance, all things are of no force. We pray for the happy course of the word of God; for the pastors of the church themselves; for the maintainers of the commonweal; for the safety of the church and commonweal. We crave that the bountiful Father would supply all wants, and give whatsoever things are necessary for the sustentation both of the body and the soul.

Give.

Us.

This day.

Prov. xxx.

Furthermore, lest any should think himself unworthy of the daily bread, because it is due to children and not to dogs; and therefore should pray the slowlier, and with a more

And forgive us.

slender courage; the Lord, preventing[1] this carefulness of the godly, addeth the fifth petition, which is this: "And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." In these words we ask forgiveness of our sins. And, that we may obtain forgiveness of our sins, it is needful that we confess ourselves to be sinners; for unless we do this, how shall we pray that our sins should be forgiven us? Truly, all the saints use this order of praying; therefore all of them acknowledge themselves to be sinners. For there remain relics, yea, even in the regenerate and most holy men, which daily burst out into evil thoughts, evil sayings and doings, yea, and oftentimes into heinous offences. But whatsoever faults and sins ours be; first, truly we confess them humbly to God the Father, and afterward pray him to forgive them. We call our sins "debts," God himself so teaching, because we are indebted for the punishment (as the price) of them unto God. And he forgiveth our debts, when he taketh not deserved punishment of us; so judging of us as if we were nothing indebted unto him. For the allusion is made to corporal debts: which if the creditor forgive the debtor, he hath no further power to cast in prison, or to punish him which was his debtor. Therefore, not only the fault is forgiven unto us, but the punishment also. Neither do we make any words of our merits unto the Father; but we say, "Remit, or forgive, us our debts." By the word remission, is meant a free forgiveness of sins; for he forgiveth us, because we are not able to pay. Whereupon we read in the gospel: "When the debtors were not able to pay, he forgave them both their debts." The like are set down in the eighteenth chapter of Matthew. Therefore by no merits[2] of ours, by no satisfaction of ours, but by the bountifulness of God through Christ, we pray that all our sins may be forgiven us. Neither do the saints here doubt of the certainty of forgiveness; for the Lord saith in the gospel: "Whatsoever ye ask in my name, believing, ye shall receive it." They therefore that pray in faith, doubt not that their sins are forgiven them for Christ's sake; for so also we confess in our creed: "I believe the forgiveness of sins."

Our debts.

Luke vii.

As we forgive our debtors.

We add forthwith hereunto: "As we forgive our debtors." Not that we should think, through our forgiveness, that we

[1 præoccupans, Lat.]

[2 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, merit; merito nostro, Lat.]

deserve or obtain forgiveness of our sins; for otherwise the reason of remission were not certain. For he that either bringeth or doth any thing, for which thing's sake sin is taken away; or he that satisfieth for sin; to him nothing is forgiven, but rather recompensed as a desert. Therefore, for other causes these things seem to be added. First, forasmuch as we be careful for forgiveness, of which many doubt, the Lord's will is to comfort our infirmity by adding this as it were a sign, whereby we might understand, that so surely our sins are forgiven us of God, as we are sure we have remitted and forgiven other their offences, wherewith they have offended us. Furthermore, his will was to drive out of us all old grudge, hatred, and malice; and to drive into us the study and desire of love and charity; and to admonish us of our duty, that, if as yet there did stick in our minds any part of old enmities, we may know, that it ought altogether to be laid aside and cast out of our stomach; yea, and that even now we must call upon the Lord to move our hearts, that we may be able to do it. Surely, we do hardly[3] lay down old injuries and offences. But it is meet, that we forgive our brethren lesser faults, which have obtained pardon of very great sins of our most gracious Father: unless, happily, we list to take trial of his fortune, who, in the parable of the gospel, had himself proof of the great bountifulness and liberality of the Lord in forgiving him, he in the meanwhile being fierce and cruel toward his brother, in exacting of him a very small and trifling debt. The parable is very well known in the eighteenth chapter of St Matthew.

The sixth and last petition is: "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil;" for sin is never so forgiven, that there remaineth not concupiscence in the flesh, which temptations stir up, and lead into divers kinds of sins. And these are of divers sorts. For first, God tempteth us, when he biddeth us do any thing whereby to prove us, as when he bad Abraham to offer up his son; or else, when he sendeth adversity upon us, that with the fire of temptation he may both fine[4] our faith, and cleanse away the dross of our misdeeds. These temptations of God tend to the salvation of the faithful. Wherefore we do not simply pray, not to be tempted: for the temptation of God is profitable. For that

And lead us not into, &c.

[3] graviter, Lat.] [4] exerceat, Lat.]

James i. man is said to be blessed, which suffereth temptation: "for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life." We pray also[1], that we be not led into temptation: for the devil likewise tempteth; we are tempted of the world, and of our flesh. There are temptations on our right hand and on our left; tending to this end, to overthrow us, to drown us in the bottomless pit of our sins, and thereby to destroy us: when that is done, we are not only tempted, but we are led into and also entrapped in temptation. Such a petition therefore we do make: If it please thee, O heavenly Father, to exercise us with thy wholesome temptations, we beseech thee grant that we may be found tried[2]: and suffer us not to be led by a devilish and wicked temptation; that, leaving thee, and being made bond-slaves to our enemy, and drowned in the gulf of wickednesses, we be caught and kept of him in evil, sin, and in our own destruction. For now we add the contrary clause, which also expoundeth the former; which, as

But deliver us from evil. other say, is the seventh petition: "But deliver us from evil;" ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ; I say, from that evil, to wit, from Satan, who elsewhere is called a tempter. Deliver us from Satan, and from all evils which he sendeth: deliver us from snares, crafty practices, deceivings; from war, famine, captivity, plague; from all those things which are evil, hurtful, and dangerous. Those things that are such our heavenly Father knoweth very well, to whom we say here: "Give us healthful and good things; take away from us those things which thou knowest to be hurtful and evil."

Amen. And so, briefly we conclude the Lord's Prayer, adding moreover, "Amen." That confirmation and giving of assent is read to have been common and usual of old; as it is to see in Deut. xxvii., Nehem. viii., 1 Cor. xiv. The same in the beginning[3] doth express our desire; for we confess that we desire those things heartily which we pray for. Besides that, it declareth the certainty of our faith; as if we should say, I believe assuredly, that these things are granted unto me of God: for "Amen" is as much as if one should say, "So be it." And the Lord in the gospel oftentimes saith*, "Amen, Amen, I said unto you;" that is, of a certainty I tell

* Which is commonly translated, Verily, verily.

[1 Petimus autem, Lat.: But we pray.]
[2 probati, Lat.: approved.]
[3 principio, Lat.: in the first place.]

you the truth: or, I utter and pronounce unto you the undoubted truth. And so the faithful, after they have offered prayers unto God, having their minds pacified, do now joyfully wait for the gifts of the Lord.

Furthermore, some do place before the word, "Amen," immediately after the rehearsal of these words, "But deliver us from evil," "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen." But Erasmus Roterod., in his annotations upon the new Testament, witnesseth, that those words are not found in any old Latin copy; but are found added in all Greek copies, howbeit not expounded of any of the interpreters, but of Chrysostom only and his follower Theophylact; and that therefore they seemed unto him to be added unto the Lord's Prayer, as some have added these unto the Psalms: "Glory be to the Father, to the Son," &c. The same Erasmus immediately adjoineth: "Wherefore there is no cause why Laurentius Valla should stomach the matter, that a good part of the Lord's Prayer was curtailed. Their rashness was rather to be reproved, who feared not to so heavenly a prayer to patch their own toys. For I may call them toys, in comparison of that which God hath taught, whatsoever hath proceeded from men; especially if that which men have added and put to, be compared with Christ the author of prayer[4]." Neither did Erasmus only doubt of this addition; for the Spanish copy, which they call *Codex Complutensis*, hath: "That it seemeth more credible, that these words are not a part of the Lord's prayer, as a member of the whole; but put in through the fault of some certain writers, or printers." In the same book is by and bye added: "And

For thine is the kingdom, power, and glory, for ever.

[4 Hanc coronidem in omnibus Græcorum exemplaribus adjectam comperio... verum quando nec in ullis Latinorum exemplaribus ascriptum visitur, nec exponitur ab Hieronymo, aut ullo prorsus interpretum præter Chrysostomum et hujus abbreviatorem recentem Theophylactum, apparet ex solenni consuetudine... additum... Consimili studio adjectum est in fine Psalmorum, Gloria Patri. Proinde non est cur Laurentius Valla stomachetur bonam precationis dominicæ partem fuisse decurtatam. Magis taxanda fuerat illorum temeritas, qui non veriti sint tam divinæ precationi suas nugas assuere. Nugas enim jure dixerim ad divinam doctrinam quicquid ab hominibus profectum fuerit; præsertim si quod ab hominibus annexum sit, ad Christum auctorem conferatur.—Erasm. Annot. in Matt. loc. cit. p. 31, 32. Basil. 1522.]

albeit St Chrysostom in his Commentaries upon Matt., Homil. xx., do expound these words, as if they were of the text; yet it is conjectured to be more true, that even in his time the first originals in his[1] treatise were corrupted: whereupon none of the Latins, no, not of the ancient interpreters or entreaters thereof, is read to have made any mention of these words[2]." And surely this is truly said. For the most diligent interpreters, which have taken in hand each of them word for word to expound the Lord's Prayer, as were St Cyprian, Hierome, and Augustine, of this addition have not spoken so much as one word.

Thus much have I spoken hitherto of the Lord's Prayer, and of calling upon God's name; of which Salomon, the wisest that ever was, most truly pronounceth: "The name of the Lord is a strong tower; the righteous runneth unto it, and is exalted[3];" that is, he standeth and is preserved in a safe, or in a high place, out of the reach of any weapon.

Prov. xviii.

Of thanksgiving.

We will say somewhat (as we have done of this) of thanksgiving, another kind of prayer. And though the same also be comprehended in the Lord's Prayer, (for it comprehendeth all things belonging to true prayer, therefore it containeth thanksgiving also;) yet, after the expounding of that, I also would entreat of this by itself, lest by mingling of things there rise a confusion or disorder in our minds. And truly the Lord requireth thanksgiving of us: of which thing there are extant in the holy scriptures arguments not a few. For how many praises, rejoicings, and thanksgivings, are read in the Psalms, written and left both of David and of other prophets! And in the law also the Lord instituted a peculiar kind of oblation and sacrifice, which we have said is called the Eucharist, or the sacrifice of thanksgiving[4]. What thing else

[1 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, this.]

[2 Magis credibile videtur quod ista verba non sint de integritate orationis dominicæ; sed quod vitio aliquorum scriptorum fuerunt hic inserta... Et licet beatus Chrysostomus in suis commentariis super Matthæum hom. 20. exponat ista verba tanquam si essent de textu; verisimilius tamen præsumitur jam suis temporibus originalia in isto passu fuisse corrupta; ex quo nullus Latinorum etiam ex antiquissimis interpretibus sive tractatoribus legatur de his verbis aliquam fecisse mentionem.—Nov. Test. Compluten. Matth. cap. vi.]

[3 Safe, Auth. Ver.; set aloft, Marg.]

[4 See Vol. II. p. 203.]

was the supper of the Passover, but a thanksgiving for the deliverance out of the Egyptian captivity? Surely, our Lord Jesus Christ, both instituting a remembrance of all his benefits and specially of the redemption purchased by his death, and knitting up all sacrifices in brevity, delivered the Eucharist, or sacrament of thanksgiving, to his church; as we will declare in place convenient, and have partly shewed in our former sermons[5]. Mankind in prosperity is all upon lustiness and jollity, and seldomtimes thinketh with himself, from whence prosperity cometh: so he doth not set by those spiritual mysteries and benefits so much as otherwise he ought. But they seem to be swine, and not men, which do not only not set by the benefits of God as they ought, but do moreover contemn them, and tread them under feet. The heavy judgment of God doth tarry for them.

We owe thanksgiving only to God.

Furthermore, the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving is due to God only: for he is the only giver and author of all good things; though in the meanwhile he use the means and ministry of men and other creatures. Some prince sendeth unto thee a most royal gift; and that by a courtier not of the lowest degree, but a most chosen man: yet to him, nevertheless, though he be a nobleman, thou givest not thanks, but to the prince from whom the gift came: howbeit, in the mean while, thou dost honestly confess, that the courtier herein bestowed his labour for thy sake. But he had not bestowed it, unless his prince had so commanded: and so the whole benefit at the length redoundeth unto the prince himself, even unto him alone. And as all our invocation or calling upon God is acceptable unto God the Father through Jesus Christ our Lord; so no thanksgiving of ours is acceptable unto God, unless it be offered through Jesus Christ: for hitherto pertaineth the mystery of the altar of incense, whereof mention is made in the ceremonies of the law[6]. But the apostle also saith: "Give thanks always for all things unto God the Father[7] in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." And again he saith: "By him we offer sacrifice of praise always to God, that is, the fruit of lips confessing his name."

Thanks are to be given to God through Christ.

Ephes. v.

Heb. xiii.

The benefits of God must be acknowledged

But that we may be thankful for all the benefits of God, and offer continual thanksgiving unto God; it is needful first, to

[5 See Vol. II. p. 269.] [6 Vol. II. p. 157.]

[7 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, and the Father; et Patri, Lat.]

acknowledge, and well to weigh with ourselves, the benefits of God; for these being not yet known, or rightly weighed, our mind is not set on fire to give God thanks for his benefits. And these are indeed diverse, yea, they are infinite: for they are private and public, general and special, spiritual and corporal, temporal and eternal, ecclesiastical and political, singular and excellent. But who can reckon up all their kinds and parts? God created, beautified, garnished, and made this world fruitful for man. To the ministry of this he severally appointeth angelical spirits, whom he had created ministers for himself. He giveth us souls and bodies, which he furnisheth and storeth with infinite gifts and abilities; and, that which far passeth all other benefits, he loosed man, being entangled in sin; he delivered him, being a bond-slave to the devil. For the Son of God setteth us free into the liberty of the sons of God; by dying, he quickeneth; by shedding his blood, he purgeth and cleanseth[1]; he also giveth us his Spirit, whereby we may be guided and preserved in this banishment, until we be received into that our everlasting and true country. They that consider these things with a true faith cannot choose but be rapt into the praise and setting forth of God's goodness, and into a wondering at a thing doubtless to be marvelled at; that the gracious and mighty God hath such a special care of men, than whom this earth hath nothing either more wretched or miserable.

How the godly give thanks unto God.

Here the saints of God are destitute of words, neither have they words meet enough for this so great a matter. David

Psal. viii.

crieth: "O Lord our God, how wonderful is thy name in all the world; for that thou hast set thy glory above the heavens;" and as it followeth[2] in the eighth psalm. And again

2 Sam. iv.

the same: "Who am I, O Lord God, and what is the house of my father, that thou hast brought me hitherto (or so advanced me)? And what can David say further unto thee? for thou, Lord God, knowest thy servant;" and so forth, as followeth in the 2. book of Samuel, chap. vii. The same David hath set down a most notable form of blessing, or praising, or giving thanks unto God, in the ciii. Psalm, which beginneth thus: "Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless his holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul,

[1 expiat, Lat.]

[2 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, as followeth.]

and forget not all his benefits; who forgiveth all thy wickedness;" and so forth. But what need any more words? The Lord's Prayer may be a most perfect form of praising God, and giving thanks to God for all his benefits, and serve in stead of many. For as the preface and all the petitions do call unto our remembrance, and absolutely set forth unto us, God's greatest benefits most liberally bestowed upon us, and also upon all other: so if we consider that it is our duty to give thanks to God for every one of these, and by and bye begin, even at the beginning of the Lord's Prayer, to weigh this chiefly with ourselves, that God the Father, of his unspeakable mercy to us-ward, hath adopted us miserable sinners into the number of sons, by whom he will be sanctified, and in whom he will reign, and at the last also translate unto his everlasting kingdom; that I may speak nothing of other petitions; what plentiful matter of praising God and giving thanks unto him shall be ministered! But these things are better and more rightly understood by good, godly, and devout exercise, than by precepts, though never so diligent.

Thanksgiving a sacrifice.

And the Lord doth so much esteem this thanksgiving, offered unto him with true humility of mind, and also faith, that he receiveth it and counteth it for a most acceptable sacrifice. Of this thing there is very often mention in the old Testament; as when it is said: "Whosoever offereth me thanks and praise, he honoureth me. I will not reprove thee because of thy sacrifices. I will take no bullocks out of thy house, nor goats out of thy folds[3]. Offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows unto the most Highest; and call upon me in the day of trouble; I will hear thee (and[4] deliver thee), and thou shalt glorify me." Again: "I will offer unto thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and I will call upon the name of the Lord." And Oseas also saith: "Take these[5] words with you, and turn ye to the Lord, and say unto him, O forgive us all our sins, and receive us graciously, (*Nim recht fur gut*); and then will we offer the calves of our lips unto thee." After which manner Malachi also hath left written: "I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts; neither will I receive an offering at your hand. For from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same my

Psal. l.

Psal. cxvi.

Hos. xiv.

Mal. i.

[3 nor—folds, not in Lat.] [4 hear thee and, not in Lat.]
[5 these, not in Lat.]

name is great among the gentiles; and in every place incense and a pure offering shall be offered to my name: for my name is great among the gentiles, saith the Lord of hosts." Furthermore[1], this pure offering all the old interpreters with great consent, Irenæus chiefly and Tertullian, do interpret *Eucharistia*, that is to say, praises and thanksgivings, and prayer proceeding from a pure heart and a good conscience and an unfeigned faith[2]. Truly, for no other cause have the ancient fathers called the Eucharist, or mystical supper of Christ, a sacrifice, than for that in it praise and thanksgiving is offered unto God: for the apostle Paul sheweth, that Christ was once offered, and that he cannot be offered often or any more.

Of the force or virtue of prayer.

For great is the worthiness, power, and virtue, not only of praise or thanksgiving, but also of prayer wholly; I mean, of invocation also itself. Whereof although I have already spoken somewhat[3], where I declared that our prayers are effectual, yet do I add these few words. The saints truly had a most ardent desire of praying, because of the wonderful force of prayer. For, that I may say nothing of those most ancient fathers before and anon after the flood; did not Abraham pray, when he received the promises? and as often as he changed his dwelling, did not he call upon God? At his prayer king Abimelech is delivered from death; and barrenness, which the Lord, being displeased, laid upon his house, is cured. Jacob poured forth most ardent prayers unto God, and received of him[4] inestimable benefits. In Exodus, Moses prayeth, not once, but often; and taketh away the plagues from the Egyptians, which the Lord by his just judgment had brought upon them. At the prayer of Moses the Amalechites turn their backs; and, when he ceased or left off, the Israelites fled away. Again, when the fire of the Lord devoured the utmost parts of the tents of Israel, they cried unto Moses; and Moses again cried unto the Lord: and suddenly the fire that devoured them was consumed[5]. Again, the people mur-

[1 Ceterum, Lat. But.]

[2 Irenæus contra Hæres. Lib. IV. cap. 17. § 6, p. 249. Par. 1710. Tertullian. adv. Marcion. Lib. III. cap. 22, Lib. IV. cap. 1. Adv. Judæos. cap. 5.]

[3 See Vol. III. p. 206.]

[4 a Deo, Lat.] [5 absorptus est, Lat.]

mured against the Lord, and vengeance is prepared; but Moses by mild and continual prayer quencheth the wrath of God; for it is said unto him: "I have let them go according to thy word." Anon after, when the people began afresh to murmur against Moses and Aaron, and that the vengeance of God had already consumed fourteen thousand and seven hundred men, Aaron, at the commandment of Moses, burneth incense, and standing between the dead and those that were living, howbeit near and appointed to death, he pleadeth for and obtaineth pardon by prayers. Innumerable other of this kind are read of Moses. Josue, Moses' successor, by prayers made the course of the sun and moon so long to stay, until he had revenged himself upon his enemies. Anna, without any voice heard, by prayer putteth from her the reproach of barrenness, and forthwith is made a fruitful mother of very many children. Samuel, the most godly son of godly Anna, by prayer vanquisheth the Philistines; and suddenly, in the time of harvest, raised up a mighty tempest of thunders and rain. We do also read things not unlike of Helias. Jonas in like manner prayed in the whale's belly, and was cast on the shore safe. Josaphat and Ezechias, most religious kings, by prayers poured forth unto God by faith, do triumph over their most puissant enemies. Nehemias asked nothing of his king before he had first prayed to the Lord of heaven; therefore he obtained all things. The most valiant and man-like stomached Judith by prayer overthrew and slew Holophernes, the most proud enemy of God's people, and the terror of all nations. And as Daniel brought all his affairs to pass by prayers unto God; so Hester took a deed in hand that was necessary for God's people, and with three days' fasting and daily[6] prayers bringeth it to an happy end. In the most blessed and most desired birth of our Lord Jesus, companies of angels are heard singing praises together unto God. What, and did not our Lord, when his life was in extreme danger, betake himself to prayer; and by and bye heard the voice of an angel comforting him? The apostles, together with the rest of the church, pray with one accord about the third hour of the day, and anon they received[7] the Holy Ghost. And when the apostles were in dangers, the

[6 assiduis, Lat.]

[7 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, receive; accipiunt, Lat.]

church crieth suppliantly for God's help, and presently without delay findeth succour: they receive much liberty to speak, and work very great signs and miracles among the people. Peter by an angel of God is brought out of a very strong and fenced prison. What should I speak of Paul and Silas praying and praising the Lord in prison? Is it not read, that the foundations of the prison were all shaken with an earthquake, and by that occasion the keeper of the prison was turned unto God? Examples of which sort truly I could bring innumerable, but that I am persuaded that to the godly these are sufficient. And faithful men do not attribute these forces, effects, or virtues, to prayer, as to a work of ours, but as proceeding from faith; and so to God himself, which promiseth these things, and performeth them to the faithful. For the judgment of Paul touching these is known, in the xi. to the Hebrews; and that all glory is due to one God: who vouchsafe so to illuminate all our minds, that our prayer may always please him.

Amen.

OF SIGNS, AND THE MANNER[1] OF SIGNS; OF SACRAMENTAL SIGNS: WHAT A SACRAMENT IS; OF WHOM, FOR WHAT CAUSES, AND HOW MANY SACRAMENTS WERE INSTITUTED OF CHRIST FOR THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH; OF WHAT THINGS THEY DO CONSIST; HOW THESE ARE CONSECRATED; HOW THE SIGN AND THE THING SIGNIFIED IN THE SACRAMENTS ARE EITHER JOINED TOGETHER OR DISTINGUISHED; AND OF THE KIND OF SPEECHES USED IN THE SACRAMENTS.

THE SIXTH SERMON.

THE treatise upon the sacraments remaineth, which we heard is joined to the word of God and prayer[2]. But in speaking of sacraments, delivered by Christ our king and high-priest, and received and lawfully used of his holy and

[1 ratione, Lat.] [2 orationibus, Lat.]

catholic church, I will, by God's grace and assistance[3], observe this order; first, we entreat of them generally, and then particularly or severally. And here beforehand I will determine upon the certain signification of a sign or sacrament, wherein, if I shall be somewhat long or tedious[4], I crave pardon, dearly beloved, therefore; for I hope it shall not be altogether fruitless.

A sign.

Signum, a sign, the Latin writers call a token[5], a representing, a mark and shew of something that hath signification[6]. So say Tully[7] and Fabius. Fabius saith: "Some call *signum*, σημεῖον, though some term it *indicium*; other some *vestigium*, a mark or token whereby a thing is understood, as slaughter by blood[8]." St Aurelius Augustine, the famous ecclesiastical writer, cap. 4, *De Magistro*, saith: "We generally call all those things signs, which signify somewhat; where also we find words to be[9]." Again, Lib. ii. *De Doctrina Christiana*, cap. 1, he saith: "A sign is a thing beside the semblance which it layeth before our senses, making of itself something to come into our mind or thought; as by seeing smoke, we believe there is fire[10]."

Division of signs out St Augustine.

The said Aurelius Augustine doth divide signs into signs natural and signs given. "Natural he calleth those which, without any will or affection to signify, beside themselves make something else to be known, as is smoke signifying fire; for smoke hath not any will in itself to signify. Signs given are those which all living creatures do give one to another, to declare as well as they can the affections of their mind, or any thing which they conceive, mean, or understand." And signs given he divideth again by the senses. For some belong to the eyes; as the ensigns or banners of captains, moving of the

[3 ipso Domino inspirante, Lat.]

[4 or tedious, not in Lat.] [5 notam, Lat.]

[6 vestigium et indicium rei significantis, Lat.]

[7 Cicero de Invent. Lib. I. cap. 30.]

[8 Fabius Instit. Lib. V. cap. 9.]

[9 Dicimus ea signa universaliter omnia, quæ significant aliquid; ubi etiam verba esse invenimus.—August. de Magistro, cap. 4. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 116, col. 2. Par. 1531.]

[10 Signum est res præter speciem quam ingerit sensibus, aliud aliquid ex se faciens in cogitationem venire: sicut...fumo viso ignem subesse cognoscimus.—Id. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. II. cap. 1. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 5, col. 3.]

hands, and all the members. Some again belong to the ears; as the trumpet and other instruments of music, yea, and words themselves, which are chief and principal among men, when they intend to make their meaning known. Unto smelling he referreth that sweet savour of ointment mentioned in the gospel, whereby it pleaseth the Lord to signify somewhat. To the taste he referreth the supper of the Lord; for, saith he, "by the taking of the sacrament of his body and blood he gave or made a sign of his will." He addeth also an example of touching: "and when the woman by touching the hem of his vesture is made whole, that is not a sign of nothing, but signifieth somewhat[1]." In this manner hath St Augustine entreated of the kinds and differences of signs.

John xii.

Mark xiv.

Matt. ix.

Signs distinguished according to their times.

Other also, whose opinion doth not much[2] differ from his, distinguish signs according to the order of times. For of signs, say they, some are of things present, some of things past, and some of things to come. They think them signs of things present, which signify those things to be present which are signified: as the ivy-garland hanging for a sign doth give us to understand, that there is wine to be sold where it is hanged up. The signs which our master Christ wrought did signify, that the Messias, and the kingdom of God promised by the prophets, was come. Under signs past they comprise all tombs, monuments of the dead, and those stones pitched of

Matt. xii.

[1 Signorum igitur alia sunt naturalia, alia data. Naturalia sunt quæ sine voluntate atque ullo appetitu significandi præter se aliquid aliud ex se cognosci faciunt... Data vero signa sunt ea quæ sibi quæcunque viventia invicem dant ad demonstrandos quantum possunt motus animi sui vel sensa aut intellecta quælibet... Signorum igitur quibus inter se homines sua sensa communicant, quædam pertinent ad oculorum sensum, pleraque ad aurium, paucissima ad ceteros sensus. ...Et quidam motus manuum pleraque significant; et histriones omnium membrorum motibus dant signa quædam scientibus... Et vexilla draconesque militares per oculos insinuant voluntatem ducum ...Et tuba et tibia et cithara dant plerumque... significantem sonum. Sed omnia signa verbis comparata paucissima sunt: verba enim prorsus inter homines obtinuerunt principatum significandi... Et odore unguenti Dominus, quo perfusi sunt pedes ejus, signum aliquod dedit. Et sacramento corporis et sanguinis sui prægustato, significavit quod voluit. Et cum mulier, tangendo fimbriam vestimenti ejus, salva facta est, nonnihil significat.—August. ibid. cap. 3, fol. 5, col. 3.]

[2 nihil, Lat.: nothing.]

Josue in the midst of Jordan, signifying to them which came after what was done in times before. The fleece did give to Gideon a sign of things to come; that is to say, a sign of the victory which he should have over his enemies. Josh. iv. Judg. vi.

But these signs, being well considered and not neglected[3], may more amply and plainly be divided into other signs, whereof some are given of men, and some ordained of God himself. Signs or tokens are given of men, whereby they shew and signify something, and by which[4] also they keep something in memory among men, or do as it were seal up that which they would have certain and sure. After this manner is every description or picture demonstrative called a sign; for in Ezechiel, chap. iv., Hierusalem, which was portrayed in a tile[5], is called a sign. They also in ancient time termed the images of the dead signs, because by those images they would renew afresh the memory of them whose signs they were called, and keep them in remembrance, as if they were alive[6]. Yea, and the holy scripture calleth idols signs; as it appeareth in Esay, cap. xlv., and the 2. Paralip. xxxiii.[7] So stones being set or laid to mark out anything, as landmarks, and all tombs and monuments, are signs. Rahab of Hierico said to the Israelites[8]: "Give me a sign by oath[9], that you will shew mercy to me; and they gave her a rope to hang out[10] of her window." Behold, the rope was a sign of their faith and truth, wherewith they did, as we would say[11], seal themselves surely and without all dissimulation, to take diligent heed that Rahab should not be destroyed. We Zwicers[12] term such signs, given or received in confirmation of faith and truth, *wortzeichen*, because they are added to the words, and do as it were seal them; and *wahrzeichen* also, because by them we do as it were give witness, that in good faith, and without all fraud or guile, we will perform that indeed which we promised in word.

Of signs, some are given of men, other some ordained of God.

Signs given of men.

Ezek. iv.

[3 expensis nec rejectis illis quidem, poterunt signa, &c. Lat. These (definitions) being well considered, and not rejected, signs, &c.]

[4 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, by the which.]

[5 in a tile, not in Lat.] [6 superstitem quasi retinere, Lat.]

[7 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7. Vulg. In Isai. xlv. 20, Bullinger seems to have mistaken lignum for signum.]

[8 ad exploratores Israelitas, Lat.: to the spies of Israel.]

[9 signum veritatis, Lat.] [10 suspensum, Lat.]

[11 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, as ye would say.]

[12 Germani, Lat.: Swiss.]

The diversity of signs given of man.

Now these kinds of signs are of divers sorts. For some are mute or dumb, and pertain to the sense of the eyes; of which sort are the standards used in war, crosses[1], banners, flaming fires, whereof mention is made, Numbers ii., Psalm [Ps. lxxiv. 4] lxxiii. &c. Neither is any man able to reckon up all of this sort: for ever and anon new come in, as pleaseth men. Matt. xx. Judas gave a sign unto his company: "Whomsoever," saith he, "I shall kiss, that same is he: take[2] him." The joining of right hands, which pertaineth to the sense of feeling, is a sign of faithfulness, help, and fellowship; yea, it is the dumb Gal. ii. sign[3], which sign Paul calleth "the right hand[4] of fellowship." Hitherto belong divers movings and gestures. Some of them are pertaining to the voice, which are conceived[5] by hearing, and are uttered by man's voice, or by the sound of things which have no life. By man's voice are uttered words, whistling, and whatsoever other things are of this kind; whereunto watch-words uttered by the voice may be added, as Judg. xii. Schiboleth in the xii. chapter of the Judges. Moreover, voices without life are they which are made by trumpets, flutes, horns, guns, drums, by ringing of bells and sounding instruments; which also extend very far and largely.

Signs given of God.

Now signs are given of God to this end, to teach and admonish us of things to come, or of things past: either that they may after a sort lay before the eyes of the beholders, and represent in a certain likeness, the things themselves whereof they are signs; or else that they may, as it were[6], seal the promises and words of God with some visible ceremony celebrated of men by God's institution: to be short, that they might exercise our faith, and gather together those which are scattered into one assembly or company. And these are not all of one sort, but do much differ between themselves.

The diversity of signs given by God.

For some have their beginning of natural causes, and yet nevertheless are given as signs of God, to put us in mind of things, or to renew his promises[7], and to teach men things that have been done; of which kind is the rainbow, mentioned

[1 fasciæ, Lat. omitted: bundles.] [2 tenete, Lat.]
[3 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, a dumb sign.]
[4 signum, Lat.]
[5 percipiuntur, Lat.]
[6 as it were, not in Lat.]
[7 so also ed. 1584; but 1577, to put us in mind of things past, or &c.: quæ præteritas res, aut etiam promissiones renovent, Lat.]

by Moses, Gen. ix. For when the flood ceased, that[8] God made a new league with Noah, and ordained the rainbow for a sign of his covenant, he made it not anew; but being made long afore, and appearing by natural causes, by a new institution he consecrated it, to the intent it might cause us[9] to call to our[9] remembrance the flood, and as it were to renew the promise of God, that is to say, that it should never come to pass again, that the earth should be drowned with water. Now[10] this sign hath not any ceremony ordained, whereby it might be celebrated among men; neither doth it gather us together into the society of any body or fellowship: but this sign is referred chiefly to God, saying: "I will set my rainbow in the clouds[11], that when I see it, I may remember the everlasting covenant made between me and you." Not much unlike to this are signs and wonders; signs, I say, in the sun, the moon, and the stars, which do forewarn men[12] of destruction and calamities to come, unless by repentance they amend: but neither have these any ceremony ordained, to celebrate the remembrance of them, or to gather us together, &c. Again, there be other signs altogether miraculous, not natural, though there be natural things[13] in them; of which sort Gideon's fleece is, and the shadow of the sun going back in the dial of king Ezechias. These signs, as we read them to have been once shewed, so by no institution are they commanded to be followed, or for some certain end to be celebrated. To Ezechias[14] they were given at that time, to signify and witness the victory which he should have against his enemies, and the recovery of his health. Altogether and merely marvellous are those things which, in the last of Mark, by our Lord Jesus Christ are called signs, gifts, and means of healing, and speaking with tongues[15], given unto and bestowed upon men, not by any power of man or virtue of healing in him, but by the power and virtue of Christ only. Those signs declared unto men, that that was the true and undoubted preaching of the gospel,

Signs and wonders. Luke xxi.

Miraculous signs.

Isai. xxxviii.

[8 dum, Lat.] [9 us, our, not in Lat.]

[10 Interim, Lat.]

[11 Erit arcus in nube, Lat. Gen. ix. 15, 16.]

[12 cœlitus, Lat. omitted: from heaven.]

[13 naturalia quædam concurrant, Lat.]

[14 To Ezechias, not in Lat.]

[15 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, gifts, I mean, of healing, and &c.: beneficia, inquam, sanitatis et linguarum, Lat.]

whereby Christ is declared to be Lord of all, Lord of life and death, of Satan, and of hell also itself. For now when through the name of Christ the dead do rise, and diseases being driven out go their way; by these very signs it is proved, that that is true which is said, that Christ is Lord of all things. So the wonders which Moses and Aaron wrought in Egypt, Exod. iv., are called in the scripture signs; for they were witnesses both of God's lawful sending, and tokens of his mighty power to be executed against Egypt: but neither had these any ceremony, neither gathered together into any society.

Signs paradigmatical, or for example.

Now also we read, that some signs are paradigmatical, that is[1], used indeed of men, but not without God's commandment, that these also may be said to be signs from God. Those be altogether free[2] from miracles; and indeed not only fetched from natural things, but also from things mere common and usual, as were the bands, pitcher, and chains of the holy prophet Jeremy; whereby, being willed of God so to do, he laid[3] before them those things in a certain evident form and figure, I mean, in a visible sign to be seen with men's eyes, which by his preaching he prophesied should fall upon them[4]. The like we may see in Ezech. the xviith. and xxivth. chap. These signs paradigmatical, or for example, are in some things like to those exercises of rhetoric, called *chriæ activæ;* yea, rather they are certain mixed *chriæ,* so termed, for that they consist partly in words and partly in deeds[5]. Aphthonius defineth an active *chria,* "to be that which declareth and plainly sheweth a thing by action, deed, or gesture: as when Pythagoras was demanded, how long man's life lasted; he for a while stood still, that they might look upon him; but anon he shrunk away, and withdrew himself out of their sight[6]: after that manner and action signifying, that man's life is but short and momentany[7]." But in the scripture for the most part are set down *chriæ*[8] consisting of word and deed; as when Christ

Jer. xxvii. xix. xxviii.

[1 that is, not in Lat.] [2 aliena, Lat.]

[3 voluit subjicere, Lat.] [4 res sermone copiose expositas, Lat.]

[5 so termed—in deeds, the Translator's addition.]

[6 a conspectu hominum, Lat.]

[7 Τῆς χρείας τὸ μέν ἐστι λογικόν· τὸ δὲ πρακτικόν· τὸ δὲ μικτόν. . . . Πρακτικὸν δὲ, τὸ πρᾶξιν σημαῖνον· οἷον Πυθαγόρας ἐρωτηθεὶς πόσος ἂν εἴη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ βίος, βραχύ τι φανεὶς ἀπεκρύψατο, μέτρον τοῦ βίου τὴν θέαν ποιούμενος.—Aphthon. Progymnas. p. 3. Genev. 1569.]

[8 chriæ mixtæ, Lat.]

took a child[9], and set him in the midst of his disciples, and spake these words: "Verily I say unto you, Except ye shall turn, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." But these actions or signs have not the institution and commandment of God, charging us to renew this very action by solemn celebrating the same. Nevertheless, sacramental signs have some affinity with these, namely, baptism and the Lord's supper; for they are given unto us from above, and are taken from natural things, without any miracle; yea, they are instituted under the form of natural and sensible things, and in such things as are very common, water, bread, and wine. This they have common with other signs given of God, in that they renew things past, and shadow out things to come, and by a sign[10] do represent things signified. They differ peculiarly from other signs, in that they have ceremonies joined with the commandment of God[11], which ceremonies he[12] hath commanded his church to solemnize. And this also is peculiar to them, that, being seals of God's promises, they couple us visibly to God and to all the saints; and they are dedicated to the most holy mysteries of God in Christ. Of these I will entreat more largely and diligently hereafter.

Matt. xviii.

Sacramental signs are severed from other signs with which they have many things common.

The sacramental signs of Christ and of Christ his church, namely, which Christ our Lord hath delivered to his church, and which his church hath received of him and do lawfully use[13], the same are called of Latin writers by the name of "sacraments." But the word is not found in the whole scripture, saving that it is read to be used of interpreters[14]. Howbeit, the word "sign" is oft in the scriptures, and, that which helpeth for our purpose, is most significantly set down in Gen. xvii. and Rom. iv. In the meanwhile we do not reject the Latin word *sacramentum*, a sacrament, as lightly regarding it; neither yet, rejecting it, do we forge or devise a new. I like well enough of the word sacrament, so it be used lawfully.

Sacrament.

[9 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, a little child.]

[10 similitudine, Lat.] [11 of God, not in Lat.]

[12 ipse Dominus, Lat.: the Lord himself.]

[13 religiosissime custodit, Lat.: doth most religiously keep.]

[14 In the Vulgate it is used both in the Old and New Testament for a *secret* and *mystery*. See Fulke's Defence of Translat. ed. P. S. p. 493.]

St Augustine, in his fifth epistle to Marcellinus, saith: "It were too long to dispute of the diversity of signs, which, when they pertain to holy things, are termed sacraments[1]." From whence doubtless sprang the common definition or description, "a sacrament is a sign of an holy thing[2]:" which as it cannot be rejected, so there is none but seeth, that in it the nature of the thing is not fully comprehended or expressed; neither is it separated from those things which also are holy signs. There is another definition therefore brought forth and used, which is indeed more perfect than the other: "a sacrament is a visible sign of an invisible grace[3]." But because this also doth not in all points express the nature of the thing, this definition following seemeth unto many more allowable, which is after this manner: "Sacraments are ceremonies, wherewith God exerciseth his people, first to stir up, increase, and maintain their faith; then, to the end to testify before men his religion[4]." This is a true and right definition. But what if you define a sacrament somewhat more fully and largely in this manner? "Sacraments are holy actions, consisting of words or promises of the gospel, or[5] of prescript rites or ceremonies, given[6] for this end to the church of God from heaven, to be witnesses and seals of the preaching of the gospel, to exercise and try faith, and by earthly and visible things to represent and set before our eyes the deep mysteries of God; to be short[7], to gather together a visible[8] church or congregation, and to admonish them of their duty." This definition truly is

What a sacrament is.

[1 Nimis autem longum est convenienter disputare de varietate signorum, quæ cum ad res divinas pertinent sacramenta appellantur. —August. Ep. v. ad Marcellin. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 3, col. 4. Par. 1531.]

[2 Sacramentum est sacræ rei signum.—Lombard. Sentent. Lib. IV. dist. 1. B. fol. 304. Par. 1575.]

[3 Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ visibilis forma.—August. ap. Decret. Grat. par. III. de Consecr. dist. 2. can. 32. p. 2373. Par. 1583.]

[4 ... dicere merito possis sacramenta hujusmodi ceremonias esse quibus exercere vult populum suum Deus ad fidem intus primum fovendam, excitandam, confirmandam; deinde testandam apud homines religionem.—Calvin. Instit. Lib. IV. cap. 14. § 19. Opp. Tom. IX. p. 347. Amstel. 1667.]

[5 et, Lat.: and.] [6 divinitus, Lat.: from God.]

[7 denique, Lat.: and lastly.]

[8 visibiliter, Lat.: in a visible manner.]

far fet[9], large, and manifold; a definition, I say, gathered of many parts: but we mean to go to it simply and plainly, and to lay forth the whole matter before your eyes to be seen; then will we make manifest every part thereof, and confirm the same with testimonies of scripture.

Sacrament taken for an oath.

Now that I may fully[10] entreat of the names that are given to this thing; I find that Latin writers call sacrament an oath, or a religious bond; because it was not done (as I think) thoroughly and to the proof without certain ceremonies. M. Varro, in his second book *De Lingua Latina*, declaring what it is to contend with an oath, saith: "The plaintiff and the defendant each of them in some things gaged down at the place, appointed for that purpose, five hundred pieces of silver, and also in other things a set number of ounces; so that he which recovered in judgment should have his gage again, but he which was cast should forfeit it to the treasury[11]." Since therefore by intermeddling of holy things[12], through partaking of the sacraments, we are bound to God and to all the saints, as it were by obligation; and that God himself also, by the testimony of the sacraments, hath, as it were by an oath, bound himself to us; it appeareth that the name of sacrament is very aptly and properly applied to our signs.

Soldiers oath.

We read also in Latin writers of an oath that soldiers used to take; for it was not lawful for them to fight, unless they were put to ther oath and sworn. They took a solemn oath, having one to recite the form of the oath to them word by word, (as Vegetius saith in his book *De Re Militari*[13],) that they would stoutly and readily do whatsoever their captain commanded them, and that they would never forsake the field in the defence of the commonweal of Rome. They had a donation given unto each of them, as it were a pledge or

[9 longe petita, Lat.] [10 plenius, Lat.: more fully.]

[11 Ea pecunia quæ in judicium venit in litibus, sacramentum a sacro. Qui petebat, et qui inficiabatur de aliis rebus, uterque quingentos æris ad pontem deponebant, de aliis rebus item certo alio legitimo numero assium. Qui judicio vicerat, suum sacramentum a sacro auferebat, victi ad ærarium redibat.—Varro. de Ling. Lat. Lib. IV.]

[12 sacris interpositis, Lat.]

[13 Jurant autem milites, omnia se strenue facturos quæ præceperit imperator, nunquam deserturos (militiam) nec mortem recusaturos pro Romana republica.—Veget. de Re Milit. Lib. II. cap. 5.]

earnest; they gave up their name to be enrolled; and were marked, that they might be known from other soldiers[1]. Now because we by our sacraments, specially by baptism, are received and enrolled to be Christ's soldiers; and by receiving the sacraments do profess and witness ourselves to be under Christ our captain's banner[2]; therefore not amiss, nor without reason, are the signs of Christ and his church called sacraments. In the mean while I will not stoutly stand in contention, that the word sacrament was for that cause chiefly attributed of them in ancient time to these our signs[3]. For Erasmus Rot., a man very well seen in the tongues, and thoroughly tried in old and ancient writers[4], none better, in *Cathe. sua Symb.* v., saith: "They which speak most exquisitely call *sacramentum* an oath or bond, confirmed by the authority of God and reverence of religion. But our elders used this word to express that which the Greeks call a mystery; which a man may call a religious secret, because the common people were excluded from meddling with them[5]." Thus far he. Therefore the old writers[6] did call those signs sacraments, instead of mysteries[7].

What a mystery is.

For the selfsame signs are called of the Greeks[8] μυστήρια, mysteries, which the Latin writers for the most part interpret, holy and religious secrets; holy secrets, I say, from the celebration of which secrets[9] the profane common people were excluded and debarred. For Cælius in *Lectio. Antiqui.* supposeth, that they are called mysteries, ὅτι δεῖ μύσαντας τηρεῖν ἔνδον, because it behoved them which hid them, or which ministered them, to keep them close, and to shew them

[1 signabantur notis, is all that Bullinger says.]

[2 esse Christi milites, Lat.] [3 sacris signis, Lat.]

[4 in sacris vetustisque scriptoribus, Lat.: in sacred and ancient writers.]

[5 Qui exactius locuti sunt, sacramentum appellant jusjurandum, aut obligationem, numinis ac religionis interventu confirmatam. At majores nostri vocem eam accommodarunt ad significandum id quod Græci dicunt *mysterium*, quod *religiosum arcanum* possis dicere... quia ab his tractandis secludebatur vulgus.—Erasm. Symboli Catech. 5. Opp. Tom. v. col. 1175. Lugd. Bat. 1704.]

[6 ecclesiasticis, Lat. omitted: of the church.]

[7 quasi mysteria, Lat.: as it were mysteries.]

[8 a scriptoribus ecclesiasticis Græcis, Lat.]

[9 ut modo dictum, Lat. omitted: as was just said.]

to no common person[10]. Whereupon mysteries may be well called separated and holy secrets, known to them only which were ordained for that purpose[11], and to be celebrated only of saints or holy men. Yet it may seem, that μυστήριον is derived of μύστης and μύω, as ἀποδυτήριον of ἀπὸ and δύω, that the etymon thereof with the Greeks may be of no more force than *testamentum* among the Latins, which is a witness-bearing of the mind: although I am not ignorant what some also do reason in this case. [12]Sacraments therefore[13] are called mysteries, because in a dark speech[14] they hide other things which are more holy. And Paul willingly useth this word in his epistles. And why this word was attributed to the holy signs of the christian church, there is a plain reason; for these things are only known to the faithful, and are hid from those that are profane and unholy[15]. And surely the preaching of the gospel itself is called, "The mystery of the kingdom of God," to teach us, that, the unclean being shut out, it is revealed to the only children of God. For our chief interpreter of mysteries[16] saith: "Cast not your pearls before swine, neither give that which is holy unto dogs." And Paul: "If our gospel lie hid as yet," saith he, "it is hid in them which are lost, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not," 2 Cor. iv.

Matt. xiii.

Eph. iii.

Matt. vii.

What a symbol is.

Furthermore, many of the Greek doctors of the church have called our sacraments σύμβολα, *symbola*, which word is also received and used very often of the Latins. It is derived of συμβάλλω, that is to say, *confero*, to confer or compare together; for by comparing one thing with another symbols are made apparent and rightly perceived. *Symbolum* therefore signifieth a sign which hath relation to some other thing, as we said of the standard, &c. And truly, among the Grecians in old time the use of symbols or signs was divers; for in their sacrifices[17] they had their symbols, signs (I say)

[10 Dicta mysteria quod ea δεῖ μύσαντας τηρεῖν ἔνδον, hoc est, occludentes oportet intus custodire, nec cuiquam explicare.—Ludov. Cœlii Rhodig. Lect. Antiq. Lib. XVI. p. 596. Basil. 1542.]

[11 solis initiatis cognita, Lat.] [12 Certe, Lat.: Indeed.]

[13 therefore, not in Lat.] [14 involucro, Lat.: under a cover.]

[15 excluduntque prophanos, Lat.]

[16 mystagogus ille noster, Lat.]

[17 in sacris, Lat.: in their sacred rites.]

allegorically meaning something; as in the sacrifices of Bacchus a sieve was their symbol or sign, and the same they carried about when they were well tippled[1]; thereby signifying, that such as be drunken are blabs, and can keep nothing in secret. What if I can prove, that opinions of men[2], containing somewhat of deep understanding by an allegory or dark speech, are called[3] symbols? For Pythagoras his symbols are well enough known. So mystical divinity began to be called symbolical, because it was inwrapped in more hid and secret mysteries. So that is mystical[4], which is darkly uttered and in manner of a riddle, having in it a far more contrary[5] meaning than by words it seemeth to offer. Again, the gift and token of faith and truth, which by mutual consent passeth between the bride and the bridegroom, whereby it is not lawful for them to shrink or go back from their word, promise, or covenant, is called a symbol. Furthermore, to soldiers also, serving under one and the same banner, symbols or badges were given. Unto certain confederate cities, in like manner, and joined together in league of friendship, to the end that they might go safely to the bordering cities and to those which took parts with them, symbols or mutual signs[6] were given, that is to say, tokens; which being shewed and seen, they gave each other gentle and courteous entertainment[7], as to their league-fellows, companions, and singular friends. The ancient writers therefore hereupon have applied this word symbol to our sacraments, because they represent and shew unto us the exceeding great and deep mysteries of God: they are allegorical and enigmatical, hard and dark to understand; because[8] the Lord himself by the institution of his sacraments hath bound himself unto us, and we again by the partaking of them do bind ourselves to him and to all the saints, testifying and openly professing to fight stoutly and valiantly under the Lord's banner. Moreover, these holy

[1 quod circumferebant bacchantes, Lat.]

[2 sententiæ, Lat.: sayings.] [3 dici cœperunt, Lat.]

[4 symbolicum, Lat.]

[5 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, a far contrary.]

[6 tesseræ, Lat.]

[7 intelligebant offerentem humaniter esse tractandum, Lat.: they understood that they were to give courteous treatment to those who presented them.]

[8 quod denique, Lat.: and lastly because.]

symbols and signs[9] do admonish and put us in mind of brotherly love and concord, and that we remember to love them most entirely and with all our heart, as God's children and our brethren, which are communicants or partakers with us of the same table, and are washed clean by the same baptism.

Thus much concerning sacraments: what they are, by what names they are called, and why they are so called, let it be sufficient that we have briefly noted.

Only God is the author of sacraments.

Setting aside all other things, it seemeth necessary first of all to declare and shew, who was the author of the sacraments, and for what causes they were instituted. All men in a manner confess, that God alone is[10] the author of sacraments, and not men, nor yet the church itself. An odd man there is[11] among the schoolmen, which teacheth the church this lesson; to wit, that she should remember she is no lady or mistress over the sacrament[12], but a servant or minister; and that she hath no more power or authority to institute any form of a sacrament[12] than she hath to abrogate any law of God[13]. Aquinas also, part. iii. quæst. 46. articulo 2. saith: "He instituteth, or is the author of a thing, which giveth it force and virtue: but the virtue and power of the sacraments cometh from God alone; therefore God alone is of power to institute or make sacraments[14]." And indeed, God alone is of power to institute the true service and worship: but sacraments belong to his service and worship; therefore God alone doth institute sacraments. If any one in the old Testament had offered sacrifice which God commanded not, or offered it not after that manner that God willed it to be offered, it was not only nothing available unto him, but also his offence in so doing was rewarded with most terrible and fearful punishment. Who knoweth not, that the sons of Aaron, for offering strange fire, were horribly burnt and scorched up with fire which fell down from heaven? Such sacrifices therefore dis-

Isai. lxvi.

Levit. x.

[9 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, or signs.]

[10 posse, Lat.: can be.]

[11 Est enim qui, Lat.: For there is one.]

[12 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, sacraments.]

[13 The editor has not been able to verify this reference.]

[14 Ille instituit aliquid, qui dat ei robur et virtutem; ... sed virtus sacramenti est a solo Deo ... ergo solus Deus potest instituere sacramentum.—Aquinas Summa Theol. par. III. quæst. 64. p. 133. Col. Agrip. 1622.]

please God, as profane or unholy; neither deserve they to be called lawful sacraments, which have not God himself for their author. Hereunto is added[1], that sacraments are testimonies, and as it were seals, of God's good-will and favour toward us. And who, I pray you, can better, more uprightly, or more assuredly bear witness of God's good-will[2] to us-ward, than God himself? In nowise deserveth that to be called or counted the seal of God, whereto he neither set his hand, nor printed it with his own mark[3]; yea, it is a counterfeit seal, because it cometh not from God, and yet in the mean time beareth a shew outwardly of the name of God. In this behalf is read that saying of St Augustine, which is in every man's mouth: "The word is added to the element, and there is made a sacrament[4]:" whereby we gather, that in the institution of sacraments the word of God obtaineth principal place, and hath most ado; the word, I say, of God, not the word of men, nor yet of the church: whereupon it followeth[5], that the sign ought to have his proceeding even from God himself, and not from any manner of men, be they never so many, be they never so clerklike or learned, be they never so harmless and holy of life: of[6] that now there can be no other author of sacraments than God himself alone.

Sacraments are to be received as it were at the hands of Christ.

As we do receive the word of salvation and grace, so it is needful also that we receive the signs of grace. Although the word of God be preached unto us by men, yet we receive it not as the word of man, but as the word of God, according

1 Thess. ii. to the saying[7] of the apostle: "When ye had received the word of God which ye heard of us[8], ye received it not as the word of men, but (as it is in deed) the word of God." It is behoveful for us to have respect to the first author thereof,

Mark xvi. Matt. xxviii. who when he sent abroad his disciples, said: "Go into the whole world, and preach the gospel to all creatures, teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you; and

[1 His accedit, Lat.] [2 rather, of God's will.]

[3 quod ab ipso Deo non est appensum, aut impressum, Lat.]

[4 Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum.—August. Expos. in Evang. Joan. Tract. LXXX. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 91. col. 2. Par. 1531.]

[5 denuo, Lat.: again.]

[6 A misprint in all the editions for, *so* that.]

[7 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, that saying.]

[8 Soe above, p. 95, note 12.]

baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." "He that heareth you heareth me; and he which despiseth you despiseth me." And therefore, albeit by the hands of men the sacraments are ministered, yet are they not received of the godly and religious as proceeding from men, but as it were from the hand of God himself, the first and principal author of the same. To this belongeth the question which Christ our Lord asked in the gospel, saying: "The baptism of John, was it from heaven or of men?" Truly John, who did baptize, was a man; but in that he baptized, he baptized according to God's institution and ordinance: and therefore the baptism of John was from heaven, though the water wherewith he baptized flowed out of the bottomless depth into the river Jordan[9], and John himself conversant on the earth. To this also notably agreeth that which Paul saith[10]: "That which I delivered unto you I received of the Lord." Therefore, although St Paul were a man, yea, and a sinner too, yet that which he delivered to the church, he did not deliver it as from himself, or as any invention of man, but as Christ hath delivered[11] the same; so that it is not his, or man's, but[12] Christ's tradition, a divine and heavenly tradition. Besides this, our high priest and everlasting bishop worketh even at this day in his church; whose ministry they execute, that is, at whose commandment they baptize, and according to whose institution they, which are the stewards or disposers of the mysteries of God, minister the holy sacraments of the Lord's supper[13]. The institution therefore of the sacraments[14] must be acknowledged[15] of us to be the very work of God. And thus far touching the author of sacraments.

Luke x.

Matt. xxi.

1 Cor. xi.

Peter Lombard, in his Sentences, reckoneth up three causes why sacraments were instituted; that is to say, why spiritual and heavenly things were delivered and committed[16] unto us under visible signs, forms, and ceremonies: the first of which is so cold and weak, that I am loath to move it to memory.

Why sacraments were instituted unto us in visible things.

[9 in alveo Jordanis, Lat.] [10 diserte, Lat.: in express words.]
[11 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, had delivered.]
[12 not his, or man's, but, not in Lat.]
[13 sacrum exhibent convivium, Lat.: sacraments of the Lord's, not in Lat.]
[14 The institution of the sacraments, not in Lat.]
[15 ingenue, Lat. omitted: candidly.] [16 commendatæ, Lat.]

He placeth merit in that, that by God's government and direction (as he affirmeth) man seeketh salvation in things baser and inferior to himself. Unto the which he addeth this afterward; although not in them, yet in God through them he seeketh salvation: which also unadvisedly enough he hath uttered, and not sufficiently considered. The other two causes, to wit, that sacraments were invented and ordained under visible signs for our instruction and exercise, seem not altogether absurd or disagreeing from reason[1].

The truest and most proper cause, why sacraments be instituted under visible signs, seemeth partly to be God's goodness, and partly also man's weakness. For very hardly do we reach unto the knowledge of heavenly things, if, without visible form[2], as they be in their own nature pure and excellent, they be laid before our eyes: but they are better and more easily understood, if they be represented unto us under the figure of earthly things, that is to say, under signs familiarly known unto us. As therefore our bountiful and gracious Lord did covertly and darkly, nay rather, evidently and notably, set before us to view[3] the kingdom of God in parables or dark speeches; even so by signs it pleased him to lay before our eyes, after a sort, the very same thing, and to point out the same unto us, as it were painted in a table; to renew it afresh, and by lively representation to maintain the remembrance of the same among us. This cause doth John Chrysostom allow, as a chief and proper cause; who in his eighty and three homily upon Matthew saith: "The Lord hath delivered unto us nothing that is unsensible[4]. The things indeed are sensible, howbeit they have altogether a spiritual understanding or meaning. So baptism is ministered under a sensible element, namely water; but that which is wrought thereby, that is to say, regeneration and the new birth,

Chrysostom touching the cause of sacraments.

John iii.

[1 Triplici de causa sacramenta instituta sunt; propter humiliationem, eruditionem, exercitationem. Propter humiliationem quidem, ut dum homo insensibilibus rebus, quæ natura infra ipsum sunt, ex præcepto Creatoris se reverendo subjicit, ex hac humilitate et obedientia Deo magis placeat et apud eum mereatur; cujus imperio salutem quærit in inferioribus se, etsi non ab illis, sed per illa a Deo.—Lombard. Sentent. Lib. IV. dist. 1. B. fol. 305. Par. 1575.]

[2 involucro aliquo, Lat.]

[3 parabolis obtexit, imo illustravit ornavitque, Lat.]

[4 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, sensible.]

doth spiritually enter into the mind. For if thou wert a bodiless creature, he would have delivered unto thee all these gifts bare, naked, and bodiless, according to thy nature: but since thou hast a reasonable soul coupled and joined to thy body, therefore hath he delivered unto thee in sensible signs and substances those things, which are perceived with a spiritual understanding[5]." Which I do not allege [to] this end, as if I would take the testimony of man for my stay; but because I see St John Chrysostom his speech according to the manner observed and used in the scripture. For who knoweth not, that the scripture is full of parables, similitudes, allegories, and figurative speeches, which the Holy Ghost useth, not for his own, but for our sakes? The talk which Christ had in the gospel with Nicodemus touching heavenly regeneration is very well known; where he by hidden and covert kind of speeches of air, wind, and water, &c. reasoneth, saying: "If I have told you of earthly things, and ye believe not; how will you believe, if I shall tell you of heavenly things?" He calleth "earthly things" that his doctrine of heavenly regeneration or new birth figured to us under earthly signs of water and the spirit, or of air and the wind; and by "heavenly things" he meaneth that selfsame doctrine of heavenly regeneration nakedly delivered to Nicodemus without any imagination, without similitude or sensible signs. The Lord therefore signifieth hereby, that men do more easily conceive and understand the doctrine of heavenly things, when it is shadowed out under some dark and covert sign of earthly things[6], than when it is nakedly and spiritually indeed delivered: that by comparing together of things not much unlike, it may appear that the sacraments were for none other cause found out or instituted[7] than for demonstration sake, to wit, that the heavenly things might become more familiar and plain unto us. John iii.

[5 Οὐδὲν γὰρ αἰσθητὸν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ Χριστός· ἀλλ' αἰσθητοῖς μὲν πράγμασι, πάντα δε νοητά. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι δι' αἰσθητοῦ μὲν πράγματος γίνεται τοῦ ὕδατος τὸ δῶρον, νοητὸν δὲ τὸ ἀποτελούμενον, ἡ γέννησις καὶ ἡ ἀναγέννησις, ἤτουν ἀνακαίνισις. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀσώματος εἶ, γυμνὰ ἂν αὐτά σοι τὰ ἀσώματα παρέδωκε δῶρα· ἐπεὶ δὲ σώματι συμπέπλεκται ἡ ψυχὴ, ἐν αἰσθητοῖς τὰ νοητά σοι παραδίδωσι.—Chrysost. Hom. in Matth. LXXXII. (al. LXXXIII.) Opp. Tom. VII. p. 787. Par. 1727.]

[6 involucro aliquo, Lat.: of earthly things, not in Lat.]

[7 divinitus, Lat. omitted: by God.]

In which thing we have to mark the analogy, which is a certain aptness, proportion, or (as Cicero termeth it) a convenience[1], or fit agreement of things, I say, known by their signs; that if they be slightly[2] passed over without this analogy, the reason of a sacrament cannot be fully and perfectly understood: but this analogy, being diligently discussed and observed to the full, offereth to the beholder, without any labour at all, the very ἀναγωγή, that is to say, the hidden and secret meaning of a sacrament[3]. We will, when we come to entreat of these things, do what we can to make them manifest by examples.

The Lord is to be praised for instituting sacraments.

Whosoever therefore shall throughly weigh the institution[4] of sacraments, he cannot choose but extol with praises the exceeding great goodness of the Lord, who doth not only open unto us miserable men the mysteries of his kingdom, but hath a singular care of man's infirmity; whereby he, framing himself to our capacity, doth after a sort stut and stammer with us, whilst he, having respect to our dulness and the weakness of our wit, doth as it were clothe and cover heavenly mysteries with earthly symbols or signs; thereby most plainly and pithily opening them unto us, and laying them before our eyes evidently to be beheld.

The wisdom of God shineth in the institution of the sacraments.

In this same institution of the sacraments we have cause to extol and praise the wisdom of God; if so be we take in hand[5] to compare great and small things together. For this custom is received as a law throughout the world, that all the wisest men, when they had occasion to speak of high mysteries of wisdom, they did not by words only, but by signs and words together, commend them to their hearers; to the end that the two most noble senses in man, to wit, hearing and seeing, might be both at once vehemently moved, and forcibly provoked to the consideration of the same. The volumes of heathenish philosophers are full of examples. What say you to the Jews, God's old and ancient people? Did not God himself shew among them very many such kind of examples?

Again, as in making leagues, or in confirming promises in

[1 Ὁμολογία is what Cicero explains by *convenientia*, de Fin. Lib. III. cap. 6.]

[2 Rather, *it* be.]

[3 of a sacrament, not in Lat.]

[4 hanc inventionem, Lat.]

[5 rather, it is permitted us: licet, Lat.]

earnest and weighty matters, men use signs or tokens of truth, to win credit to their words and promises; even so the Lord, doing after the manner of men[6], hath added signs of his faithfulness and truth in his[7] everlasting covenant and promises of life; the sacraments, I mean, wherewith he sealeth his promises and the very doctrine of his gospel. Neither is this rare or strange unto him. Men swear even by the Lord himself, when they would make other believe certainly, and in no case to mistrust the truth of their promises: yea[8], it is read in the holy scriptures, that the Lord himself took an oath and sware by his own self, when he meant "most abundantly to shew to the heirs of the promises," as the apostle saith, "the stableness of his counsel." Moreover, it was the accustomed manner among them of old, as they were making their league or covenant, to take a beast, and to divide him in pieces, and each of them to pass through and between the pieces so divided; testifying by that ceremony, that they would yield themselves so to be divided and cut in pieces, if they did not stedfastly stand to that which they promised in their league or covenant. After the same manner the Lord, making or renewing a league with Abraham, which Moses describeth at large in the xv. of Genesis, he commandeth him to take an heifer, a she-goat, and a ram, each of them three years old, and to divide them in the midst, and to lay every piece one over against another; which when Abraham had done, the Lord himself, in the likeness of a smoking furnace or firebrand, went between the said pieces, that thereby Abraham might know, that the land of Canaan should of a certainty be given to him, and to his seed to possess; and that all things which he had promised in that league should be brought to pass. Since therefore the good and true Lord is always like unto himself, and frameth himself after the same manner now to this[9] church, as we said he did then; what wonder or strange thing is it, I pray you, that he hath left unto us also at this day, under visible things, signs and seals of his grace and mysteries[10] of the kingdom of God? And hitherto have we

The manner of making leagues or covenants.

Gen. xv.

[6 hac quoque in re, Lat. omitted: in this matter also.]
[7 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, to his; fœderi, Lat.]
[8 ergo, Lat.: therefore.]
[9 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, to his: suæ, Lat.]
[10 et mysteriorum, Lat.: and of the mysteries.]

entreated of the chief causes of sacraments, for the which they were instituted.

The number of sacraments.

Touching the kind and number of sacraments, which hath the next place to that which went before; there are divers opinions among the writers, specially of later time. For among the old and ancient this question, as an undoubted and well-known perfect principle, drew quickly to an end. But he which shall diligently search the scriptures shall find, that they of the old Testament had sacraments after one kind, and they of the new Testament[1] sacraments after another kind. The sacraments of the people under the old Testament were circumcision and the paschal lamb, to which were added sacrifices; whereof I have abundantly spoken in the third decade and the sixth sermon[2]. In like manner the sacraments of the people under the new Testament, that is to say, of Christians, by the writings of the apostles, are two in number; "baptism," and "the supper of the Lord." But Peter Lombard reckoneth seven, baptism, penance, the supper of the Lord, confirmation, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony[3]. Him followeth the whole rabblement of interpreters and rout of schoolmen. But all the ancient doctors of the church for the most part do reckon up two principal sacraments; among whom Tertullian, in his first and fourth book *Contra Marcionem*, and in his book *De Corona Militis*, very plainly maketh mention but of two only, that is to say, baptism, and the Eucharist or supper of the Lord[4]. And Augustine also, Lib. III. *De Doctr. Christiana*, cap. IX. saith: "The Lord hath not overburdened us with signs; but the Lord himself and the doctrine of the apostles have left unto us certain few things instead of many, and those most easy to be done, most reverend to be understood, most pure to be observed; as is baptism, and the celebration of the body and blood of the Lord[5]." And again to Januarius, *Epist.* CXVIII.

[1 ac populi, Lat. omitted: and people.]

[2 Vol. II. page 178, &c.]

[3 Sacramenta novæ legis... sunt, baptismus, confirmatio, panis benedictio, id est, eucharistia, pœnitentia, unctio extrema, ordo, conjugium.—Lombard. Sentent. Lib. IV. dist. 2. A. fol. 306. Par. 1575.]

[4 Tertull. adv. Marcion. Lib. I. cap. 28. IV. cap. 38. De Coron. Mil. cap. 3.]

[5 Hoc vero tempore, posteaquam resurrectione Domini nostri Jesu Christi manifestissimum indicium nostræ libertatis illuxit, nec

he saith: "He hath knit and tied together the fellowship of a new people with sacraments in number very few, observing[6] very easy, in signification very excellent: as is baptism, consecrated in the name of the Trinity; and the partaking of Christ's body and blood; and whatsoever thing else is commended unto us in the canonical scriptures: except those things wherewith the servitude of the old people was burdened, according to the agreeableness of their hearts and the time of the prophets[7]; which are read in the five books of Moses[8]." Where by the way is to be marked, that he saith not, "And whatsoever things else are commended unto us in the canonical scriptures;" but, "And whatsoever thing else," &c.: which plainly proveth, that he speaketh not of sacraments, but of certain observations both used and received of the church, as the words of Augustine which follow do declare. Howbeit, I confess without dissimulation, that the same Augustine elsewhere maketh mention of the sacrament of orders[9]: where, nevertheless, this seemeth unto me to be also considered, that the selfsame author giveth the name of sacraments to anointing, and to prophecy, and to prayer, and to certain other of this sort[10], as well as he doth to orders; and

eorum quidem signorum quæ jam intelligimus operatione gravi onerati sumus: sed quædam pauca pro multis, eademque factu facillima, et intellectu augustissima, et observatione castissima, ipse Dominus et apostolica tradidit disciplina; sicuti est baptismi sacramentum et celebratio corporis et sanguinis Domini.—August. de Doct. Christ. Lib. III. cap. 9. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 11. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

[6 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, *in* observing.]

[7 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, Except those ceremonies, which through the hardness of their heart and the time of the prophets made the bondage of the old people more grievous.]

[8 Sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatione facillimis, significatione præstantissimis, societatem novi populi colligavit; sicuti est baptismus Trinitatis nomine consecratus, communicatio corporis et sanguinis ipsius, et si quid aliud in scripturis canonicis commendatur, exceptis iis quæ servitutem populi veteris, pro congruentia cordis illorum et prophetici temporis, onerabant, quæ in quinque libris Moysi leguntur.—August. Ep. CXVIII. Januario. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 108. col. 2.]

[9 Sacramentum ordinationis.—Id. de Bono Conjug. cap. 24. Opp. Tom. VI.]

[10 August. de Bono Conjug. cap. 18. Contra litt. Petil. Lib. II. cap. 104. Hom. 83. de Diversis. De Peccat. Merit. Lib. II. cap. 26. Sentent. Excerp. 335. St. Hilary speaks of the sacrament of prayer, in Matth. cap. v. 1.]

now and then among them he reckoneth up the sacraments of the scripture[1]: so that we may easily see, that in his works the word "sacrament" is now used one way, and sometimes another. For he calleth these sacraments, because, being holy, they came from the Holy Ghost; and because they be holy institutions of God, observed of all that be holy: but yet so, that these differ from those sacraments which are holy actions consisting of words and ceremonies, and which gather together into one fellowship the partakers thereof. But Rabanus Maurus also, bishop of Mentz[2], a diligent reader of Augustine's works, *Lib. De Instit. Cleric.* cap. xxiv. saith: "Baptism and unction, and the body and blood, are sacraments; which for this reason are called sacraments, because, under a covert of corporal things, the power of God worketh more secretly our salvation signified by these[3] sacraments: whereupon also, for their secret and holy virtues, they are called sacraments[4]." This Rabanus Maurus was famous about the year of the Lord eight hundred and thirty; so that even by this we may gather, that the ancient apostolic church had no more than two sacraments. I make no mention here of Ambrose; although he, in his books of sacraments, numbereth not so many as the company of schoolmen do: because some of those works, set forth in his name, are not received of all learned men as of his own doing[5]. So I little force the authority of the works of Dionysius, which of what price and estimation they be among learned and good men, it is not needful to declare[6]. But howsoever the case standeth, the holy scripture, the only and infallible rule of life and of all things which are to be done in the church, commendeth baptism and the Lord's supper unto us, as solemn institutions and sacraments

[1 August. de Ver. Relig. cap. 17. Enarrat. in Psalm. XCIII.]

[2 He was archbishop of Mentz from A. D. 847—857. Mosheim, E. H. ed. Soames. Vol. II. p. 195. n. 6. Lond. 1845.]

[3 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, *those*.]

[4 Sunt autem sacramenta baptismus et chrisma, corpus et sanguis: quæ ob id sacramenta dicuntur, quia sub tegumento corporalium rerum virtus divina secretius salutem eorundem sacramentorum operatur; unde et a secretis virtutibus vel sacris sacramenta dicuntur. —Rab. Mauri. de Instit. Cler. Lib. I. cap. 24. Opp. Tom. VI. p. 8. Col. Agrip. 1626.]

[5 See James's Corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers. Part I. treat. 45, &c.]

[6 See Vol. III. p. 137, note 9.]

of Christ. Those two are therefore sufficient for us; so that we need not be moved, whatsoever at any time the subtle invention of man's busy brain bring against or beside these twain. For why? God never gave power to any[7] to institute sacraments.

In the meanwhile, we do not contemn the wholesome rites and healthful institutions of God, nor yet the religious observations of the church of Christ. We have declared elsewhere[8] touching penance and ecclesiastical order[9]. Of the residue, which latter writers do authorise[10] for sacraments, we will speak in their convenient place. So have we also elsewhere, so far forth as we thought requisite, entreated of the likeness and difference of sacraments of the people of the old and new Testament[11]. Wholesome rites of the church are not contemned.

Now let us see in what things sacraments consist. By the testimony of the scripture and of all the godly men, they consist in two things; to wit, in the sign and the thing signified, in the word and the rite, in the promise of the gospel and in the ceremony, in the outward thing and the inward, in the earthly thing, I say, and the heavenly; and, as Irenæus the martyr of Christ witnesseth[12], in the visible thing and invisible, in the sensible thing and the intelligible. For hereunto belongeth that which St John Chrysostom upon Matthew saith: οὐδὲν γὰρ αἰσθητὸν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλ' αἰσθητὰ μὲν τὰ πράγματα, πάντα δὲ νοητά: "Christ delivereth nothing unto us that is sensible but under visible things; the outward things are sensible, but yet all spiritual[13]." But he calleth those things αἰσθητὰ, sensible, which are perceived by the outward senses, as by seeing, hearing, tasting, and touching; but those things he calleth νοητὰ, intelligible or mental, which are perceived by the mind, the understanding, consideration, discourse or reasoning of the mind, not of the flesh, but of faith. In his book against heresies.

[7 Rather, to it.]

[8 quid sentiamus et doceamus, Lat. omitted: what we think and teach.]

[9 See Vol. III. p. 90; and above, pp. 104, &c.]

[10 venditant, Lat.] [11 Vol. II. page 293.]

[12 — e re, inquam, terrena et cœlesti, ut habet martyr Christi Irenæus, Lat.—εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου.—Iren. Adv. Hæres. Lib. IV. cap. 34. p. 327. Oxon. 1702.]

[13 See quotation, above, p. 243, note 7.]

Sacraments consist of the sign and the thing signified. Mark i.

By the testimony of the scriptures this thing shall be made manifest[1]. The Lord saith to his disciples in the gospel: "Go into the whole world, and preach the gospel to all creatures; and he which shall believe and be baptized shall be saved. Ye shall baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The same[2] saith of John Baptist: "John baptized in the wilderness, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins." So also St Luke witnesseth, that St Peter said to the Israelites: "Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." Therefore in baptism, water, or sprinkling of water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and all that which is done of the church, is a sign, rite, ceremony, and outward thing, earthly and sensible, lying open and made plain to the senses: but remission of sins, partaking of (everlasting) life, fellowship with Christ and his members, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, which are given unto us by the grace of God through faith in Christ Jesus, is the thing signified, the inward and heavenly thing, and that intelligible thing which is not perceived but by a faithful mind. After the same manner the scripture, bearing witness also of the supper of the Lord, which is the other sacrament of the church, saith: "The Lord Jesus when he had taken bread, he gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take ye, eat ye; this is my body which is given for you. Likewise he took the cup, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. Do this in remembrance of me." Now therefore all that action which is done of the church[3] after the example of Christ our high-priest, (I mean, breaking of bread, the distribution thereof, yea, and the banquet or receiving of bread and wine,) is the sign, rite, ceremony, and the outward or earthly thing, and also that self-same sensible thing which lieth open before the senses: but the intelligible thing and thing signified, the inward and heavenly thing, is the very body of Christ given for us, and his blood shed for the remission of sins, and our redemp-

Acts ii.

Matt. xxvi. Luke xxii.

[1 illustrior, Lat.]

[2 Eadem scriptura evangelica, Lat.]

[3 in cœna Domini, Lat. omitted: in the Lord's Supper.]

tion and fellowship which we have with Christ and all the saints, yea, which he chiefly hath with us.

Signs external and inward things.

By these things it shall be easy to determine certainly of the names or terms now given to the sacraments[4]. For they are called external or outward signs, because they are corporal or bodily, entering outwardly into those senses whereby they be perceived. Contrariwise, we call the things[5] signified inward things; not that the things lie hid included in the signs, but because they are perceived by the inward faculties, or motions of the mind, wrought[6] in men by the Spirit of God.

Signs earthly and visible, things heavenly and invisible.

So also those signs are termed both earthly and visible, because they consist of things taken from the earth, that is to wit, of water, bread, and wine; and because they are manifestly seen in these likenesses[7]. To be short, the things signified are called heavenly and invisible, because the fruit of them is heavenly, and because they are discerned with the eyes of the mind or of faith, not of the body. For otherwise the same[8] body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in the supper are represented to the faithful by the form of bread and wine, are not of their own proper nature heavenly or invisible; for the body of our Lord, touching his substance and nature, is consubstantial or of the same substance that our bodies are of. Now the same is called heavenly, for his deliverance from corruption and infirmity, or else because it is clarified; not by reason of the bringing to nought or laying aside of his own nature[9]. The same body of his own nature is visible, not invisible, resident in heaven; howbeit it is seen of the godly celebrating the supper, not with the eyes of the body, but with the eyes of the mind or soul: therefore in respect of us it is called invisible, which of itself is not invisible.

The word and rite.

Now the word in the sacraments is called, and is indeed, a witnessing of God's will, and a remembrance and renewing of the benefits and promises of God; yea, and it is the institution and commandment of God, which sheweth the author of the sacrament with the manner and end of the same. For the word in baptism is the very same that even now we have recited: "Go ye into all the world," &c. In the supper of

[4 huic negotio, Lat.]
[5 thing, ed. 1577.]
[6 concessis, Lat.]
[7 in his speciebus, Lat.]
[8 ipsum, Lat.: the very.]
[9 See Vol. I. pp. 143 and 173.]

the Lord this is the word of God: "Jesus took bread," &c. And the rite, custom, and manner, how to celebrate the supper[1], is to be sought out of the example of the Lord going before in the holy action, wherein we comprehend both prayers and those things which are recited out of the word of Christ. For as he brake bread and divided it, and in like manner the cup; so likewise, with holy imitation and sacramental rite, we follow the same in this[2] holy action. As he gave thanks, so also we do give thanks. We by certain prayers in baptism[3] do request the assistance and grace of the Lord; we recite certain places out of the gospel, which we know to be requisite in the administration of baptism[4]; and we are wont to do the same also in the celebration of the Lord's supper. But it is not my intention at this present to speak largely and exactly of the rites of the sacrament[5]; which notwithstanding we hold to be best, that are taken out of the holy scripture, and do not exceed[6]: of which shall be spoken in their place.

Promise and ceremony.

Some instead of "the word" do put "promise;" and instead of "rite," "ceremony." And truly in the word "ceremony" I see no danger at all, if by ceremony be understood the outward comeliness[7] and rite, which the Lord himself hath commended to us by his example, and left to be used in the celebration. And in very deed, sacramental signs are not simple or bare signs, but ceremonies or religious actions. So also there seemeth to be no danger in the word "promise;" so that by promise we understand the preaching of the gospel, and the commemoration or remembrance of God's promises, which we often use in the preaching of the gospel and celebration of the sacraments[8]; that is to say, that God doth receive us into his fellowship for Christ his sake through faith, doth wash away our sins, enducth us with divers graces; that Christ was given for our sins, shed his blood to take away the sins of all faithful. For in celebrating of baptism we use these words of the Lord: "Suffer little children to come unto me; for unto such belongeth the kingdom of heaven," &c. In the cele-

[1 how—supper, not in Lat.] [2 this, not in Lat.]
[3 super baptizandos, Lat.]
[4 quos ad negotium baptismi pertinere credimus, Lat.]
[5 Sacramentorum, Lat.] [6 modum non excedant, Lat.]
[7 cultus, Lat.]
[8 recitantes, Lat. omitted: rehearsing them.]

bration of the banquet of God's holy children, we use these holy words of our Lord: "And after supper Jesus took bread, and after he had given thanks he brake it, and gave it to them, saying, Take ye, eat ye: this is my body which is given for you. This is my blood, which is shed for you for the remission of sins: this do in the remembrance of me[9]," &c. For those remembrances and rehearsals are promises of the gospel, promising forgiveness of sins to the believers, shewing that the Lord's body is given for them, and his blood shed for them; which faith verily is the only and undoubted mean to obtain life and salvation. Christ is the strength and substance of the sacraments, by whom only they are effectual, and without whom they are of no power, virtue, or effect.

But if any man by "promise" do understand "covenant," whereby the Lord doth singularly bind, or, as you would say, tie himself to the signs, in which or with which he would be present bodily, essentially, and really; therein he saith more than he can shew or prove by the scriptures. For in no place hath Christ promised to be present corporally, that is, with his true body, in the signs, or with the signs: otherwise I am not ignorant, how God appeared sometimes to our fathers under a bodily figure, that is, in some visible form or shape; as when he shewed himself to Jacob, which was named Israel, leaning on a ladder, and to Moses[10] in the hole of a rock, as it were in a glass. But these do not properly pertain to this purpose, where we entreat of the corporal presence of Christ, and of the sacramental signs. But because many wrest these words of the Lord, "This is my body, this is my blood," to prove a corporal presence of the Lord's body in the supper; I answer, that those words of the Lord are not roughly[11] to be expounded according to the letter, as though bread and wine were the body and blood of Christ substantially and corporally, but mystically and sacramentally: so that the body and blood of Christ do abide in their substance and nature, and in their place, I mean, in some certain place of heaven; but the bread and wine are a sign or sacrament, a witness or sealing, and a lively[12] memory of his body given and his

[9 See Miscell. Tigur. theil. III. pp. 139—150, Zurich. 1724, where the Order of Baptism and of the Communion is given.]

[10 constituto, Lat. omitted: placed.] [11 rigide, Lat.]

[12 celebris, Lat.]

blood shed for us. But of this thing in place convenient we will entreat more at large.

By these things which we have spoken of it[1], it appeareth sufficiently how sacraments consist of two things, the sign and the thing signified, of the word of God and the rite or holy ceremony.

There are some, notwithstanding, which think there is such force graffed of God into the words, that, if they be pronounced over the signs, they sanctify, change, and in a manner bring with them or make present the things signified, and plant or include them within the signs, or at the least join them with the signs. For hereupon are these kind of speeches heard: That the water of baptism by the virtue of the words doth regenerate; and that, by the efficacy of the words, the bread itself and the wine in the supper are made the natural flesh and blood of the Lord. But the sacraments of Christ and his church do consist of the word and the sign. But it seemeth that we must diligently search out what must be understood by "the word."

What is understood by "the word" in the sacraments.

I said even now, that "the word" in the sacraments was a witness-bearing of God's will, and the commandment of God itself, or institution of God, which declareth unto us the author, manner, and end of a sacrament. By this word, I say, and commandment of God, by this will and institution of God, the sacraments are sanctified: not that the words are so pronounced of the ministers, as they are read afore to be recited of the Lord himself, or delivered by his apostles; but because God so would, so did, and commanded his apostles[2] to do. For whatsoever God doth, or commandeth to do, is sanctified by the very commandment or deed of God. For all things which he hath done are exceeding good; therefore these things, which he commandeth to do, cannot choose but be holy, because he is holy and the only sanctifier. Wherefore by the nature, will, deed, and commandment of God, and not by the pronunciation of any words, are the sacraments sanctified. To which will of God[3], that it may be applied unto man and do him good, the faithful obedience of men is

[1 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, which we have spoken of; ex iis quæ diximus, Lat.]

[2 his apostles, not in Lat.]

[3 Cui, Lat.—will of God, not in Lat.]

necessarily required; which altogether should make us put our trust and confidence in the mercy and power of God, who[4] in no wise should despise or cast behind us the institution of God, although it seem in outward appearance base and contemptible. This will appear more plainly in the example of Naham[5], the captain of the king of Syria his band. He heard of the prophet, undoubtedly at the Lord's commandment, that he should wash himself seven times in Jordan: for so it should come to pass, that he should be cleansed from his leprosy. Here thou dost hear the word, the will (I say) and commandment of God; but thou dost not hear that any words were rehearsed either over Jordan or over Naaman, or that any words were prescribed of the prophet to Naaman that he should rehearse[6], whereby (forsooth) there[7] be any force of purifying or cleansing given to the water. Naaman by faith obeyeth the commandment of God, and is cleansed from his leprosy; not by his own merit, or by the benefit of the water of Jordan, but by the power of God and faithful obedience. Lepers also in the gospel, and that not a few, are cleansed by the power and will of Christ, and through faith, and not by[8] pronouncing or speaking of words. The Lord indeed said, "I will, be thou clean:" but if any man at this day should have recited the same words a hundred times over any leper, he should have prevailed nothing. Whereby it is manifest, that to words there is no force given of working health, if they be pronounced.

2 Kings v.

Matt. viii.

The apostles indeed said to the sick, feeble, and lame, "In the name of the Lord Jesus, arise and walk;" and they rose up and were healed[9]; but they were not healed by the benefit of the words, but by the name, by the power (I mean) and virtue of Christ. For Peter, which said unto the lame man in Hierusalem, "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, arise and walk," said in the midst of the council of Hierusalem: "If[10] we this day be examined of the deed done to the sick man, by what means he is made whole, be it known

In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ the feeble are healed. Acts iii.

Acts iv.

[4 quæ denique, Lat.: which lastly.]
[5 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, Naaman.]
[6 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, repeat.]
[7 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, might be.]
[8 ulla, Lat. omitted: any.]
[9 Rather, being healed, they rose up.]
[10 If, not in Lat.]

unto you all, in[1] the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth this man standeth here whole." And to the same people he saith[2]: "And his name, through faith in his name, hath made this man sound, whom ye see and know; and the faith which is by him hath given to this man health." Beside these, we read in the Acts of the Apostles, that the sons of one Scæva a priest, being exorcists or conjurers, did call on the name of the Lord Jesus over them that had evil spirits; but these were so far off from giving place to their exorcisms and conjurings, that they ran on them and overcame them, so that they had much ado to escape alive[3]. Where it is most apparent, that those exorcists used the same form almost in their enchantments, which the apostle[4] used; for in the name of the Lord Jesus they proved[5] to cast out the foul spirit. But sith they[6] were not able so to do, who cannot see and perceive, that the words pronounced do prevail nothing at all? Neither is that any let or hinderance at all, that those exorcists were without faith; for this is a thing very well known and received of all men, that sacraments are no less effectual when they are ministered by wicked ministers, than when they are ministered by the best ministers.

Acts xix.

The place of Paul in the fifth to the Ephesians is expounded.

But here is objected against us this saying of the apostle: "Christ gave himself for the church to sanctify it, cleansing it[7] in the fountain of water by the word," or, in the word. Behold, say they, men are cleansed by the water of baptism, which by the word hath the force of sanctifying put into it: therefore it must needs be, that words have force to sanctify. But I will confute them by an evident demonstration, that the apostle did not so mean as they suppose.

The apostle prescribeth unto married Christians their duty: to the more plain and pithier setting forth whereof, he useth the example of Christ and his church, commending that exceeding love which Christ beareth toward his church; wherewith being inflamed, he gave himself for it, to this end, to

[1] So also ed. 1584; but 1577, that in.]
[2] Rather, to the people the same (apostle) saith.]
[3] illos fere ad mortem usque mulctarint, Lat.]
[4] apostoli, Lat.: the apostles.]
[5] tentabant, Lat.: they tried.]
[6] So also ed. 1584, but 1577, these.]
[7] mundatam, Lat.: being cleansed.]

make it to himself a pure[8] and glorious spouse. Where, by the way, he setteth down the manner of purging; for the Lord Jesus himself, saith he, hath cleansed it: for it is only Christ's office to purge and to cleanse. Now the manner of purging followeth: "In the fountain of water by the word:" which, because it is briefly spoken, hath in it some obscurity. He maketh mention of two things, which the Lord useth to cleanse those that be his, "the fountain of water," and "the word." "The fountain of water" is baptism, which is the outward action and witness-bearing of the inward purifying or cleansing, wrought by the grace and Spirit of God, as the apostle saith: "According to his mercy he saved us by Tit. iii. the fountain of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost; which he shed upon us richly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour." For he addeth, in way of interpretation, "and renewing of the Holy Ghost," whereof the fountain of water is a sign. Moreover, "the word" is the very preaching of the gospel, testifying that, by the grace and mercy of (God) the Father, his only Son was given unto us; who, being given for our sins, maketh them that believe in him heirs of eternal life. So that now these words of Paul to the Ephesians, the fifth chapter, do very well agree with this commandment of the Lord mentioned in St Mark: "Go into all the whole world, and preach the gospel to all creatures: he which shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved," &c. For by these words also the Lord shadoweth out unto us the manner and means of our salvation, that it is he only which purgeth us by faith: yet in the mean while he willeth the believers to be signed with baptism; and that it should be preached openly in the world, that it is he which pardoneth sins, yea, and which freely giveth everlasting life. But what do all these things, I pray you, make for their purpose, who will prove by those words of Paul, that there is force and virtue in the words to sanctify baptism? These words of the Lord spoken to his apostles do yet make our matter more manifest. "Now are John xv. ye clean," saith he, "through the word which I have spoken unto you." Shall we say here, that through the words which Christ rehearsed the disciples of Christ were made clean? What then needed he the next day to have been crucified and to have died? What, to the end that he might purchase

[8] purgatam, Lat.]

power[1] unto the words? Therefore all boasting in the force of words shall be clean taken away[2]. Doth not faith and godliness tell us, "by the word of the Lord" we should rather understand this which is declared by the preaching of the Lord; that is, the death and redemption of Christ, whereby because they believed it they are cleansed? For in another place he saith, "purifying their hearts by faith." Wherefore they err in that, because they do not rightly judge of the word or speech. For the Lord speaketh of the word preached and believed; and they understand him of the word pronounced, as though being pronounced it had force from the Lord to sanctify. St Augustine also maketh for us; who in his 80th treatise upon John saith: "From whence cometh so great virtue and power unto the water, that it should touch the body and wash the heart, but through the working of the word; not because it is spoken or pronounced, but because it is believed? For in the word itself, the sound passing away is one thing, and the virtue which remaineth is another thing. 'This is the word of faith which we preach,' saith the apostle; 'because if thou shalt confess with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thy heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.' Whereupon we read in the Acts of the Apostles, 'purifying (or cleansing) their hearts by faith.' And St Peter in his epistle saith: 'So also baptism saveth us; not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but in that a good conscience maketh request to God[3].' This is the word of faith which we preach, wherewith undoubtedly baptism is also consecrated, that it may have power to cleanse. For Christ with us the vine, with his Father the husbandman, hath loved his church, and gave himself for it. Read the apostle, and mark what he addeth, saying: 'that he might sanctify it, cleansing it by the fountain of water in the word.' In vain therefore should cleansing be attributed to a frail and vading element, unless this were added, 'in the word[4].'"

Rom. x.

Acts xv.

[1 illam potestatem, Lat.: that power.]

[2 Rather, In that case all the glory will be given to the words: Omnis itaque gloria verbis porro vindicabitur, Lat.]

[3 So the Geneva Version, 1557.]

[4 Unde ista tanta virtus aquæ, ut corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi

And so forth; for thus far I have recited St Augustine's words: not that I stay myself upon man's testimony, or that I would have any man to urge the same, or that I am content to be ruled by the witness of man; but because in these words he hath gathered together some testimonies out of the scripture, bearing witness of the word; whereby we may understand, that the word of faith preached, and not the word spoken or pronounced, ought to be received. This word, I say, doth truly cleanse; that is to say, the grace of Christ only doth purify, to the which both the word and faith are directed; and for that cause he said expressly, "Not because it is spoken, but because it is believed." Anon after he saith: "The word of faith which we preach." Furthermore he saith: "By the word of faith baptism is consecrated, that it might have power to cleanse." Which what is it else than if he had said, the very substance of faith maketh baptism effectual? For it followeth: "For cleansing in vain should be attributed to the vading and corruptible element, unless were added, 'in the word.'"

The words spoken do not form and make sacraments effectual.

Now if a man do consider the mysteries of the saints or holy men in old time, he shall not find in the celebration of circumcision, the feast of the passover, and sacrifices, any words to have been spoken or pronounced, whereby they were formed, and as it were created, sacraments, and were made effectual. To which belongeth this, that John Baptist did not only baptize the common people without respect of person, but the Lord Jesus himself also in the water of Jordan; no

faciente verbo? Non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur. Nam et in ipso verbo aliud est sonus transiens, aliud virtus manens. Hoc est verbum fidei quod prædicamus, ait apostolus; quia si confessus fueris in ore tuo quia Dominus est Jesus, et credideris in corde tuo quia illum suscitavit a mortuis, salvus eris: corde enim creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem. Unde in Actibus apostolorum legimus, Fide mundans corda eorum. Et in epistola sua beatus Petrus, Sic et nos, inquit, baptisma salvos facit, non carnis depositio sordium, sed conscientiæ bonæ interrogatio. Hoc est verbum fidei quod prædicamus, quo sine dubio, ut mundare possit, consecratur et baptismus. Christus quippe nobiscum vitis, cum Patre agricola, dilexit ecclesiam, et semetipsum tradidit pro ea. Lege apostolum, et vide quid adjungat; ut eam sanctificaret, ait, mundans eam lavacro aquæ in verbo. Mundatio igitur nequaquam fluxo et labili tribueretur elemento, nisi adderetur, In verbo.—August. Expos. in Evan. Joan. Tract. LXXX. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 91, col. 2. Par. 1531.]

words in the mean while being pronounced, whereby he called and drew down the heavenly grace over or upon the water of baptism. Again, whiles Christ our high bishop did institute his supper in the gospel, he commanded nothing to be spoken or pronounced, by virtue of which speech or pronunciation the elements might either be changed, or the things signified, being drawn down from heaven, should be present with or joined to the signs: but what the Lord hath simply done, and what his will was we should do, after what manner and to what end he instituted his supper, the evangelists have declared. We read in no place that the Lord said, As often as ye speak or pronounce these my words, "This is my body, This is my blood," it shall come to pass by the virtue of my words, that the substance of the sign shall be made void; and that in the same prick of time, wherein the words are spoken, it shall begin to be the true body and the true blood of the Lord, under the forms or likenesses of bread and wine; or that the forms or likenesses and the truth of the sign remaining, it shall begin at once, with the bread and wine, to be the very body and blood of Christ. Wherefore, in the pronouncing or speaking of the words of the Lord in the supper, there is no power or virtue either to call down the things signified, or to change the things present[1]. These imaginations do rather seem more to maintain superstition than religion; as though the words, pronounced according to the form conceived, had power to call down out of heaven, to bring from one place to another, to restore health, to draw to, to put from, or to transform or change. St Augustine reckoneth up among superstitious vanities those things which for remedies of diseases are tied or fastened about the body; which also physic maketh no account of; whether it be in charming[2], or in certain signs called characters, or in hanging certain things about some part of the body. The place is to be seen *Cap.* 20, *Li. De Doct. Christ.* 2.[3] Chrysostom[4], being very angry with them that

[1 the things signified, the things present, not in Lat.]

[2 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, charmings.]

[3 Ad hoc genus (superstitiosorum) pertinent omnes etiam ligaturæ atque remedia, quæ medicorum quoque disciplina condemnat, sive in præcantationibus, sive in quibusdam notis, quas characteres vocant, sive in quibusdam rebus suspendendis, &c.—August. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 7, col. 4. Par. 1531.]

[4 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, and Chrysost.]

hang the written gospel about their neck, hath these words upon Matt. xxiii. ch.: "Wherein consisteth the force or power of the gospel? In the form and figure of the letters, or in the understanding of the meaning and sense of the same? If in the form of letters, thou dost well to hang it about thy neck: but if in the understanding of the meaning, it is better they were laid up in thy heart[5]." Thus saith he. But there is the same reason of the figures, and of the pronunciation of the letters or words of the gospel; for as the figure of the letters is of power to do nothing, even so is there no force or virtue either in the pronunciation or sound of words. Pliny, an heathenish writer, allegeth many heathenish examples, wherein he declareth that words are effectual; but yet, among other things which he bringeth, he hath this: "It is a question," saith he, "whether words or enchanting speeches are of any force: but every one that is wise is so far from believing it, that even man by man they utterly deny it." The place is to be seen Lib. XXVIII. cap. 2.[6] But most worthily is the true word of God itself preferred before all these, the which by Moses, Deut. xviii. with great severity forbiddeth and condemneth all kind of superstitions and enchantments.

Whether by blessing the natures of things are changed.

I know what the adversaries will here object unto me; namely, that it is a blessing or consecration, and not a superstition, which they use. Besides this, they bring many examples out of the scripture, set down in their canonical decrees, whereby very foolish[7] and most unaptly doubtless they go about to prove, that by blessing or consecration (as they say) the natures of the things are changed; whereupon they also gather, that the bread by the words of blessing or consecrating is turned into flesh. Their examples are these and of this sort: the water flowing out of the rock, after it was

Numb. xx. Exod. vii. John ii. Exod. xv. Exod. vii.

[5 Ubi est virtus evangelii, in figuris literarum, an in intellectu sensuum? Si in figuris, bene circa collum suspendis; si in intellectu, ergo melius in corde posita prosunt.—Chrysost. Op. Imperf. in Matth. Hom. xliii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxiv. Par. 1724.]

[6 Ex homine remediorum primum maximæ quæstionis, et semper incertæ est, valeantne aliquid verba... carminum? Quod si verum est, homini acceptum ferri oportere conveniet. Sed viritim sapientissimi cujusque respuit fides.—Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. XXVIII. cap. 2.]

[7 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, foolishly.]

smitten with Aaron's rod[1]; the river Nilus turned into blood; the water at the marriage in Cana of Galilee turned into wine; the bitter waters of Marath changed into sweet water; and Moses his rod turned into a serpent. But, I beseech you, what make these to the Lord's supper, wherewith they have no manner of similitude or likeness? So that this must needs be an unapt[2] comparison[3] and a doltish which they make: The river Nilus was turned into blood, therefore the bread is turned into flesh: the water at the marriage in Cana was changed into wine, therefore the wine in the Lord's supper is changed into the blood of Christ. For while that the water gushed out of the rock when it was smitten, while the river Nilus was turned into blood, while the water of the marriage was changed into wine, while the bitter waters of Marath became sweet, while Moses' rod was turned into a serpent; the water truly, the blood, the wine, the sweet water, and the serpent, so turned and changed, were not under the form or likeness of those things which they were before; neither were they at once that which they were before, and that which they were then made: but the water of Nilus was very blood, not water and blood together; neither was there invisible blood under the visible form of water. And so stands the case also in the other examples. Therefore they do nothing agree with the sacramental signs; but are so far from being like them, that they are altogether unlike them. Moreover, who can well tell by what pronunciation of words Moses made water burst out of the hard rock, turned the river Nilus into blood, changed the bitter waters into sweet? Who knoweth what form also of words the Lord used, when he changed water into wine? Therefore very fitly[4] do they apply these examples to their blessing or consecration, changing the natures of things; since it cannot be shewed what manner blessings the saints or holy men used. Likewise we read not that Moses and Joshua pronounced any words of blessing, whereby they divided the channel of the Erithian[5] sea and the river

[1 with Aaron's rod, not in Lat.]
[2 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, a very unapt: ineptissima, Lat.]
[3 collectio, Lat.: inference.]
[4 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, unfitly: ineptissime, Lat.]
[5 Erythræi, Lat.]

Jordan. Eliseus is read to have uttered no words of blessing, when he made the axe to swim, and reached it out of the water by the helve. In all these things the power of God did work; but we must not imagine what we list to proceed from it. For it is weakness, and not power, which is repugnant to justice, and taketh things in hand which are contrary to God's truth; but the mighty works of God are of such sort, that any man may understand and manifestly see, that they are such as they are said to be. The Lord said, "Let there be light; and there was light." Such a kind of light, I mean, which was both called light, and, according to the nature of light, gave light: it was not called or made light, which was light indeed, and yet gave not light: as the bread is called the body of Christ, which yet hath not so much as one jot of the body of Christ.

2 Kings vi.

The omnipotency of God.

Gen. i.

Furthermore, this word "blessing" in no place in the scriptures is so used as they would make us believe. To bless, in the scriptures, is to thank, to praise, to salute, to bid farewell, to speak well of any, to wish well, to rejoice, highly to extol, to give thanks for a good turn, to increase, to enrich, to multiply, or to make fruitful. I could, if need were, bring examples to prove each of them. But a man shall nowhere read, that to bless is as much as to turn the natures of things by the words of God, or otherwise by good words and prayers after a set manner pronounced. We read, say they, in the gospel, that the Lord took bread and blessed: yea, and Paul also calleth the bread and cup by that name, to wit, "The bread and cup of blessing;" the bread and cup, undoubtedly, of consecration, by which consecration the substance of the signs is miraculously changed. I answer, That the words both of the gospel and of the apostle are wrongfully wrested to that sense, which never came into the mind of the Lord or his apostles. For to declare the meaning of that place in the gospel: To bless is not with the gesture of the hand to make the sign of the cross, or to lay one's mouth to the bread and cup, and in a low voice to whisper out the set syllables of the words of consecration; but to sing praises to God, or to give thanks[6] for his benefits bestowed on us.

Of the word "blessing."

1 Cor. x.

That which I have said I will confirm by the authority of the evangelists and apostles; for the apostles and evan-

[6 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, give him thanks.]

Thanksgiving and blessing.

gelists use the word of blessing or thanksgiving indifferently. For where Mark hath εὐλογήσας, that is to say, "blessing," Matthew, Luke, and Paul have εὐχαριστήσας, that is to say, "giving thanks;" which word Mark also using a little after writeth: "And when he had took the cup," εὐχαριστήσας, that is, "when he had given thanks, he gave to them[1]." To bless therefore is, as the apostles themselves do interpret it, to give thanks, since that they put the one for the other. The diligent reader may see them[2] also in that place of Paul, which is 1 Cor. x. cap.; which place we will fully and wholly entreat of in that which followeth. Our adversaries therefore have not as yet proved out of the scriptures, that to bless is as much as to change the things; or that by words, pronunciation or reciting of words, the things themselves signified are brought to, or made present[3]. The ancient writers, truly, made mention of a mystical blessing, but in a far other sense than these consecrators. Of true consecration we will speak anon; and will confute also in another place whatsoever things they have brought concerning blessing or consecrating of baptism. Now we will make an end of that which we began.

Words of themselves were instituted of God to this end, to signify; and by signifying to bear witness, and to admonish: neither have they beside any hidden force to change the natures of things, or to cause the things themselves to be corporally present; neither do we read that holy men ever used them after this manner: therefore they sin and deceive men, which otherwise use them than they were instituted.

For what purpose words are instituted, and of what force they are.

Aurel. Augustine acknowledgeth[4] the very same thing, who in his *Enchiridion ad Laurent. Capit.* 22, saith: "And verily words to this purpose are instituted, not that men should deceive one another by them, but by the which one might make another to know his meaning: therefore to use words unto deceit, and not to that end whereunto they were ordained, is sin[5]." The same Aurelius Augustinus, gathering a

[1] Mark xiv. 22; Matth. xxvi. 26; Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24. Bullinger borrows here from Erasm. Annot. in Marc. xiv. 22.]

[2] So also ed. 1584; but 1577, the same: idipsum, Lat.]

[3] Rather, or by words, &c., to bring or make present, &c.]

[4] So also ed. 1584; but 1577, acknowledged: agnovit, Lat.]

[5] Et utique verba propterea sunt instituta, non per quæ se invicem homines fallant, sed per quæ in alterius quisque notitiam cogitationes

sum of his whole book intituled *De Magistro*, asketh this question: "But now I would have thee tell me, what thy opinion is of all this that I have spoken unto thee?" Which by and by he answereth: "I have learned being admonished by the[6] words, that a man is taught no other thing by words than to learn; and that it is a very small matter, that by speech or talk we know partly what he thinketh that speaketh: but whether the words which he spake were true, that teacheth he only, who admonished that he dwelt in the heart when the other spake with the tongue[7]." Thus much he in the last chapter of his book *De Magistro*. To this purpose pertain the words of Solomon the wise, in the book of the Preacher, saying: "The words of the wise are like pricks, and nails that go through of the authors of gatherings, which are given of one shepherd[8]." Where we willingly acknowledge, that there is a great force in eloquence and prayers of the just[10]; as the Grecians signified by that Hercules of Gallia, also Cicero very plentifully hath declared the same Lib. I. *De Oratore*: but that which they do forge and imagine of Pitho, or Suada, or Suadela, the lady and mistress of eloquence[11], that verily do we attribute to the Holy Ghost, which doth both give grace to the speaker, and prepareth and stirreth up the minds of the hearers. By these things it is manifest unto all men, I think, that it is a new forgery of man, and not a doctrine of Oracle, to say, that in the celebration of the sacraments there is such force graffed in the words recited, that they turn and change the things, or make the things signified to be present,

Eccles. xii. Authors of gatherings, he calleth wise men, because they gather the saying of the wiser sort of men in their books[9].

suas perferat. Verbis igitur uti ad fallaciam, non ad quod instituta sunt, peccatum est.—August. Enchirid. cap. 22, Opp. Tom. III. fol. 34. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

[6 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, thy.]

[7 Sed mihi jam dicas velim, quid de hoc toto meo sermone sentias.... AD. Ego vero didici admonitione verborum tuorum, nihil aliud verbis, quam admoneri hominem ut discat, et perparum esse quod per locutionem aliquanta cogitatio loquentis apparet: utrum autem vera dicantur, eum docere solum, qui se intus habitare cum foris loqueretur admonuit.—Aug. de Magistro. cap. 14, Opp. Tom. I. fol. 120. col. 1.]

[8 Velut clavi plantati inter folia collectitia, tradita ab uno pastore, Lat. and Bibl. Lat. Tigur. 1544.]

[9 The translator's explanation.]

[10 Rather, and a perfect speech: orationi justæ, Lat.]

[11 the lady—eloquence, not in Lat.]

and either put on or join them with the signs. But we will shew hereafter, that the signs are not changed or mingled with the things signified, but that both of them do remain still in their own nature and property. It shall be sufficient, if we attribute that to the words which the scripture doth attribute; to wit, the office of signifying and admonishing, of moving and stirring up, which they have from God. For they do defile and blemish the words of God, which deck them with strange and falsified titles.

How the power of almighty God is attributed to the word.

We acknowledge indeed, that all the power of almighty God is attributed to the word of God: but who seeth not, that that is spoken and meant of the everlasting Son of God, who in[1] the scripture is called the Word of God? Who is such a dorhead[2], that cannot rightly distinguish between the everlasting Word of God, which is the Son of God, the second person in the reverend Trinity, and the word rehearsed, spoken, or pronounced by man? The everlasting Word of God remaineth in his own substance and nature a creator, and not a creature: it is not mingled, it is not graffed or incorporated into man's voice. The word which proceedeth from man is a creature, not a creator, and remaineth still a creature; for it is a sound which passeth away: nevertheless it is[3] a virtue which (still) remaineth, if it be sincere and not adulterate, and received by faith. For so it preserveth; yet not of his own proper virtue or power, or because it is pronounced by man: but through his power or virtue which revealed the word, who is true, and therefore preserveth those things which by his word he promiseth to preserve[4]; so that now indeed God himself doth preserve, who said that by his word he would preserve those that believe. The word therefore, which God hath revealed unto us by his servants the prophets and by his chosen apostles, is not, neither is called, the word of God, as if the sound of syllables, words, and voices, are of their own nature the word of God; that very same, I mean, which of his own substance[5] is the Son of God: but because the revelation of the word was made from God in the Holy Ghost through the word or wisdom of God. Wherefore although

[1 Misprinted in all the editions, wherein: qui in, Lat.]
[2 See Vol. II. p. 332, n. 1.]
[3 Fit, Lat.: it becomes.] [4 to preserve, not in Lat.]
[5 of his substance, ed. 1577.]

the original be of God and not of man, yet the words which the prophets and apostles uttered are man's words, neither can they do anything else but give signification; with the which, notwithstanding, I would not have the due force of the external word of God to be lifted up above that which is meet and comely, and those things imputed to the literal word which is proper to God[6]. I acknowledge all those things, which with a sound understanding or judgment are attributed to the word of God. But of this thing I have elsewhere discoursed more at large[7].

Of true sanctification or consecration.

But now some will say: If by reciting the words of God sacraments are not sanctified or consecrated, from whence then have they this, that they be and are called sacraments, or holy signs? Is the consecration vain and of no force? Surely, vain and of no force is that consecration which the papists have feigned. But of consecration or true sanctification I have spoken in the beginning of this chapter, which now I will set forth a little plainer and more abundantly. The holy scriptures, when they make mention of holy things, they use very often this Hebrew word קדש, which the Greek interpreters commonly have translated by ἁγιάζω, the Latins by *Sanctifico*, *Consecro*, and *Initio*. The use of this word reacheth very far: for it signifieth to sanctify, to offer unto God, to purify or cleanse, and to justify; also to sever or put apart, and to separate, to separate (I mean) from profane use, and to dedicate them to holy things; to call a thing by some name, to apply, and to appoint. Therefore we say, that to consecrate, in this place, is no other thing but to sanctify, to dedicate to God, and after a fashion to separate, or of a thing profane to make an holy thing. But who doth this? or he which doth it, by what means or instrument, I pray you, doth he it? Who, I beseech you, consecrateth, or holieth? is it God? or is it man? Verily, God, and not man. For God instituting anything, and testifying and declaring by his word what he hath instituted and to what end, of his own holy, just, and good will, by his own only institution, I say, without

[6 Rather; by which statement meanwhile I would not disparage the due force of the external word of God. Quibus interim nolo externi verbi Dei vim justam elevatam, Lat. The latter half of the sentence is the translator's addition.]

[7 Decade I. Serm. 1.]

any other mean, he consecrateth the thing which he himself hath already instituted. For as he is holy, just, and good, so whatsoever he commandeth is holy, just, and good; and man, understanding by the word of God that God hath instituted anything to a holy, just, and good use, accepteth, receiveth, and useth that institution for holy, good, and just. Therefore man doth not by uttering certain words consecrate and make holy the institution. And because he believeth that all the institutions of God are holy and good, therefore he also celebrateth this institution of God, even as God hath ordained, and giveth God thanks, depending altogether upon God and the rule of his word[1]. Of this manner of sanctification the apostle speaking in another certain place saith:

1 Tim. iv. "Now the Spirit speaketh evidently, that in the latter times there shall rise deceivers, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." Lo, he saith, "meat is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." But the word of God is in this place (as Paul the apostle expoundeth it) a testimony of the scripture and will of God, whereby we are taught, that all things which God hath made are exceeding good, and that they are clean, and not unclean, which God hath created for to be eaten and for our use.

Acts x. In the Acts St Peter heareth, "Arise, Peter, slay, and eat;" for he saw in a vision before him all living creatures of the earth and the air. "Peter answered, Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten anything that is common or unclean." Therefore he heard again: "What God hath cleansed, that call thou not common." But where, I pray you, did he make them clean? When he made and gave them for the use of man. To the word is annexed prayer, not a charming or an enchantment, but a faithful thanksgiving. For the apostle more than once or twice maketh mention of thanksgiving, that by the general word, that is to say, prayer, no other thing might be understood than the special word, I mean, thanksgiving; for prayer is (as a man would say) to invo-

[1 Of the world, edd. 1584 and 1587, by misprint: verbi ejus, Lat.]

cation and giving of thanks, as the root to the branches[2]. Therefore saith he, the meat is holy, because God, who is good, hath made and appointed the same for the use of man; and also because it is received of man with faith and thanksgiving. For meat is not holy and good to many men, not through any fault in the meat, which is always the good creature of God; but in them is the fault, which acknowledge not by faith the benefits of God, or which abuse them, and glut themselves contrary to the word of the Lord. Even so standeth the case with the matter of sanctification, which we must also apply to the sacraments. God, of his own good will, and for the commodity of men, ordained sacraments. He chose unto himself, out of his good creatures, water, bread, and wine; and, appointing them to some certain end, he laid a platform, and commanded us to use and celebrate them. Now therefore, by the commandment and choice of God, the water, bread, and wine, are consecrated, and he signeth them with his word, and declareth that he will have them counted for sacraments, and sheweth the manner how he will have them celebrated: so that the consecration of sacraments is made through the will, institution, choice, or commandment of God, and seal of his word. Wherefore water, bread, and wine, used after a common manner, or not so as they are chosen and instituted of God, the word of God is as it were slandered[3], and they are altogether common and profane; but being only used according to the choice or commandment of God holily, and the word or sign being added, they begin to be sacraments, which they were not afore. The same substance remaineth in them still, which they had before; but they are instituted to another end and use, for they are sealed with the word and commandment of God, and therefore are hallowed. Whereunto may also be added their holy use, by a true faith setting forth the benefit of our redemption, and giving of thanks[4] by faithful prayers to our bountiful Redeemer.

How our sacraments are consecrated.

[2 veluti genus ad has species, Lat.]

[3 insculpta quodammodo nota verbi, Lat. The German translation renders this sentence: And (when) the word is not added to them as a sign, then they are, &c. Compare below, They are sealed with the word of God: Lat. habent nunc notam verbi Dei impressam.]

[4 Rather, the holy use of those who by a true faith set forth, &c. give thanks, &c.]

To this purpose we may fetch examples of civil government, wherein some things, for certain new causes adjoined, having their substance remaining still, are now made that which before they were not. For silver or gold, being not yet coined with the magistrate's mark, is nothing else but silver and gold: but if, by the commandment of the magistrate, a new form be added by a print, it is made money, which it was not before, although it be the very same substance which it was before. Wax, before it be sealed, is common and usual wax; but when, by the king's will and commandment, that which is engraven in the king's seal is printed in the wax, and is set to evidences and letters patents, by and by it is so esteemed, that whoso shall deface the sealed evidences[1] is attached as guilty of treason. Whereby I trust you see plainly, that the true sanctification or consecration of sacraments doth consist in the will and institution of God, in a certain end and holy use of the same, which are declared unto us in the word; of the which peradventure I have spoken more at large than some may think needful. But the godly reader will pardon me this my tediousness, since my desire is to open all things faithfully, diligently, and at large.

Now that I have defended the lawful use of the word, and declared the virtue of it, and opened unto you, as occasion served, the true sanctification or consecration of sacraments, I will return to that where I left. And because I taught, that sacraments consist of two parts, the sign and the thing signified, it remaineth to shew, that those two parts retain their natures distinguished, not communicating properties; by declaration whereof, both to those things which go before and to those which follow, yea, and to the whole substance of the sacrament, a wonderful light without doubt shall appear. But of communicating of the names or terms I will speak in their convenient place.

The sign and the thing signified do retain their several natures in the sacraments.

That each part retaineth their natures distinguished, without communicating or mingling of properties, it is to be seen hereby; that many be partakers of the sign, and yet are barred from the thing signified[2]. But if the natures of the parts were united or naturally knit together, it must needs be then, that those which be partakers of the signs must be par-

[1 aut cerum, Lat. omitted: or the wax.]

[2 cum re significata nihil commune habent.]

takers also of the thing signified. Examples of scripture, as they are ready, so are they evident. For Simon Magus, in the Acts of the Apostles, received the sign, and was baptized: but of the thing signified he had not neither received so much as one iota. And Judas Iscariot, a cruel and faithless traitor of his master, did likewise eat the bread of the Lord, but he did not eat bread the Lord[3]; otherwise he had lived happy, just, and blessed for ever: for "he which eateth me, saith the Lord himself, shall never die:" but Judas died everlastingly; therefore he did not eat that food of life.

The wicked are not partakers of the thing signified in the sacraments.

To these evident testimonies of scripture I will now add also certain of St Augustine's pertaining to that purpose, who in his treatise upon John xxvi. saith: "We receive this day visible meat: but the sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament is another. How many do receive of the things upon the altar, and when they have received it do die! Whereupon the apostle saith, 'He eateth and drinketh his own damnation.' Was not the morsel poison, which the Lord gave unto Judas? and yet he received it, and after he had received it, the enemy entered into him; not because that was evil which he received, but because he, being evil, did receive that good thing unworthily." And immediately after he saith: "The sacrament of the thing, that is, of the knitting together of the body and blood of Christ, is received at the Lord's table, of some unto life, of other some to destruction: but the thing itself, whereof it is a sacrament, is received of all men unto life, of none to destruction, whosoever shall be partakers thereof." And again he saith: "He which dwelleth not in Christ, nor Christ in him, without doubt he neither eateth his flesh, nor drinketh his blood spiritually; although carnally and visibly he chaw with his teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ: but he doth rather eat and drink the sacrament of so great a thing to his own damnation[4]." And so

[3 Illi (apostoli) manducabant panem Dominum, ille (Judas) panem Domini contra Dominum.—August. in Evang. Joan. Tract. LIX. Opp. Tom. IX.]

[4 Nam et nos hodie accepimus visibilem cibum: sed aliud est sacramentum, aliud est virtus sacramenti. Quam multi de altari accipiunt, et moriuntur, et accipiendo moriuntur! Unde dicit Apostolus, Judicium sibi manducat et bibit. Nonne buccella dominica

forth. He hath the like words in his book *De Civit. Dei*[1], xxi. 25. cap. And in his book *De Doctr. Christ.* iii. cap. 9. he sheweth, that "in the conjunction of natures there had need to be a distinction, lest we should stick too much upon the outward sign[2]."

Now we come to the proofs of the scripture. The apostle witnesseth in the 1 Cor. x. cap. that "all our fathers were baptized, and did all eat of one spiritual meat, and did all drink of one manner of spiritual drink; but the Lord in many of them had no delight:" whereas, if they had eaten that spiritual meat and drunk that spiritual drink spiritually by faith, undoubtedly the Lord had delighted in them. "For without faith," as he himself saith, "it is impossible to please God:" therefore with them that have faith God is well pleased. Wherefore our fathers truly were partakers of visible sacraments, but they were destitute of invisible grace: whereby it followeth, that the sign and the thing signified do retain their natures not confounded or mingled, but distinguished and separated. Besides this, the words of the gospel have some affinity, or at the least some likeness, with sacramental signs; otherwise, the words are preferred far before the signs, the apostle saying, "that he was sent to preach, and not to baptize." But many hear with their outward ears the word of the Lord, who for all that, because they are void

The affinity of the word of God and sacraments.

venenum fuit Judæ? Et tamen accepit, et cum accepit in eum inimicus intravit: non quia malum accepit, sed quia bonum male malus accepit.... Hujus rei sacramentum, id est, unitatis corporis et sanguinis Christi.... de mensa dominica sumitur, quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium: res vero ipsa, cujus et sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicunque ejus particeps fuerit.... Qui non manet in Christo et in quo non manet Christus proculdubio nec manducat spiritaliter carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi; sed magis tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducat et bibit.—August. in Evang. Joan. Tract. XXVI. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 47, coll. 2. 4. Par. 1531.]

[1 On this chapter archbishop Cranmer has written in the margin of his copy of Augustine's works now in the British Museum: "Impii apostatæ non manducant corpus Christi manducantes sacramentum." —Aug. Opp. Tom. v. fol. 293. col. 2.]

[2 Ut autem literam sequi et signa pro rebus quæ iis significantur accipere servilis infirmitatis est; ita inutiliter signa interpretari male vagantis erroris est.—Id. de Doct. Christ. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 11, col. 3.

of faith, are also without the inward fruit of the word; Paul saying yet again: "For to us was the gospel preached, as well as unto them; but the word which they heard did not profit them, because it was not coupled with faith." For so it cometh to pass, that many receive the visible sacraments, and yet are not partakers of the invisible grace, which by faith only is received. Whereupon yet again it followeth, that the sign is not confounded with the thing signified, but both of them do retain their substance and nature distinguished. What, and doth not the scripture expressly and pithily make a difference between the outward ministry of man, and God the inward worker and giver of spiritual gifts? For John Baptist saith: "I baptize you with water, but he (Christ) shall baptize you with the holy Ghost." Wherewith agreeth that saying of Peter: "Baptism saveth us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but in that a good conscience maketh request to God[3]."

Heb. iv.

Matt. iii.

1 Pet. iii.

To this now pertaineth that evident testimony of St Augustine, which is read, iii. *Quæst. lib. in Levit. Quæst.* 83. in these words: "We must diligently consider, as often as he saith, 'I the Lord which sanctify him,' that he speaketh of the priest; when he also spake this to Moses, 'and thou shalt sanctify him.' How therefore doth both Moses and God also sanctify? For Moses doth not sanctify for the Lord; but Moses doth sanctify in the visible sacraments by his ministry, and the Lord by invisible grace by his Holy Spirit, where the whole fruit of visible sacraments also is. For without this sanctification of invisible grace what profit have we by visible sacraments[4]?" Thus far Augustine. As John Baptist made distinction between his own ministry in baptism and the power of Christ, even so maketh he distinction between the

The scripture maketh difference between the ministry of man and the operation of the Spirit.

[3 See above, p. 259, n. 3.]

[4 Animadvertendum est quoties dicit, Ego Dominus qui sanctifico eum, loqui de sacerdote; cum hoc etiam Moysi dixerit, Et sanctificabis eum. Quomodo ergo et Moyses sanctificat et Dominus? Non enim Moyses pro Domino; sed Moyses visibilibus sacramentis per ministerium suum, Dominus autem invisibili gratia per Spiritum Sanctum: ubi est totus fructus etiam visibilium sacramentorum. Nam sine ista sanctificatione invisibilis gratiæ visibilia sacramenta quid prosunt? —August. Quæst. super Levit. Lib. III. cap. 84. Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 49. col. 1. Par. 1531.]

ministry of preaching and the drawing of the spiritual[1] teacher: "I am," saith he, "the voice of a crier in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord." And again: "He that cometh from an high is above all; he that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth; he that cometh from heaven is above all; and what he hath seen and heard, that he testifieth," &c. St Paul also agreeing thereunto saith: "Who is Paul, what is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man? I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. So that neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase." Albeit the comparison of ministers with the signs agree not altogether and in every part (which I told you before), because ministers are fellow-labourers with Christ according to their office; but the signs which are without life are not so, unless κατ' ἐξοχήν we translate unto them that which is the ministers': yet by other proofs I suppose it to be made plain, that the sign and thing signified do retain their natures distinguished in the sacraments.

John iii.[2]

1 Cor. iii.

The opinion of the papists touching transubstantiation is confuted.

These things do specially disprove and convince those, who are persuaded of that papistical transubstantiation of bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ; for these men utterly deny that the bread and wine, being consecrated in the mysteries, do remain in their own substances. For they contend that the[3] substances (of bread and wine) are annihilated and turned into the very body and blood of the Lord, so that after the consecration the accidents of bread and wine do remain, and no part of the substance thereof at all. For they say, that the Lord in express words pronounced over the bread and wine, "This is my body, this is my blood;" and that the Lord can easily bring to pass, by his own omnipotency, that that which he said may be as he said. For proof whereof they allege these and such like places[4]; that the Lord, forsooth, fashioned man out of the clay of the earth, and by and by of the rib of man made woman, and also turned Lot's wife into a pillar of salt; and therefore that he by the self-same his power can make of bread his

[1] interni, Lat.: inward.] [2] Joan. i. and iii. capite, Lat.]
[3] So also ed. 1584: but 1577, *these*: has, Lat.]
[4] similia non pauca, Lat.: like instances not a few.]

body, and of wine his blood. And these truly are their bulwarks. But we in another place have plentifully disputed of the meaning of the Lord's words, "This is my body;" so that it is superfluous to make long repetition of them. I have also told you, that of the omnipotency of God we must not gather and determine whatsoever cometh into our brain; and also that God's power doth nothing against truth, neither against itself; and that no godly man ought to take that in hand, under pretence of the power of God, which is repugnant to the plain scriptures and the articles of the catholic faith[5].

That bread and wine remain in their substances after consecration.

Now it is evident and plain, that after consecration there remaineth in the sacrament the substance of bread and wine; and herein we need no other witnesses than our very senses, which perceive, see, taste, and feel, no other thing than bread and wine. But while clay was turned into a man's body, the rib into a woman, and Lot's wife into a pillar of salt, they were not, as the sacrament of the supper[6], that which they were before, neither did there appear unto the senses any iota of the clay, of the rib, of Lot's wife. Very foolishly, therefore, and unaptly are these examples applied to the mystery[7] of the Lord's supper, wherewith they nothing agree: which thing also we touched before[8].

The gospel, very diligently describing the most holy institution of the Lord's supper and the manner thereof, maketh no mention of miraculous transubstantiation[9]; but calleth the bread and wine, which the Lord took and distributed to his disciples, and which they also received, by the names of bread and wine, as well after the words of consecration (as they term it) were spoken, as also before consecration. Doth not the Lord in the xxvi. chap. of Matt. call the wine, being consecrated, not wine only, but the fruit of the vine, after a more vehement and significative[10] kind of speech, lest any should be ignorant that the wine was wine indeed, and so remained? In Mark we read this of the cup: "And he took the cup, [Mark xiv.] and when he had given thanks, he gave to them, and they[11]

[5 See Vol. I. page 90; and above, p. 263.]
[6 altaris, Lat.] [7 negotio, Lat.]
[8 See above, p. 272.] [9 conversionis, Lat.]
[10 emphatico, is Bullinger's *one* word.]
[11 omnes, Lat. omitted: all.]

drank of it; and he said unto them, This is my blood of the new Testament," &c. Lo, they drank all (saith he) of the cup before the words of consecration (as they term it) were spoken; therefore they drank wine. Now if so be they answer, that this place of the evangelist is to be expounded by the figure *hysteron proteron*, that is, when any thing is declared out of order preposterously[1], then admit they tropes and figures in the celebration of the supper; which, notwithstanding, they have contended ought simply to be understood without the help of tropes or figures. But Paul also, the apostle, in the 1 Cor. chap. x. calleth the bread of the Lord, being now in very holy use, and (that I may so say) consecrated, by the name of bread. And in the 1 Cor. xi. chap. the third time he calleth it bread. To this appertaineth[2], that the Acts of the Apostles do testify[3], how that the churches[4] of the apostles do call the whole mystical action the breaking of bread, not the breaking of his body or distribution of his blood. It is manifest therefore, that the substance of bread and wine in the sacrament of the Lord's supper do remain in their own nature, and that transubstantiation is a sophistical imagination.

Whether the bread and wine for their former substance are so called after consecration.

This also is a sophistical and a notable papistical forgery[5], in that they say that the bread and wine, consecrated in the supper, is therefore called of the apostles[6] bread and wine, because they were bread and wine before. For that is now done, which is read in Exodus to have been done in times past, where Aaron's rod is said to devour the enchanters' rods, which nevertheless then were not rods, but serpents; but now they are named rods, because they were rods before they were so changed, which now are serpents, and not rods. But again; who doth not see this example hath no similitude or likeness with the bread and wine of the Lord? For the rod truly was called a rod; but in the meanwhile it was, and seemed plainly to be, not now a rod, but a serpent: but the bread is called bread, neither doth it appear to be anything else but bread. Here is no form of flesh seen, as was seen there the form of a serpent. Beside this; the rod is said to

[1 This explanation is the Translator's.] [2 His accedit, Lat.]
[3 Act. ii. and xx. marg. Lat.]
[4 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, *church:* ab apostolica ecclesia, Lat.]
[5 forgery, not in Lat.] [6 in literis apostolicis, Lat.]

be turned into a serpent, and is shewed for a wonder or miracle; but ye shall read in no place that the bread was turned into flesh by any miracle: but a sacrament is instituted, which indeed loseth the name and nature of a sacrament, when, the substance of the sign being annihilated and made void, nothing remaineth there but the thing signified; for that which they triflingly say of accidents miraculously subsisting without their subject, and remaining instead of a sign[7], is to no purpose. If we should go about to boast of our dreams for miracles, there will be nothing so absurd and foolish which we shall not colour with our fancies and lies. What if this word transubstantiation doth manifestly prove, that this whole trifling toy is not fetched from the simple and plain doctrine of the apostles, but from the subtle school of quarrelling[8] sophisters? But the apostle Paul giveth us in charge to beware both of philosophy and strangeness[9] of words; though at this present we do not only entreat of new words, but also of new matter and new doctrine, contrary in all points to the apostles'. For this doctrine of transubstantiation is clean contrary both to the doctrine of the apostles and evangelists touching the true incarnation of our Lord, and the true nature and property of his human body, and also the true raising up again of our bodies. For they are constrained[10] to forge many things altogether miraculous; as of the invisible body of Christ, and of the subtle body of Christ piercing by his subtlety through the gate and the stone[11], I mean, that which covered his sepulchre; or the Lord's very body being altogether and[12] at one time in many places and filling all things; and other innumerable, which are of this stamp, absurd and wicked. Now also Joan. Scotus, a subtle doctor, in his work, *Sentent. Distinct.* II. *Lib.* 4. *quæst.* 3, saith[13]: That the article of transubstantiation is neither expressed

Col. ii. 1 Tim. vi.

[7 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, *the* sign.]

[8 quarrelling, not in Lat.] [9 novitatibus, Lat.]

[10 hic, Lat. omitted: in this place.]

[11 per corpus januæ et lapidis, Lat.]

[12 Rather, of the Lord's body, being a true body, and yet in the meanwhile, &c.]

[13 Dicendum quod ecclesia declaravit istum intellectum esse de veritate fidei in illo symbolo edito sub Innocent. III. in concilio Lateranensi, *Firmiter credimus*, &c. . . . ubi explicite ponitur veritas aliquorum credendorum, magis explicite quam habebatur in symbolo

in the creed of the apostles, neither in those creeds of the ancient fathers; but that it was brought in and invented of the church (so saith he, meaning the Romish church,) under Innocentius the third, in the council of Lateran. Whereby we gather, that the doctrine of transubstantiation is of late time and newly start up; the history whereof we have elsewhere more largely compiled[1]. But by this that I have said I think it plainly and effectually enough declared, that the signs are not mingled with the things signified, or changed into them; but that each of them remain in their several natures.

The council of Lateran was in the year of the Lord 1215.

But albeit either of the parts without mixture do retain their own nature, yet those two agree in one sacrament; and being joined together and not divided, do make one perfect and lawful sacrament. For water alone, both privately and ordinarily sprinkled, is no sacrament, unless it be applied and used according to the institution of Christ. Purifying also, or washing away of sins, and the engrafting or receiving into the league and fellowship of God and all saints, of itself is no sacrament, unless there be also a sprinkling of water in the name of the blessed Trinity. In like manner, it is no sacrament, if we eat bread in a common assembly, and drink wine of the self-same cup after the common manner; neither is it a sacrament, if through a faithful remembrance thou consider that the Lord's body was betrayed for thee, and his blood shed for thee, for the which also thou givest thanks; but so far forth as they are all mysteries of God and our salvation, they are generally termed[2] sacraments, that is, secret and spiritual mysteries of God and our salvation. For in a perfect and lawful sacrament there must needs go together both the holy action, corporal or sensible, and the spiritual celebration thereof[3] for the which this sacramental action was invented and put in practice.

Of the sacramental union.

But here some move many and divers questions touching the sacramental union, whether it be personal, real, or rational. I, because I see nothing of this matter doubtfully[4]

apostolorum, vel Athanasii, vel Niceni.—Duns Scot. Sentent. Lib. IV. dist. 11. quæst. 3. Opp. Tom. VIII. p. 618. Lugd. 1639.]

[1 De Origine Erroris circa Cœnam et Miss. Pap. cap. x.]

[2 Rather; excepting in so far as all mysteries, &c. are in a general way termed, &c.]

[3 i. e. of that thing.] [4 anxie, Lat.]

delivered of the apostles, and that the thing, being plain of itself, by such manner of sophistications is made dark, doubtful, difficult, and obscure; simply and plainly say, that the sign and the thing signified are joined together in the sacraments by God's institution, by faithful contemplation and use; to be short, in signification and likeness of the things: but I utterly deny, that those two are naturally united together, so that the sign in the sacrament beginneth to be that which the thing signified is in his own substance and nature: I deny, that the thing signified is joined corporally with the sign, so that the sign remaineth still in his own substance and nature, and yet nevertheless, in the mean time, hath the thing signified corporally joined unto it; that thereby whosoever is partaker of the sign, should be also by the sign or with the sign partaker of the thing itself. The reason why I do so constantly deny that, appeareth, I think, sufficiently by those examples which I have hitherto declared, and which hereafter shall be declared.

It is declared, how in sacraments the signs and the things signified are joined together.

Furthermore, I say that the sign and the thing signified are coupled together by God's[5] institution, because he which instituted the sacrament of baptism and the supper, instituted it not to this end, that with water we might wash away the filth of the body, as the custom is to do by daily use of baths; neither that we should take our fill of the bread and wine: but that under visible signs he might commend unto us the mysteries of our redemption and his grace, and, to be short, of our salvation, by[6] representing them to renew them, and by sealing them to confirm them. My saying is, that they are coupled together in a faithful contemplation, because they which partake the sacraments religiously do not fasten their eyes on sensible things only, but rather on things insensible, signified, and heavenly; so that the faithful have in themselves both twain coupled together, which otherwise in the sign or with the sign are knit together with no bond. For corporally and sensibly they receive the signs, but spiritually they possess, comprehend, renew, and exercise the things signified. In signification and likeness of the things, I say, they are coupled together, because the sign is a token of the thing signified: and unless signs have likeness with those things whereof they are signs, then would they be no

[5 God's, not in Lat.] [6 and by, Lat.]

signs. They have therefore most apt and very near affinity between themselves. For as water washeth away the filth of the body; as bread and wine satisfieth and maketh merry the heart of man; even so by the grace of God the people of God are purified; even so the body and blood of the Lord, which was given for us, being apprehended by faith, doth both satisfy and make merry the whole man, that he may yield himself wholly unto thanksgiving, and obedient to Godward. I would speak here more largely of the analogy, or of the sign and thing signified, but that I see I may do the same hereafter in place more convenient. But I think I shall not need any more places out of the scripture, to open these things more evidently; since they follow of their own accord upon that which we have hitherto by testimonies of scriptures confirmed, and will hereafter more at large confirm.

Signs borrow the names of things signified.

Moreover, in respect of the likeness of the sign and the thing signified, the name of the one is given to the other[1], as I will prove by most evident testimonies of scripture. In

Circumcision.

Genesis xvii. the Lord saith thus to Abraham: "Thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, both thou and thy seed after thee in their generations. This is my covenant, which ye shall keep between me and you; every man-child among you shall be circumcised. Ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be a token of the covenant between me and you." The mouth of the Lord hath spoken this. Who will gainsay the word of God? The word of God calleth circumcision a covenant; therefore the name of the thing signified is given to the sign. For in very deed circumcision is not the covenant itself; for the covenant is the bargain and agreement between God and men, which hath certain conditions and articles. Wherefore afterward, by interpretation, the same circumcision is called "a token of the covenant." And who will find fault with this interpretation of God? The signs therefore, yea, God being the interpreter, take the names of the things signified.

The paschal lamb.

So you may read in the twelfth chapter of Exodus: "Ye shall eat the lamb in haste, for it is the Lord's passover." Again: "And the blood shall be unto you a sign in the houses wherein you are," &c. And again: "This day shall

[1 aut nomina rerum ipsis signis, Lat. omitted: or the names of the things are given to the signs themselves.]

be unto you a remembrance," &c. What can be spoken more plainly, than that the lamb is called the passover? But what is the proper meaning of the passover? Let us give ear to the Lord, here again expounding himself, and saying: "I will pass through the land of Egypt this same night, and will smite all the first-born of Egypt, from man to beast; and when I shall see the blood (of the lamb), I will pass over you, and the plague shall not be upon you to destroy you." Behold, the Passover, God himself so interpreting it, is that passing over, whereby the angel of God, passing over the houses of the Israelites which were marked with the blood of the lamb, spared the[2] first-born, and slew the first-born of the Egyptians. If thou art ignorant what and what manner of lamb it was, listen again to the Lord instructing thee, and saying: "In the tenth day of this month, every man take unto him a lamb according to the household; and let your lamb be without blemish, a male of a year old, which ye shall take out from among the sheep and from among the goats." And here the lamb is plainly called the Passover. And who doth not see, that the lamb is not the Passover? Yet because it is a sign or remembrance of the Passover, as the mouth of the Lord saith, surely it taketh the name of the Passover or passing by.

Sacrifices.

Again, you read in the nineteenth of Numbers: "Thus spake the Lord unto Moses: Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring thee a red cow[3] without blemish, and ye shall give her unto Eleazar the priest, that he may bring her without the host, and cause her to be slain before his face[4], and to be burnt whole; and a man that is clean shall gather up the ashes of the cow, and lay them without the host in a clean place; and it shall be kept for the multitude of the children of Israel[5] for a water of separation (or sprinkling); for it is sin." Mark again the manner of the speaking of the scripture. A heifer or cow is sin, that is, a sacrifice for sin; as Christ is said to be made sin for us, that for (or by) sin[6] he might condemn sin; which is, that by the only oblation[7]

Rom. viii.

[2 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, their: ipsorum, Lat.]
[3 buculam, Lat.] [4 ubi sacrificet, Lat.]
[5 ab ecclesia Israelitica, Lat.]
[6 de peccato, Lat. See Vol. II. p. 256, n. 5.]
[7 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, *one* oblation: unica hostia, Lat.]

of his body he might cleanse and purge us from sin. Hitherto also belongeth that which the apostle, speaking of sacrifices
Heb. x. unto the Hebrews, saith: "But in these sacrifices there is mention made of sins every year; for it is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins." As often therefore as sacrifices, as heifers, goats, bulls, and lambs, are called sanctifications, cleansings, or sins, the signs take the
Zech. iii. names of the things signified. For these were certain types and figures of the priest which was to come and of Christ[1],
Isai. liii. upon whom all our sins are laid; for he truly is "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world."

Now we are come also to the sacraments of the new Testament, whose signs also bear the names of the things sig-
1 Pet. i. nified. For Peter saith, Acts ii.: "Let every one of you be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins." And Paul also in the Acts of the Apostles heareth:
Baptism. Acts xxii. "Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins by calling on the name of the Lord." Therefore truly baptism is called a cleansing, or washing away of sins. And Peter also else-
[1 Pet. iii.] where saith: "Baptism saveth you, not that thereby the filth of the flesh is put away, but in that a good conscience
Cor. vi. maketh request unto God[2]." And Paul also saith: "Ye are washed, ye are sanctified, ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." Therefore the due and right comparing of the[3] places between themselves doth manifestly prove, that to the sign of baptism, which is water, is given the name of the thing signified.

The supper of the Lord. After the same manner is it to be seen in the institution[4] of the Lord's supper, or Eucharist. The bread is called the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ. But since the right faith believeth, that the true body of Christ, ascended out of this world, liveth and is now in heaven, and that the Lord returneth no more into this world until he come in the clouds of heaven to judge the quick and the dead; every man understandeth, that to the sign, to wit, bread and wine, the names of the things themselves, to wit, the body and blood of Christ, are given through the communicating of names.

[1 venturi sacerdotis et hostiæ Christi, Lat.]
[2 See above, p. 274.]
[3 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, these: horum, Lat.]
[4 habet et negotium, Lat.]

Many other speeches used in the scripture and in our daily talk are not much unlike to the speeches used in the sacrament. We read that Christ is, and is called, a lion, a lamb, a shepherd, a vine, a door, a way, a ladder, the day, the light, the sun, the water, the bread, a spring, and a rock: which if at this day any should roughly[5] urge, contending that Christ is a lamb indeed, a door in substance, a natural vine, or such like; who, I pray you, could abide him so reasoning? We would hiss and drive out from among us such a one, as a mad man, and a perverter of God's oracles. We read indeed, "And that rock was Christ:" in the meantime it is to be considered what should follow. For if that rock really and in very deed had been Christ, none of them that drank of that rock had been reprobates; for they are acceptable unto God which are partakers of Christ. "But in many of them, that drank of the rock, the Lord had no delight; for they were slain in the wilderness." Therefore they which drank of the rock, which was Christ, were not made partakers of Christ. Therefore the rock was not Christ really and in very deed. We also seeing the standards of kings, princes, and cities, we call the signs by the names of the kings, princes, and cities: for we say, This is the king of France, This is the prince of Germany, This is Tigure[6], This is Berne. So if we see the marriage-ring, or the image of any prince, we call it the faith and troth of wedlock, or man and wife; yea, and we say by the image, This is the prince. For matrons, shewing their wedding-ring, say, This is my husband: when we shew to any man the picture or image of the duke of Saxony, we say, This is the duke of Saxony. If any should go[7] obstinately to affirm, that the sign in very deed is the thing signified, because it beareth the name thereof; would not all men cry out, that such a one were without wit or reason, and that he were to be abhorred by all means as an obstinate brawler?

Sacramental and figurative speeches.

The manner of speech which we use.

Those therefore that are skilful in the things understand that that is and hath been catholic, received of all men, and also sound, which we shewed even now at large; to wit, that the signs do borrow the names of the things, and not turn into the things (which they signify). And therefore the ancient

[5 rigide, Lat.] [6 Zurich.]

[7 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, go on: pergeret, Lat.]

The ancient fathers moved no contentions about the sacraments.

fathers moved no strife nor contentions about the sacraments, as are at this day among us. For as they did beautify the signs with the names of the things (signified), so did they acknowledge the kind of speech; neither did they roughly urge the words, as though the very signs were really and corporally that selfsame thing which they signified. Therefore this canon or rule is so often repeated and beaten upon by Aurelius Augustine, "That the signs do take or borrow the names of things signified[1]." By the same canon or rule he maketh plain certain dark places; of which thing we will now set down some testimonies. In his *Epist.* 23. *ad Bonifacium, de Parvulorum Baptismate,* he saith: "If sacraments had not some likeness with those things whereof they are sacraments, no doubt they were no sacraments; for of this likeness, for the most part, they take the names of the things themselves. As also the apostle, speaking of baptism, saith, 'We are buried with Christ by baptism into his death.' He doth not say, we signify the burial; but he doth flatly say, 'we are buried.' Therefore he called the sacrament of so great a thing no otherwise but by the name of the selfsame thing[2]." And in *Tract. super Joan.* 63: "When the unclean person is gone, all which remain are clean. Such a like thing shall there be, when the world, being overcome of Christ, shall pass away, and there shall no unclean person remain among the people of God; when, the tares being separated from the wheat, the just shall shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father. The Lord foreseeing this would come to pass, and now witnessing that it was signified, when Judas fell away as tares separated, the holy apostles remaining as wheat, he saith, 'Now is the Son of man glorified;' as if he had said, Behold what shall be when I am glorified, where there shall be no wicked person, and where no good man shall perish. For he

[1 Solet res quæ significat ejus rei nomine quam significat nuncupari.—August. Quæst. super Levit. LVII.]

[2 Si sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent: ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt... Sicut de ipso baptismo apostolus, Consepulti, inquit, sumus Christo per baptismum in mortem. Non ait sepulturam significamus, sed prorsus ait, Consepulti sumus. Sacramentum ergo tantæ rei non nisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncupavit.—Id. Epist. XXIII. ad Bonifac. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 18. col. 4. Par. 1531.]

saith not thus, Now is the glorying of the Son of man signified; but he saith, 'Now is the Son of man glorified.' As it is not said, The rock signified Christ; but, 'The rock was Christ:' neither is it said, The good seed signifieth the children of the kingdom, but he saith, 'The good seed, these are the children of the kingdom; and the tares, the children of the wicked.' As the scripture therefore is wont to speak, calling the things which signify as the things that are signified, even so spake the Lord, saying, 'Now is the Son of man glorified,' after that wicked (Judas) was separated, and, his holy apostles remaining with him, his glorification was signified, when, the wicked being divided, he shall remain eternally with the saints[3]." The same Aurelius Augustine, in his epistle to Evodius 102, saith: "The sound of the voice, and the bodily shape of a dove, and cloven tongues like unto fire, which came upon every one of them; as those things in mount Sina, which were done after a most fearful manner; and as that pillar of the cloud by day, and that pillar of fire by night; were ordained and set for some operation which they signified. Herein we must specially take heed of this; that none be persuaded or believe, that the nature and substance of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Ghost, is changeable, or may be turned: neither let any man be moved for that sometime the thing

It is not said, the rock signifieth, but, "the rock is Christ."

[3 Exeunte immundo omnes mundi remanserunt.... tale aliquid erit cum victus a Christo transierit hic mundus, et nemo in populo Christi remanebit immundus; cum zizaniis a tritico separatis justi fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris eorum. Hoc futurum prævidens Dominus, et nunc significatum esse contestans, discedente Juda tanquam zizaniis separatis, remanentibus tanquam tritico apostolis sanctis, Nunc, inquit, clarificatus est Filius hominis: tanquam diceret, Ecce in illa clarificatione mea quid erit, ubi malorum nullus erit, ubi bonorum nullus perit! Sic autem non est dictum, Nunc significata est clarificatio Filii hominis: sed dictum est, Nunc clarificatus est Filius hominis; quemadmodum non est dictum, Petra significabat Christum, sed, Petra erat Christus: nec dictum est, Bonum semen significabat filios regni.... sed dictum est, Bonum semen hi sunt filii regni, zizania autem filii maligni. Sicut ergo solet loqui scriptura, res significantes tanquam illas quæ significantur appellans; ita locutus est Dominus dicens, Nunc clarificatus est Filius hominis, posteaquam separato inde nequissimo, et secum remanentibus sanctis, significata est glorificatio ejus, quando separatis iniquis manebit in æternitate cum sanctis.—August. in Evang. Joan. Tract. LXIII. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 84. col. 3.]

which signifieth taketh the name of that thing which it signifieth. The Holy Ghost is said to descend and remain upon him in the bodily shape of a dove. For so also is the rock Christ, because it signifieth Christ[1]."

Their error, which will not have sacramental speeches expounded sacramentally.

By these examples alleged out of the scripture it is plain, that the signs do borrow the names of the things, and not their natures and substances. Whereupon it is undoubtedly true, that they err as far as heaven is wide, which are persuaded, that the sacramental speeches are not to be expounded as figurative and borrowed, but most properly and literally; so that by that means the water, bread, and wine, are not now signs and tokens only of regeneration, and of the body of Christ given and of his blood shed for us; but regeneration itself, and the very substantial body and blood of our Lord Jesus. For being of this opinion, they are offensive unto the common manner both of speaking and interpreting used in all ages; they are also repugnant to true faith, yea, and to common sense. Whereby it cometh to pass, that by their confounding of the sign with the thing signified they bring in a servile weakness, and (that I may use St Augustine's words) "a carnal bondage." For he, Li. iii. *de Doct. Chr.* ca. 9, entreating of the sacraments of Christians, saith: "The Lord himself, and the apostles in their doctrine, have left us few things instead of many; and those most easy to be done, most reverend in understanding, and most pure in observing; as is baptism, and the celebration of the body and blood of the Lord: which sacraments every man when he receiveth, being instructed, acknowledgeth whereunto they are referred, that we should not worship them with carnal servitude or bondage, but rather with spiritual freedom or liberty. And as to follow the letter, and to take the signs instead of the things which are signified

[1 Sonitus ille vocis et columbæ species corporalis, et linguæ divisæ velut ignis, qui insedit super unumquemque eorum, sicut illa in monte Syna quæ terribili specie facta sunt, et sicut columna illa nubis per diem et flammæ per noctem, significativa operatione acta atque transacta sunt. Illud in his maxime cavendum est, ne cuiquam Dei natura vel Patris, vel Filii, vel Spiritus Sancti commutabilis et convertibilis esse credatur. Nec moveat quod aliquando res quæ significat nomen ejus rei quam significat accipit. Spiritus Sanctus dictus est corporali specie tanquam columba descendisse et mansisse super eum. Sic enim et petra Christus, quia significat Christum.—August. Epist. CII. ad Evod. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 89. col. 1.]

by them, is a point of servile weakness; so to expound the signs unprofitably is a point of evil-wandering error[2]." And yet he speaketh more plainly, chap. 5: "First of all you must beware, lest you take a figurative speech according to the letter. For to this agreeth that which the apostle saith: 'The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.' For when that which is figuratively spoken is taken as though it were spoken properly, it is carnally understanded. Neither is there anything that may more agreeably be termed the death of the soul, than when that wherein we excel beasts, which is understanding or knowledge, is made subject to the flesh by following the letter. For he that followeth the letter, understandeth words translated or borrowed, as proper or natural; neither doth he refer that which is signified by a proper word to another signification: but if (for an example) he shall hear mention of the sabbath, he understandeth it no otherwise but as one day of the seven which by continual course come and go. And when he heareth mention made of sacrifice, it will not out of his head, but that this is meant of that which was wont to be done about offering of beasts and fruits of the earth. To be short, this is the miserable bondage of the soul, to take the signs for the things themselves, and not to be able to lift up the eyes of the mind above the bodily creature for the obtaining of everlasting light[3]." Thus far Augustine. By these

Carnal bondage and servile weakness

[2 Pauca pro multis, eaque factu facillima et intellectu augustissima et observatione castissima, ipse Dominus et apostolica tradidit disciplina: sicuti est baptismi sacramentum et celebratio corporis et sanguinis Domini: quæ unusquisque cum percipit, quo referantur imbutus agnoscit, ut ea non carnali servitute sed spiritali potius libertate veneretur. Ut autem literam sequi, et signa pro rebus quæ iis significantur accipere, servilis infirmitatis est; ita inutiliter signa interpretari, male vagantis erroris est.—Id. de Doct. Christ. Lib. III. cap. 9. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 11. col. 4.]

[3 In principio cavendum est, ne figuratam locutionem ad literam accipias. Et ad hoc enim pertinet quod ait apostolus, Litera occidit, spiritus autem vivificat. Cum enim figurate dictum sic accipitur tanquam proprie dictum sit, carnaliter sapitur. Neque ulla mors animæ congruentius appellatur, quam cum id etiam quod in ea bestias antecellit, hoc est, intelligentia, carni subjicitur sequendo literam. Qui enim sequitur literam, translata verba sicut propria tenet; neque illud quod proprio verbo significatur refert ad aliam significationem: sed si sabbatum audierit, verbi gratia, non intelligit nisi

words of Augustine we do gather, that they reverence the sacraments by spiritual liberty, which neither stick to the letter, neither worship and reverence the visible things and elements, as water, bread, and wine, instead of the things signified; but being rather admonished and stirred up by the signs, they are lifted up in their minds to behold the things signified.

How a figurative speech is to be received and acknowledged.

This same Augustine, in the same book, chapter 15, teaching when and after what manner a trope or figure is to be received or acknowledged, saith: "In figurative speeches this manner of rule shall be kept; that so long you view with diligent consideration what is read, until the interpretation come unto the rule of charity. For if it be not repugnant to charity, think not that it is a figurative speech[1]." And yet more plainly he addeth in the 16. chapter following: "If it be an imperative speech, either forbidding any heinous offence or wicked deed, or commanding any profitable or good deed, it is no figurative speech: but if it command any wicked deed, or forbid any deed of charity, then it is figurative. 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.' He seemeth to command some horrible offence or wicked deed; therefore it is a figurative speech, commanding us to communicate with the passion of Christ, and comfortably and profitably to lay up in our remembrance, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us. The scripture saith, 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him.' Here no man doubteth but he commandeth well-doing; but that which followeth, 'for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head,' a man would think that a wicked and evil deed were commanded: therefore doubt not but that it is figuratively

unum diem de septem, qui continuo volumine repetuntur; et cum audierit sacrificium, non excedit cogitatione illud quod fieri de victimis pecorum terrenisque fructibus solet. 'Ea demum est miserabilis animæ servitus, signa pro rebus accipere, et supra creaturam corpoream oculum mentis ad hauriendum æternum lumen levare non posse.—August. ibid. cap. 5. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 11. col. 2.]

[1 Servabitur in locutionibus figuratis regula hujusmodi; ut tam diu versetur diligenti consideratione quod legitur, donec ad regnum caritatis interpretatio perducatur. Si autem hoc jam proprie sonat, nulla putetur figurata locutio.—Id., ibid. cap. 15. fol. 12. col. 2.]

spoken[2]." And so forth. All these things do convince their error, which interpret sacramental speeches as proper, and reject all figures and tropes, especially in the institution of the supper.

The words of our Saviour in the vi. of John do make much for the interpretation of the words of the supper.

Nevertheless, I am not ignorant what they set against this last testimony of St Augustine; that the words of our Saviour, in the sixth of John, do make nothing to the interpretation of the ministration of the sacrament; and therefore that the place of St Augustine doth nothing agree to our purpose. But it is manifest, that in the same book St Augustine disputeth of signs and of the sacramental speeches. And that is manifest also by many other places out of St Augustine, that he often alleged these words of our Saviour, out of the sixth of John, to expound the celebration of the supper. But why do they nothing pertain to the celebration of the supper? Doth he speak of one body in the supper, and of another in the sixth chapter of John? Shall we believe that the Lord had and hath two bodies? Our Lord Jesus hath but one body, the which as it profiteth nothing being eaten corporally according to St John, vi. chapter; even so that body, being corporally eaten, doth nothing avail according to St Matthew, xxvi. chapter. But this matter we have elsewhere handled[3].

To argue from the sacraments of the old Testament to ours of the new.

And of as little force is this unsavoury objection of theirs; which is, that the consequence is false when we argue thus: Circumcision is the covenant, the lamb is the passover, sacrifices are sins and sanctifications or cleansings, are sacramental speeches, mystical and figurative; therefore this also, "This is my body," is a mystical and figurative speech. For since

[2 Si præceptiva locutio est, aut flagitium aut facinus vetans, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam jubens, non est figurata: si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur jubere, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare, figurata est. Nisi manducaveritis, inquit, carnem Filii hominis et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere; figura est ergo, præcipiens passioni Domini esse communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit. Ait scriptura, Si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum.... Hic nullo dubitante beneficentiam præcipit. Sed quod sequitur, Hoc enim faciens carbones ignis congeres super caput ejus, malevolentiæ facinus putes juberi; ne igitur dubitaveris figurate dictum.—August. ibid. cap. 16. fol. 12. col. 1.]

[3 De Orig. Error. circa Cœn. et Miss. Pap. cap. 10.]

in sacraments there is the like reason, why may we not frame arguments from the one to the other? And that sacraments have the like reason, it is received of all them which acknowledge the truth aright; and it shall be proved hereafter to the full. But if it be not lawful to reason from the sacraments of the old Testament, and by them after a certain comparison to interpret ours, and by ours to make them plain; truly then the apostle did not well, who by a false consequent by comparison we read to have argued from their sacraments unto ours, in the 1 Corinth. x. and to the Coloss. ii. chapter. But now we return to our purpose.

We may use sacramental speeches.

That we may yet at length make an end of this place; they are sacramental and figurative speeches, when we read and hear that the bread is the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ; and that they do eat and drink the body and blood of Christ, which eat and drink the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord; also that they are purged from their sins and regenerated into a new life, which are baptized in the name of Christ; and that baptism is the washing away of[1] our sins. And after this manner speaketh the scripture, and this form of speech kept the old doctors of the church; whom for so doing none that is wise doth dispraise: neither can one discommend any man which speaketh after this manner, so that he also abide in the same sincerity wherein it is manifest that those holy men of God did walk. For as they did willingly and simply use those speeches, so did they not roughly and rigorously strain the letter and speeches: they did interpret them in such sort, that none was so unskilful but that he might understand, that the signs were not the thing itself which they signified, but that the signs do take the names of the things; therefore they used words significatively, sacramentally, mystically, and figuratively.

Sacramental speeches are to be expounded.

Now whereas some will not have the sacramental speeches to be expounded, as though, being not expounded, they were of more authority, majesty, and worthiness; this draweth after it a sore danger, and giveth a most grievous offence, and is repugnant to the rule of the apostles, to sound reason, and to the custom of them of old. For when these kind of speeches are set forth and uttered to the simple sort, being not expounded; to wit, "That bread is the body of Christ; When

[1] So also ed. 1584: but 1577, all: omnium, Lat.]

thou drinkest the wine of the Lord, thou drinkest the very blood of the Lord; Baptism saveth us," &c.; what other thing, I pray you, is set forth, than a snare of carnal bondage, and a most dangerous offence of idolatry? Many words need not in this matter, since experience doth abundantly enough set forth in this place what hath been done, and what at this day is done[2].

The rule of the apostles commandeth the divine oracles to be expounded in the church, and to lay forth all the mysteries of the scripture, that they may be soundly understanded, as we may see 1 Corinth. xiv. And reason itself teacheth us, that the mind of man is little or nothing moved, if the things themselves be not understood. What fruit therefore shall the simple sort receive by the sacraments, unto whom the meaning of the sacraments hath not been opened? Better therefore did the ancient fathers, not only in expounding all the mysteries of the kingdom of God, and especially the sacraments; but in teaching also that they ought to be expounded: which although it be made plain enough by those things which go before, yet will I add two examples out of St Augustine touching this matter. He, cap. 6. *De Catechisandis Rudibus*, saith: "Let the new christian man be taught concerning the sacraments, that they be visible signs of heavenly things, and that invisible things are to be honoured in them; neither that the sign, after it is blessed and sanctified, is so to be taken as it is daily used. It must also be told him what that speech signifies which he heareth; and what thing is given in the sign, whereof it is a representation. Moreover, upon this occasion he must be taught, that if he hear any thing even in the scriptures that soundeth carnally, although he understand it not; yet to believe that some spiritual thing is signified thereby, which belongeth to holy manners and to the life to come[3]." And as followeth. The same Augustine, Lib. iv. *De Doctr. Chri.* cap. 8. doth utterly forbid the doctors and

[2 Rather, Experience, (that is,) what has happened, and what is daily happening, abundantly illustrate this point.]

[3 De sacramento quod accepit, cum ei bene commendatum fuerit, signacula quidem rerum divinarum esse visibilia, sed res ipsas invisibiles in eis honorari; nec sic habendam esse illam speciem benedictione sanctificatam quemadmodum habetur in usu quolibet: dicendum etiam quid significet et sermo ille quem audivit, quid in illo condatur,

teachers of the church, not to think that they ought therefore to speak obscurely of the mysteries of the scripture, because they see that these things are delivered somewhat intricately and darkly in the scripture; but he rather requireth light and plainness in them. If any man desire to hear his words, they are these: "If we fetch examples of the manner of speaking out of the writings of our canonical authors and doctors which are easily understood, yet we ought not to think that we should follow them also in those speeches wherein they have used a profitable and wholesome obscurity, to exercise, and as it were to quicken, the readers' minds, and to take away loathsomeness, and to stir up the studies of the willing learners, and also to make the minds of the wicked zealous, that they may either be turned to godliness, or else excluded from the mysteries. For so they spake, that those which came after them, and could understand and rightly expound them, might reveal a second grace unlike to the former, but yet ensuing in the church of God. Therefore they which expound them ought not so to speak, as if they by the like authority would offer themselves to be expounded: but in all their kind of speeches, first let them labour chiefly and first of all to be understanded, with as plain kind of speaking as they can, that he be very dull and slow witted which doth not understand; or at the least let not the fault of the hardness and subtilty of the things, which we go about to open and declare, be in our own speech, whereby that which we speak should be somewhat longer in understanding[1]." Thus far Augustine. And let this that I have hitherto said of sacramental speeches be sufficient. The Lord be praised. Amen.

(Bullinger read, condonatur) cujus illa res similitudinem gerit. Deinde monendus est ex hac occasione, ut si quid etiam in scripturis audiat, quod carnaliter sonet, etiamsi non intelligit, credat tamen spiritale aliquid significari, quod ad sanctos mores futuramque vitam pertineat.—August. de Catech. Rud. cap. 26. Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 208. col. 3.]

[1 Quapropter et eloquentes quidem non solum sapientes canonicos nostros auctores doctoresque fateamur tali eloquentia usos, quali personis ejusmodi congruebat. Sed nos etsi de literis eorum, quæ sine difficultate intelliguntur, nonnulla sumimus elocutionis exempla, nequaquam tamen putare debemus imitandos eos nobis esse in iis quæ ad exercendas et elimandas quodammodo mentes legentium, et

THAT WE MUST REASON REVERENTLY OF SACRAMENTS; THAT THEY DO NOT GIVE GRACE[2], NEITHER HAVE GRACE INCLUDED IN THEM. AGAIN, WHAT THE VIRTUE AND LAWFUL END AND USE OF SACRAMENTS IS. THAT THEY PROFIT NOT WITHOUT FAITH; THAT THEY ARE NOT[3] SUPERFLUOUS TO THE FAITHFUL; AND THAT THEY DO NOT DEPEND UPON THE WORTHINESS OR UNWORTHINESS OF THE MINISTER.

THE SEVENTH SERMON.

A brief rehearsal of such points as he entreated upon in his former sermon.

YESTERDAY, dearly beloved, I told you what a sacrament was; who was the author of them, and for what cause[4] sacraments were instituted; of what things they consist, that is to say, of the sign and the thing signified. I told you also what a sign is and what the thing signified, and by what names they are termed; how they are consecrated; that the sign is not mingled with the thing signified, but that both of them remain in their own nature and property of nature; that the sign is not taken away or miraculously turned, neither that the thing signified is so joined with the same[5], that whosoever is partaker of the one, is partaker also of the other. To be short, I declared how and after what manner the sign and the thing signified are coupled together, to make a full,

ad rumpenda fastidia atque acuenda studia discere volentium, zelandos quoque sive ut ad pietatem convertantur, sive ut a mysteriis secludantur, animos impiorum, utili ac salubri obscuritate dixerunt. Sic quippe illi locuti sunt ut posteriores, qui eos recte intelligerent et exponerent, alteram gratiam, disparem quidem veruntamen subsequentem, in Dei ecclesia reperirent. Non ergo expositores eorum ita loqui debent, tanquam se ipsi exponendos simili auctoritate proponant: sed in omnibus sermonibus suis primitus ac maxime ut intelligantur elaborent ea quantum possunt perspicuitate dicendi, ut aut multum tardus sit qui non intelligat, aut in rerum quas explicare atque ostendere volumus difficultate ac subtilitate, non in nostra locutione, sit causa quo minus tardiusve quod dicimus possit intelligi. —Id. de Doct. Christ. Lib. IV. cap. 8. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 16. col. 3.]

[2 per se, Lat. omitted: of themselves.]

[3 So ed. 1577: but edd. 1584 and 1587 omit *not:* non esse supervacanea, Lat.]

[4 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, causes: quas ob causas, Lat.]

[5 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, with the sign; cum hoc, Lat.]

perfect, and lawful sacrament; where also I entreated of sacramental speeches. Now therefore it remaineth, that I also consequently speak of the nature, virtue, and efficacy of sacraments, and of those things which are joined and of affinity with them: for so the order which I used in my division requireth.

We must use reverence in disputing of sacraments.

Touching the virtue and nature of sacraments, that is to say, what they work in man, writers have disputed diversely and plentifully. It seemeth unto me, that reverence must be used in this disputation, and that heed must be taken that I do not incline either to the right hand or to the left; that is, that I do not attribute too much unto them, to the derogating of the doctrine of[1] the evangelists and apostles; neither that I should diminish or take from them, to mine own damnation, that which the scripture, the word of God, doth attribute unto them. But we shall plentifully give great praise and glory to the ordinances of God, if we shall say that of them which the Spirit of God hath set down in the holy scriptures: to be willing to attribute more unto them, is not only an error in man, but a great fault which bringeth death and horrible destruction. This is declared unto us in the holy scripture by examples most worthy of remembrance. The ark of the covenant, given by Moses to the people of Israel, was a witness of God's presence among the people, and of the league and friendship between God and man. For in these words God made a league with the people: "I will make my dwelling-place among them, and walk among them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people." Of the ordinance and agreement the ark itself was called, "The Lord God of hosts, sitting between the cherubims;" as we may see, 2 Sam. vi. and in the book of the Chronicles. It was also called, "The ark of the covenant of the Lord." For[2] when the prophets of God did attribute these things to the sacrament of God, they both thought and spake plentifully and reverently enough of the sacrament of God; but when the ignorant and malicious priests, and the people corrupted by them, did attribute far greater things to the ark or sacrament of God, what, I pray you, came to pass? Give ear first what they attributed to the ark: "The elders of Israel said, Wherefore hath the Lord

The ark of the covenant.

[Lev. xxvi. 2.]

To attribute too much to sacraments.

[1 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, from.]

[2 Autem, Lat.: But.]

cast us down this day before the Philistines? Let us fetch the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of Silo unto us, that, when it cometh among us, it may save us out of the hands of our enemies." You have heard what they attributed to the ark. Now give ear what they did. "So the people sent into Silo, and brought from thence the ark of the covenant of the Lord of hosts, which sitteth between the cherubims. And it came to pass, that when the ark of the covenant of the Lord came into the host, all Israel shouted out a mighty shout, so that the earth rang again. And when the Philistines heard the noise of the shout, they said, What meaneth the sound of this mighty shout? And they understood that the ark of the Lord was come into the host. And the Philistines cried, Woe be unto us! God is come into the host. Who shall deliver us out of the hands of those mighty gods, that smote the Egyptians?" But hearken now what happened; and how God did declare that the ark was not God, as it was called and counted of the unskilful in holy things; and how he punished the sins of the people[3], because they attributed too much to the sacrament. It followeth therefore: "And the Philistines fought; and Israel was smitten down, and fled every man into his tent; and there was an exceeding great slaughter; for there were overthrown of Israel thirty thousand footmen; beside that, also, the ark of God was taken, and the two sons of Heli were slain." All these things are read in the first book of Sam. iv. cap. Again, when the sacrament of God was unreverently handled of the swinish Philistines, they were smitten with a loathsome and deadly plague. They did boast that their gods and the religion of the Philistines had overcome the God and the religion of the Israelites; but the gods of the Philistines fell down and are broken in pieces, and their heathenish religion is confounded. What, and did not the Israelites perish with a more grievous plague than before, when they lightly handled, and, contrary to the law of God, Numb. iv., looked into the sacrament brought back by the Philistines into Bethsames? "For the Lord smote fifty thousand threescore and ten men." 1 Sam. vi. When Moses did negligently defer the circumcising of his children, he fell into great danger. The Sichimites, for receiving circumcision rashly, were destroyed[4]. And Simeon and Levi, for profaning

It is a great sin not to attribute so much unto the sacraments as the scripture doth attribute.

[3 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, his people: populi sui, Lat.]

[4 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, are destroyed: delentur, Lat.]

the sacrament, are cursed of their father. Genesis xlix. To this that agreeth which the apostle saith of them which celebrate the supper unworthily: "For this cause many are weak and sick among you, and many sleep." Hitherto also belongeth the example of Oza, a man not altogether evil, which touched this same sacrament, that was not lawful for him to do. Wherefore the Lord stroke him with a sudden death; and that not privately in the tabernacle, but in the sight of all the people. Of the which deed of God David also speaking in the congregation and church of the Israelites, saith to the Levites: "The Lord hath chosen the Levites to bear the ark of the Lord" (and not that kine shall draw it in a new cart); "therefore see that ye be holy, that ye may bring in the ark of the Lord God of Israel unto the place which I have prepared for it. For because ye did not this at the first, our Lord God hath made a rent among us; for that we sought him not as the fashion ought to be." And it followeth immediately: "The priests and Levites sanctified themselves to fetch the ark of the Lord God of Israel. And the children and Levites[1] bare the ark of God upon their shoulders with staves, as Moses commanded, according to the word of the Lord." All these things are to be seen in the first of the Chronicles, cap. xv. Whereby we gather, that the Lord will none of our good meanings or intents, and pompous celebrations in celebrating the sacraments: but that he only requireth, that we should so judge and speak of the sacraments, as he judgeth and speaketh by his word; and that we should so use and celebrate them, as he himself hath instituted and celebrated them. Therefore he sufficiently setteth forth the dignity of sacraments, who attributeth that unto them which God himself in the holy scriptures vouchsafeth to give them.

[1 Cor. xi. 30.]

Numb. iv.

Let us therefore first of all search out of what dignity[2] sacraments have been for the most part in our time, that thereby we may the better understand what is to be attributed, and what is not to be attributed, unto them. The common sort of priests and monks have taught, that the sacraments of the new law are not only signs of grace, but together also causes of grace, that is, which have power to give grace. For they say, that they are as instruments, pipes, and certain con-

It is taught that sacraments give grace.

[1 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, of the Levites: filii Levitarum, Lat.]
[2 quid tributum sit, Lat.]

duits of Christ's passion, by which the grace of Christ is conveyed and poured into us; but that the signs of the old Testament, given to the fathers, were signs only, and not causes of grace also; which have force to signify, but not to give grace.

Augustine taught not that sacraments give grace.

They seem truly to have sucked that error out of St Augustine's words wrongfully understood. For he writeth upon the 73. Psalm thus: "The sacraments of the new law are more wholesome and happy than they of the old law, because they promise, these give[3]." But St Augustine meant to say no other thing, than that which in another place he speaketh after this manner: "The sacraments of the old law did foreshew that Christ should come, but ours do shew that he is come[4]." For also against Faustus, Lib. XIX. cap. 14, he calleth the sacraments of the old law "promises of things to be performed; but our sacraments, tokens of things that are already performed[5]." Wherefore upon the 73. Psalm he saith: "The sacraments of the old law are given to signify the very thing; but ours do witness that it is given, and signifieth that it is present[6]." I confess that he saith more than once, that our sacraments are more comfortable and effectual[7]; but he said that by no other reason, than for that, the Messias being already revealed and given unto us in the new Testament, our sacraments[8] are more perfit, more lightsome, and more beautiful: for Christ hath brought all signs to an end; wherefore ours have a more full signification, and after a sort are the more lively. But if Augustine had been alto-

[3 Sacramenta novi testamenti dant salutem, sacramenta veteris testamenti promiserunt salvatorem.... Mutata sunt sacramenta; facta sunt faciliora, pauciora, salubriora, feliciora.—August. Opp. Tom. VIII. fol. 167. col. 4. Par. 1531.]

[4 Lex enim et prophetæ usque ad Joannem Baptistam sacramenta habebant prænunciantia rem futuram; nostri vero temporis sacramenta venisse contestantur quod illa venturum essa prædicabant.—August. contra Lit. Petil. Lib. II. cap. 37. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 24. col. 2.]

[5 — illæ fuerint promissiones rerum complendarum, hæc sunt indicia completarum.—Id. con. Faust. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 72. col. 2.]

[6 The Translator has here mistaken Bullinger's meaning. The correct rendering is: "Wherefore on Psal. 73. Augustine uses *give* for *testify that it is given*, or *signify that it is exhibited*." See quotation above.]

[7 See above, note 4; and August. con. Faust. Lib. XIX. cap. 23. Alia (sacramenta) sunt instituta virtute majora, utilitate meliora, &c.]

[8 omnia nostra, Lat.: sacraments, not in Lat.]

gether of that opinion which these men do favour and follow, would not godliness itself persuade us to forsake the authority of men, and cleave to the word of truth?

Of the likeness and difference of the sacraments of the old and new Testament.

Let us see therefore what may be gathered out of the word of truth, that is, out of the canonical scriptures, touching the likeness and difference of the sacraments of the old and new Testament. This we hold for a certainty out of the scriptures, that there is but one everlasting and unchangeable God and Lord of either Church; that there is but one faith in him through Christ of either church; that there is but one way laid down in either church to attain to the promises of salvation: to be short, that there is but one church of the only living God, gathered together out of either people, both of the Jews and Gentiles[1]. I think there needeth no large confirmation of these things out of the scripture, because in the eighth decade and third sermon I have handled them at the full. Now that I have fortified and confirmed these things before by the writings of the apostles, thus I conclude, not of mine own brain, but by the authority of God: They which always have one everlasting and unchangeable God, one way of salvation set forth for all in Christ from the beginning, one faith, one church, one baptism, the same spiritual meat and drink; they cannot choose but have the selfsame sacraments, as touching their substance. But the Jews and Christians have one God, one faith, one way of salvation, which is by Christ; to be short, one church: therefore have they also the selfsame sacraments, saving that ours are given under other signs, and for that through the revelation of the Sun of righteousness, I mean Christ, are made more lightsome and manifest. I say further, that the scripture witnesseth that the sacraments of the old Testament and ours are of the same force, insomuch that Paul calleth them circumcised which are baptized, and them baptized which are circumcised. And he also teacheth, that our fathers did eat that spiritual meat which we eat, and drank of that spiritual drink, that is, the rock. But anon he addeth: "And that rock was Christ." The words of the apostle are well known, and are read in the 1 Cor. x. The same apostle, in the second chapter to the Colossians, saith: "In Christ ye are complete (or made perfit); in whom also ye are circumcised with circumcision made

[1] both of — Gentiles, not in Lat.]

without hands, by putting off the body of the flesh, subject to sin[2], by the circumcision of Christ; buried with him in baptism," &c. What, I pray you, can be spoken more plainly? "Circumcision made without hands," is the circumcision of Christians, which is baptism. But in the former place of Paul to the Corinthians we must mark (as elsewhere I put you in mind[3],) that to be baptized into Moses is not the same that it is to be baptized into Christ. For to be baptized into Moses is all one as if he had said, to be baptized by Moses, or through the ministry of Moses. For it is manifest that Moses brought the people to God, which were only committed to his charge[4].

Augustine teacheth that the sacraments of the Jews and ours are all one.

In many places in Aurel. August. ye shall read the like, howsoever our adversaries do father upon Augustine this difference between the sacraments of the old law and ours, of their own bringing in. For he, Lib. II. *Cont. Literas Petil.* cap. 27, saith: "The sacraments of the Jews were in outward tokens diverse from ours, but in the things signified they were equal and all one[5]." Also *Tract. in Joan.* 26. upon this place, "He is the bread which came down from heaven," he saith: "Manna did signify this bread; the altar of God signified this bread. Those were sacraments. In signs they are diverse, but in the thing signified equal[6]." The like words thou mayest read, Lib. XIX. *Contra Faustum Manicheum*, cap. 13, 16, 17.[7] And again, *Tract. in Joan.* 45: "Before the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, when he came basely in the flesh, there were just and righteous men, who did so believe in him then that was to come, as we do believe in him now that is come. The times were changed, but so was not faith[8];" and so

[2 peccatorum, Lat.: of the sins, as in Auth. Ver.]

[3 See Vol. II. page 293.]

[4 Rather, brought the people committed to his charge to God only: unice Deo adduxisse, Lat.]

[5 The chapter is 37; and Bullinger has given (in a sentence formed on the next quotation) the sentiment, and not the express words, of Augustine in the place.]

[6 Hic est panis qui de cœlo descendit. Hunc panem significavit manna: hunc panem significavit altare Dei. Sacramenta illa fuerunt. In signis diversa sunt, sed in re quæ significatur paria sunt.—August. in Evan. Joan. tract. XXVI. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 47. col. 2.]

[7 Id. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 72, &c.]

[8 Ante adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quo humilis venit in carne, præcesserunt justi, sic in eum credentes venturum quomodo

forth. And anon: "In divers signs is all one faith; so in divers signs as in divers words, because words change their sounds by times, and truly words are nothing but signs. For in that they signify, they are words: take away the signification from the word, and it is a vain noise. Therefore all words are significations. Did not these that ministered those signs in the old law, believe those things which we now believe were prophesied before and[1] by them? No doubt they did believe them; but they believed they should come, and we that they are come[2]." Also upon the 77. Psalm: "The same meat and drink (saith he) had they in the[3] sacraments, which we have in ours; but in signification the same, not in likeness. For the selfsame Christ was figured to them in the rock, but manifested to us in the flesh. But with them all God was not well pleased. All verily did eat one spiritual meat, and drank one spiritual drink; that is, which signified some spiritual thing: but in all of them God had no delight. And whereas the sacraments were common to all, yet grace was not common to all, which is the pith of the sacraments. As even now at this day, faith is revealed which then was hid; the fountain of regeneration is common to all, which are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; but the inward grace, whereof they are sacraments, whereby the members of Christ with their head are born anew, is not common to all[4]." Thus far Augustine; who

nos credimus in eum qui venit. Tempora variata sunt, non fides.—Id. in Evang. Joan. Tract. XLV. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 68. col. 4.]

[1 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, *beforehand.*]

[2 In signis diversis eadem fides, sic in signis diversis quomodo in verbis diversis; quia verba sonos mutant per tempora, et utique nihil aliud sunt verba quam signa. Significando enim verba sunt; tolle significationem verbo, strepitus inanis est. Significata sunt ergo omnia. Nunquid non eadem credebant per quos hæc signa ministrabantur, per quos eadem quæ credimus prophetata prænunciabantur? Utique credebant; sed illa ventura esse, nos autem venisse.—Id. ibid. fol. 68. col. 4.]

[3 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, their.]

[4 Idem in mysterio cibus et potus illorum qui noster, sed significatione idem, non specie: quia idem ipse Christus illis in petra figuratus, nobis in carne manifestatus est. Sed non, inquit, in omnibus illis beneplacitum est Deo. Omnes quidem eundem cibum spiritalem manducaverunt, et eundem potum spiritalem biberunt, id est, spiritale aliquid significantem: sed non in omnibus illis bene-

teacheth, that their signs or sacraments are not unequal or unlike, which have the same faith and religion; but that all the difference that is resteth in the diversity of the time; otherwise they differ not.

Now that I have made an end of the similitude and difference of the sacraments of the old and new Testament, and that by occasion of a received opinion that the sacraments of the new law do confer or give grace of themselves; let us also consider what manner of thing the same is.

Grace, what it is.

And first; touching the word "grace," I will give you these few things to note. Grace is the favour and good-will of God, wherewith God the Father embraceth us for Christ's sake, purifieth, justifieth, and endueth us with his good[5] gifts, and saveth us. For the writings of the apostles do plainly call that (grace), whereby we are saved, and justified, or made righteous[6], by faith in Jesus Christ. Of this grace it is written: "I make not the grace of God of no effect; for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ died in vain." [Gal. ii. 21.] Of this grace it is written: "Christ unto us[7] is become unprofitable: as many as are justified by the law are fallen from grace." [Gal. v. 4.] Of this grace it is written: "If it come of grace, then is it not of works; for else grace now is no more grace." [Rom. xi 6.] What, is not the Son of God himself called "the grace and gift of God?" John iv. and Titus ii. cap.

Now to confer grace[8], what is it else than to give, or frankly and freely to bestow something on a man which he had not before? Therefore, if the sacraments do give grace to the receivers of them, then truly they give those things which they signify to them which had them not, I mean, Christ with all his gifts; that is to say, they make them

placitum est Deo....Et cum essent omnia communia sacramenta, non communis erat omnibus gratia, quæ sacramentorum virtus est. Sicut et nunc jam revelata fides, quæ tunc velabatur, omnibus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti baptizatis commune est lavacrum regenerationis, sed ipsa gratia cujus ipsa sunt sacramenta, qua membra corporis Christi cum suo capite regenerata sunt, non communis est omnibus.—Id. in Psal. LXXVII. Enarr. Opp. Tom. VIII. fol. 177. col. 4.]

[5 good, not in Lat.]

[6 or made righteous, the Translator's addition.]

[7 vobis, Lat.]

[8 grace, not in Lat.]

pleasant and acceptable unto God, they justify and save, yea, and that of themselves; insomuch as they are said to have received virtue to sanctify from the passion of Christ, and not to signify only or to help, to commend or to further[1]. Yea, and they also attribute the receiving of grace to our work, whereby we receive the sacrament. But how contrary this doctrine is to the truth of his[2] holy prophets and apostles, I will now declare.

Sacraments do not confer or give grace.

It was an old error among the Jews, that sacraments did justify. Hereof cometh it, that the holy prophets of God, reasoning and rebuking the people of God committed to their charge, yet savouring of false opinions, cried, that their labour which they bestowed upon their ceremonies and sacrifices was in vain; and that God is delighted with faithful obedience, with faith, I say, charity, innocency, and also with true godliness. Among whom Jeremy saith: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Heap up your burnt-offerings with your sacrifices, and eat the flesh: for when I brought your fathers out of Egypt, I spake no word unto them of burnt-offerings and sacrifices; but this I commanded them, saying, Hearken and obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; so that ye walk in all the ways which I have commanded you, that ye may prosper." The like place is in Esay, the first chapter. The Lord hath not despised, neither have his holy prophets contemned, all sacrifices in general, since he himself instituted them by Moses; but they sought to suppress and beat down that false opinion and vain confidence which they had in sacrifices. It is a vain confidence and a false opinion, to believe and think that sacrifices of themselves, and for our works' sake, do make us acceptable unto God; for faith maketh us acceptable unto God by the Messias. And the Lord did not institute sacraments or sacrifices, that, being offered, they might give grace, or justify us; but to be witnesses of the grace of God; and that by them his people might be kept, and drawn[3] in due order, from idols and heathenish worshippings, and led to Christ the high priest and only sacrifice (or oblation) for the whole world. For they were certain schoolings or exercises,

Jer. vii.

Isai. i.

[1 gratiam, Lat. omitted: grace.]

[2 his, not in ed. 1584: but 1577, the holy.]

[3 Rather, might be kept in due order, or drawn, &c.]

as Paul proveth, saying: "The law was our schoolmaster unto Christ, that we should be justified through faith; but after that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster." Therefore the sacrifices of the old law[4] did not give grace to them that sacrificed, neither wrought they their justification; but were tokens and testimonies, that God doth sanctify and justify by and through the sacrifice appointed before all worlds[5], the Messias, I mean; to faith in whom they did, as it were a certain schoolmaster by guiding us, bring us.

The error in the apostolic church.

And truly, when the apostles preached the pure and sound doctrine of the gospel, that by the only grace of God in Christ the faithful are saved, this ancient error of their elders had taken such deep root in the minds of the Jews, that even they which had received Christ stood nevertheless in contention, that Christ was not able fully to sanctify and justify without the help of the Jewish sacrifices. Against whom the apostles, disputing with great gravity and invincible power of the Spirit, did plainly prove that a Christian, without any observations of the ceremonial law, or help of any works, even by the only mere and free[6] grace and mercy of God in Christ[7], is sanctified, purified, justified, and saved: which undoubtedly is the helm (as commonly is said) and stern of the evangelists' and apostles' doctrine; which whoso denieth, he hath no part doubtless in the inheritance of Christ and his gospel. Neither is it obscure or doubtful, which even now I have set forth in these few words; for who is ignorant of that memorial[8] dissension between the chief apostles of Christ, Paul and Barnabas, kindled against those which taught, "Except the Christians were circumcised after the manner of Moses, they could in no wise be saved?" Against whom Peter maketh this conclusion: "That our hearts are purified by faith; and that we which believe[9] shall be saved by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Acts xv.

That grace is given freely and received by faith.

True it is, that the adversaries would bring back again that which the apostles abrogated and took away; but in the

[4 veterum, Lat.: of the ancients.]
[5 omnibus seculis destinatam, Lat.]
[6 sive gratuita, Lat. omitted: or gratuitous.]
[7 Rather, grace of God, or mercy through Christ, &c.]
[8 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, memorable: memorabilem, Lat.]
[9 Rather, they which believe.]

meanwhile this is also undoubtedly true, that the apostles with no other forcible engine more strongly battered (as it were) and beat down flat to the ground their adversaries' bulwark in defence of sacraments that purify, than with this: "That we which believe[1] shall be saved by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ." And whereas in every place almost they add, "Not by the law, not by ceremonies or other[2] ritual observations;" do we think that they will admit sacraments to the partaking of such power and virtue, seeing they be comprehended under rites and ceremonies, and so accounted[3]? Christian faith doth attribute the grace of God, remission of sins, sanctification and justification, fully and wholly to the free mercy of God, and to the merit of Christ's passion; yea, in such sort doth christian faith attribute these spiritual benefits unto it[4], that beside it nothing at all is admitted to take part with it. Therefore whereas Lombard saith, "That sacraments have received power to confer or give grace by the merit of the passion of Christ[5];" it is of his own forging. For as Christ giveth not his glory to any, either saint or mortal man, much less to a creature without life; even so he that believeth to be fully justified by the death and resurrection of the Lord, seeketh no further grace and[6] righteousness in any other thing than in Christ only, upon whom he stayeth, whom also by faith he feeleth in his heart or mind already to exercise his force by the Holy Ghost. For hereunto pertain those things[7] in the gospel: "Go in peace, thy faith hath saved thee:" and also: "He which drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but whosoever shall drink of that water which I shall give him, shall never thirst, &c." To this pertaineth the saying of Paul also: "Therefore being justified by faith, we are at peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ: by whom also we had an entrance by faith unto this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God."

Luke vii. John iv.

Rom. v.

Their fantasy, which feign a general and special faith, is here confuted.

I am not ignorant of the crafty sleights of some, who

[1 Rather, they which believe.] [2 ullis, Lat.: any.]

[3 and so accounted, the Translator's addition.]

[4 Rather, and so attributes, that, &c.]

[5 Ex ipsius (Christi) morte et passione virtutem sortita sunt (sacramenta.) Lombard. Sentent. Lib. III. dist. 2. B. fol. 307. Par. 1575.]

[6 aut, Lat.: or.] [7 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, sayings.]

imagine there is a certain general and also a special faith. The general faith they call that whereby we believe, that we are truly justified by the death and resurrection of Christ: but that they call a special faith, whereby we believe that by the sacraments and by our own works the gifts of God are applied particularly to every one of us one by one. But to what purpose was it, being in a land where they might be fed with manna, to look back to the pottage-pots and (unsavoury) leeks of Egypt? What, I pray you, have Christians to do with the distinctions of subtle sophisters? Or how will they prove this distinction of theirs unto us? Verily, there is but one faith; and the same is no other in the use of the sacraments than it is without the use of them. Without the use of them we believe that we are sanctified by the death and resurrection of Christ. In baptism and the Lord's supper we practise no other faith, than whereby we believe that we are purged from our sins by the grace and mercy of Christ; and that by his body given for us, and his blood shed for us, we are redeemed from death, and become heirs of eternal life. Not the sacraments, but faith through the Holy Ghost, applieth these things unto us: which thing all the writings of the apostles do witness, but[8] such feigned glosses do obscure and darken. To be short; there is one God and Saviour of all, one salvation, one redemption and purging, one faith whereby we receive salvation offered unto us of God in Christ through the Holy Ghost. The same is declared or preached unto us in the word by the minister, and is represented and sealed by the sacraments.

And now, who knoweth not that Paul, the apostle, in all his writings only laboureth to prove, that those that believe are justified by faith in the Lord Jesus, and not by any works? Again, who is ignorant, that the receiving and celebration of sacraments are also counted among our works? Whereunto I will add this, that sacraments give not that which they have not themselves: but they have not grace, and righteousness, and heavenly gifts; therefore they do not give them.

Whether the grace of God be contained in the sacraments.

But hence springeth up another disputation for us to handle: Whether the grace of God and a certain heavenly power be put in or included in the sacraments, and as it

[8] Rather, which, i.e. which writings of the apostles.]

were contained in them, so that from them it might be conveyed into the receivers? The whole rabble of priests and monks, as well in word as in deed, have bewrayed themselves, that they think that in the bare signs there is heavenly grace included, yea, and that God himself is comprehended in them. From no other fountain sprang their careful disputations concerning that the mouse eateth, when it eateth the sacrament of the body of Christ. Pope Innocent, *Libro quarto, De Sacramento altaris, Capite undecimo,* saith: "Miraculously doth the substance of bread return again; not that bread which was turned into flesh; but it cometh to pass, that instead of it other bread is miraculously created, which bread is eaten[1]," &c. Behold, here is certain witty and miraculous kind of divinity. I pass over of purpose many other which are of this kind.

And hereunto[2], that by crossings and certain secret words, gestures, and breathings, they consecrate the water of baptism; all which things they beautify with the name of blessing. And among other things they sing thus: "God, by the secret mixture of his light, make fruitful this water prepared to regenerate men withal; that, being sanctified and born again of the immaculate womb of the heavenly fountain, it may come forth a new creature. Let this holy and innocent creature be free from all the assaults of the adversary. Let him not entrap it in his snare. Let it become a living fountain, a regenerating water, a purifying river; that all that are dipped in this wholesome laver, the Holy Ghost working in them, may attain to the excellency of perfect purification. Wherefore, O thou creature of water, I bless (or conjure) thee, by the living God, by the true God, by the holy God, by the God which in the beginning separated thee by his word from the dry land," &c. Again breathing thrice on the water, he

These are sung in the Easter holy days at their consecration of baptism[3].

[1 — miraculose revertitur (substantia panis), cum ipsum ibi desinit esse; non quod illa panis substantia revertatur, quæ transivit in carnem; sed quod ejus loco alius miraculose creatur, quamvis hujus accidentia sine subjecto possunt sic corrodi, sicut edi.—Innocent. Pap. III. Myster. Missæ. Lib. IV. cap. 11. The title of the chapter is, Quid etiam a mure comedatur, cum sacramentum corroditur. Opp. Tom. I. p. 380. col. 1575.]

[2 An error in all the editions for, Add hereunto. Adde his, Lat.]

[3 The water to be used in baptism is blessed, in the church of Rome, on holy Saturday.]

forthwith uttereth these words: "Thou, O Lord, bless with thy word these waters which make request unto thee, that beside their natural cleanness which in washing they may give to our bodies, they may also be effectual to purify our souls." Then the priest taketh a burning wax candle, and putteth it thrice in the water consecrated to baptism, saying: "Let the power of the Holy Ghost come down into this plentiful fountain." He addeth: "And let it make the whole substance of this water fruitful with the fruit of regeneration[4]." And so forth.

All these things they understand and expound to be spoken simply and without tropes or figures; which evidently enough declareth what these men attribute to holy or consecrated water, and how they think that in the signs the holy things themselves are contained. About this matter Bonaventura hath wonderfully busied himself, who in his writing, *In* 4. *Magistri Distinct. Quest.* 3. among other things at the length saith: "We must not say by any means that grace is contained substantially in the sacraments, as water in a vessel, or as a medicine in a box; yea, to understand it so, it is erroneous. But they are said to contain grace, in that they signify grace; and because, unless there be a want on the part of the receiver, grace is always given in them: so that ye must understand that grace is in the soul, and not in the visible signs. For this cause they are called also vessels of grace. They may be also called vessels after another manner; because, as that which is in a vessel is no part of it,

Bonaventura saith that grace is not contained in the sacraments.

[4 Qui hanc aquam regenerandis hominibus præparatam arcana sui (Bullinger read, sua) luminis admixtione fœcundet; ut sanctificatione concepta, ab immaculato divini fontis utero in novam renata creaturam progenies cœlestis (Bullinger has omitted these two words) emergat ... non insidiando circumvolet (contrariæ virtutis admixtio). ...Sit hæc sancta et innocens creatura, libera ab omni impugnatoris incursu... sit fons vivus, aqua regenerans, unda purificans. Ut omnes hoc lavacro salutifero diluendi, operante in eis Spiritu Sancto, perfectæ purgationis indulgentiam consequantur. Unde benedico te, creatura aquæ, per Deum vivum, per Deum verum, per Deum sanctum, per Deum qui te in principio verbo separavit ab arida, &c..... Halat (sacerdos) ter in aquam... dicens, Tu has simplices aquas tuo ore benedicito; ut præter naturalem emundationem quam lavandis possunt adhibere corporibus, sint etiam purificandis mentibus efficaces. Hic sacerdos paululum demittat (cereum) in aquam, et dicit, Descendat in hanc plenitudinem fontis virtus Spiritus Sancti,... totamque hujus aquæ substantiam regenerandi fœcundet effectu.—Brev. Rom.]

neither cometh of it, and yet nevertheless is drawn out of it; so grace cometh neither of nor by the sacraments, but springeth from the eternal fountain, and is drawn out from thence by the soul in the sacraments. And as a man, when he would have liquor, goeth straight to the vessel; so he that seeketh after the liquor of grace, and hath it not, must have recourse to the sacraments[1]." Thus far Bonaventura, who rightly referred grace unto God, the fountain of all good things. I would he had also more purely and simply set down the rest.

The seat of the grace of God.

He also said[2] truly, that the soul of man was the seat and[3] receptacle of grace and of the gifts of God, and not things without sense. For the holy scripture teacheth everywhere, that the mind of man, not any element, or whatsoever is forged by man's device, is the mansion-place of the grace of God; and that it is not to be sought for, or worshipped, as

1 Kings viii.

included in any insensible thing. "If the heaven of heavens," saith Solomon, "be not able to contain thee, how should then this house do it, that I have builded?" Whereunto the most

Acts vii.

constant martyr of Christ, Stephen, alluding, saith: "He that is highest of all dwelleth not in temples made with hands, as saith the prophet: Heaven is my seat, and earth is my footstool. What house will ye build for me? saith the Lord; or which is the place of my rest? Hath not my hand made all these things?" Which that great apostle of Christ,

Acts xvii.

Paul, following, saith: "God that made the world and all that are in it, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is wor-

[1 Non est aliquo modo dicendum, quod gratia contineatur in ipsis sacramentis essentialiter, tamquam aqua in vase, vel medicina in pyxide; imo hoc intelligere est erroneum. Sed dicuntur continere gratiam, quia ipsam significant, et quia, nisi ibi sit defectus ex parte suscipientis, in ipsis gratia semper confertur, ita intelligendo quod gratia sit in animo, non in signis visibilibus. Pro tanto etiam dicuntur vasa gratiæ. Possunt etiam dici vasa alia ratione: quia sicut quod est in vase, non est de ipso nec ex ipso, sed tamen ab ipso hauritur; sic gratia non est a sacramentis, nec de sacramentis, sed ôritur a fonte æterno, et ab illo hauritur ab ipsa anima in ipsis sacramentis: et sicut quis recurrit ad vas, cum requirit liquorem; sic quærenti liquorem gratiæ et non habenti recurrendum est ad ipsa sacramenta. —Bonavent. Sentent. Lib. IV. Dist. I. Quæst. 3. Opp. Tom. v. p. 7. Mogunt. 1609.]

[2 sensit, Lat.: understood.] [3 seu, Lat.: or.]

shipped with men's hands, as though he needed of anything, seeing he himself giveth to all life, and breath, and all things, &c." Whereupon Christ himself in the gospel speaketh more expressly: "The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, neither at Hierusalem, worship the Father. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth." The faithful therefore do lift up the eyes of their mind from earthly and visible things unto heavenly: whereupon our godly forefathers, when they celebrated the Lord's Supper, heard that saying repeated or sung unto them, most agreeable to such holy mysteries, "Lift up your hearts:" all the people answered[4] together, "We lift them up unto the Lord." Doth not the very gross absurdity of the thing plainly prove, that grace is not contained in the signs? For if by grace you understand the favour and good-will of God, if pardon and forgiveness of sin, cleansing, I say, and justifying of the believers; if, finally, the gifts and graces of the Spirit; what, I pray you, can be imagined more absurd and senseless, than that such excellent things should be kept inclosed in water, bread, and wine? The signs, truly, have no need of grace, nor any pardon and forgiveness of sins. To what purpose, then, should grace be contained within sacraments? What profit, I pray you, will redound unto men? Or who knoweth not, that all the institutions of God were ordained for the commodity of man? Or shall we say, that grace is therefore kept included within the sacraments, that from thence it might be conveyed unto us[5] by channels? But the scripture speaketh not after that manner. For grace, as hath been often now repeated, is the favour and good-will of God; whereby he himself, not by sensible matters, but of his own accord and through his power and might, is brought unto us. These things are spiritual, and therefore are brought to pass by the gift and mediation of the Holy Ghost. God is joined unto us by his Spirit; and we are coupled to him by faith, through the gift of the Holy Ghost: which thing in the writings of the evangelists and apostles is everywhere to be seen.

John iv.

Moreover, the words of the canon of the council of Nice are not to be understood after such a gross and rude manner:

The canon of the Nicene council touching baptism.

[4] So also ed. 1584: but 1577, answering: respondente, Lat.]

[5] tanquam, Lat. omitted: as though.]

"Our baptism is not to be considered with the bodily eyes, but with the eyes of the mind. Thou seest water; weigh the heavenly force which lieth hid in the water, &c.[1]" For it is a sacramental speech, which truly every body at that time understood; as also at this day[2] it is no new nor hard kind of speaking to say, that in the seal there is faith and truth, in a marriage-ring the faith and love of wedlock, in a sceptre and crown the king's authority. For no man is so foolish, that by reason of the kind of speeches he will affirm, that the things themselves are contained and inclosed in the signs: every man knoweth this kind and manner of speech[3].

The apostles baptized in water not consecrated.

To this matter also appertaineth, that John the Baptist baptized in the river Jordan; and that the apostles also themselves baptized with water neither consecrated nor prepared with any enchantments, breathings, or crossings[4], that it might receive the grace of God into it, and make them that are baptized partakers thereof. The Æthiopian, in the Acts of the Apostles, saw a fountain, not mingled with oil, neither consecrated with any holy charms, neither moreover prepared with any breathings or putting in of wax-candles nor pictures of crosses; yet nevertheless he said to Philip the apostle: "See, here is water; what doth let me to be baptized?" But Philip required faith of him in the Lord Jesus; and upon his confession he forthwith baptized him; no consecration of the fountain first provided for, by the which forsooth he might call down the grace of the Holy Ghost and the power of regeneration into the water"; and forthwith might apply it to the purifying of the Æthiopian.

To include grace in the sacraments causeth idolatry.

And if so be we proceed to include the grace of God within the elements, and the things themselves within the signs by the which they are represented; who seeth not with how great danger we shall do the same, especially among the simple sort? For unto those we shall give occasion of idolatry, and to cleave unto the visible signs; of whom also they

[1 Τὸ βάπτισμα ἡμῶν οὐ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς κατανοητέον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νοεροῖς· ὕδωρ ὁρᾷς, νόησον τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι κρυπτομένην τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμιν.—Gelas. Hist. Concil. Nic. Labb. et Coss. Tom. II. col. 233. Lut. Par. 1671.]

[2 to us, ed. 1577: but omitted also in 1584: nobis Lat.]

[3 et consuetudinem, Lat. omitted: and practice.]

[4 characteribus, Lat.]

will require and ask that which ought to be asked of God, the author of all goodness, with minds lifted up into heaven. For whereas it is objected, that by a certain heavenly covenant it is so appointed by God, that sacraments should have grace in themselves, and should from themselves, as by pipes, convey abroad the water of grace unto those that are thirsty; that is alleged without warrant of the scripture, and is repugnant unto true religion: as by those things which have hitherto been handled and disputed of doth, as we think, sufficiently appear; whereunto also we add this.

The godly are first justified and received into favour, before they be made partakers of the sacraments.

The holy and elect people of God are not then first of all partakers of the first[5] grace of God and heavenly gifts, when they receive the sacraments; for they enjoy the things before they be partakers of the signs. For it is plainly declared unto us, that Abraham our father was justified before he was circumcised. And who gathereth[6] thereby, that justification was not exhibited and given unto him by the sacrament of circumcision; but rather, that that righteousness, which he by faith before possessed, was by the sacrament[7] sealed and confirmed unto him? And moreover, who will not thereof gather, that we, which are the sons of Abraham, are after no other manner justified than it appeareth that our father was justified; and that our sacraments work no further in us than they did in him? especially since the nature of the sacraments of the people of the old Testament and ours is all one. Whereof I will speak a little afterward more at large, when I expound the place of the apostle in the fourth to the Romans.

The eunuch, of whom I spake even now out of the Acts, as he journeyed and saw water, he said to Philip: "See, here is water; what letteth me to be baptized? Philip said unto him; If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." Afterward immediately it followeth: "And they went down both into the water, and he baptized him." The eunuch (saith the evangelist) believed with all his heart, that is to say, truly and without dissimulation. Now let us see what

Acts viii.

[5 the first, not in Lat.]

[6 An error in all the editions for, *gathereth not:* quis non colligat, Lat.]

[7 by the sacrament, not in Lat.]

the scripture saith concerning such a faith. St John, the
1 John iv. apostle and evangelist, saith: "Whosoever believeth that
1 John iv. Jesus is Christ, is born of God." He again saith: "Whosoever confesseth that Jesus is the Son of God, in him dwelleth God, and he in God." Also Paul, that elect vessel and
Rom. x. doctor of the Gentiles, saith: "If thou shalt knowledge with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."
1 John v. And again, St John saith in his epistle: "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself. And this is the record, how that God hath given unto us eternal life, and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son hath not life." Briefly, of all these things this we gather: the eunuch believed before he received baptism; therefore, before he received baptism he was born of God, in whom he dwelled, and God in him; he was just and acceptable [in] the sight of God; and moreover, he had also life in himself; and therefore the baptism which followed did not give that to the eunuch which he had before; but it became unto him a testimony of the truth, and a seal of the righteousness which came by faith[1]; and therewithal to assure unto him[2] the continuance and increase of God his[3] gifts.

Acts xiii. After the same manner we read of Cornelius the centurion in the same Acts of the Apostles; that he, believing the preaching of the apostle Peter, received the Holy Ghost also in a visible shape, as the apostles did at Hierusalem in the day of Pentecost; and that Peter, when he knew that thing, said: "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" Forasmuch therefore as Cornelius with his household received the Holy Ghost before they were baptized, it is manifest, that he did not obtain the Holy Ghost as given first by baptism, or with baptism. Again, we read in the Acts of the Apostles:
Acts ii. "They that gladly received the word of Peter were baptized." Therefore before they were baptized of Peter, they had obtained the grace of God through faith.

For[4] why, I pray you, do we baptize our infants? Is it

[1 justitiæ fidei, Lat.]
[2 Rather render, for a continuation, &c.]
[3 God his, not in Lat.] [4 Aut cur, Lat.: Or why.]

because they believe with their heart and confess with their mouth? I think not. Do we not therefore baptize them, because God hath commanded them to be brought unto him? because he hath promised, that he will be our God, and the God of our seed after us? to be short, because we believe that God, of his mere grace and mercy, in the blood of Jesus Christ, hath cleansed and adopted them, and appointed them to be heirs of eternal life? We therefore, baptizing infants for these causes, do abundantly testify, that there is not first given unto them in baptism, but that there is sealed and confirmed which they had before.

Let us also join unto these things a testimony of the Supper of the Lord. The apostle, teaching how the godly should prepare themselves to come to the Lord's table, saith: "Let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of this bread and drink of this cup." But to examine or prove signifieth to search, as much as lieth in man, the heart, or mind, and through diligent inquisition to sift one's conscience. And God is said to prove our hearts. And the same apostle willeth us "to prove what is the good and acceptable will of God." But this proof cannot be without knowledge and judgment; and the knowledge and judgment of Christians is faith: therefore whosoever proveth himself before he come to the supper hath faith; if he hath faith, then he wanteth not those things that are coupled with faith; and therefore in the supper those heavenly benefits are not first received, but thanks are given for those that are received[5]. I have hereby shewed and proved, I suppose, that sacraments do not confer grace.

1 Cor. xi.

Rom. xii.

They object, I know well enough, against these things, (who are persuaded that sacraments give grace, and contain included within them the things signified,) that we do evacuate and make of none effect the sacraments; and that we teach that the faithful receive in them, or by them, nothing but bare water, and bare bread and wine; and that by that means God by us is accused of falsehood and lying.

To evacuate the sacraments, and convince God of a lie.

We briefly answer: If they set void or empty things (as I may so say) against full things, so as they be void or empty which have not the things themselves included in them; truly,

[5 pro acceptis, Lat.: for them as received.]

I had rather confess them to be void than full. But if they call them void or empty, and mean profane or unholy things, that is to say, which differ nothing from profane signs; if by bare they understand things of no force; we openly profess, that we have sacraments which are holy, and not profane; effectual, and not without force; garnished from above, not naked; and therefore full, not void or empty. For they are holy things and not profane, because they are instituted of God, and for godly men, not for profane persons. They are effectual, and not without force: for in the church with the godly and faithful they work the same effect and end whereunto they are ordained[1] of God; whereof more hereafter. They are also worthily said to be beautified and adorned by God, and not bare things, which have the word of God itself, wherewith they are most beautifully adorned. And therefore also they are full, and not empty sacraments, because they have those things which make a perfect sacrament.

Sacraments are holy, and not profane things.

We will repeat here the parables, or similitudes (which above also, entreating of consecration, for the most part we did allege), to the intent to give more clear light unto this treatise. All the while that wax, for confirmation and witness' sake, is not hanged on letters patents or other public instruments, it is common, void, and bare wax; that is to say, nothing else but wax: but when it is sealed and fastened to those public instruments, it is now neither void nor bare wax; for it is called the testimony of the truth[2]. The arms of a prince or of any commonwealth, if it be painted in a window or on a wall, it is a bare sign: but if the same be fastened to writings or set to letters, there is great difference between this and the other. For now it declareth and witnesseth the will of the prince, or commonwealth; therefore it hath this estimation among all men, that whoso defaceth it, or, contrary to the will of the prince and commonweal, doth set it to any other charter, is reputed guilty of counterfeiting and of high treason. A stone, when as yet it is not set for a mark or bound of fields, it is a bare and void, that is to say, a common stone, which to tread under foot, or to remove out of his place, is no offence: but being set to part the

[1 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, were ordained.]
[2 Rather, and the truth: et veritas, Lat.]

bounds of fields, it is no more a bare and void[3] stone, but a witness of lawful division and just possession; which to move out of his place is accounted an heinous offence. And therefore water, bread, and wine, without the institution and use of the sacrament, are nothing else but water, bread, and wine: but being used in the celebration of the sacrament, they differ very far from that they were before; and are sacraments signed of Christ by his word, ordained[4] for the salvation of the faithful.

Therefore they that are partakers of the sacraments do not receive nothing, as these say, unless the institution of God be to be esteemed as nothing. He instituted sacraments to be testimonies of his grace, and seals of the truth of his promises: which thing I will anon declare more at large. Therefore, as God is true and cannot lie, so the seals of his promises are most true. He hath promised that he will be ours, and that in Christ he will communicate himself unto us with all his gifts: he therefore of a certainty sheweth himself such an one, and doth communicate himself unto us; although he do it not now first of all when we receive the sacraments, as if he should pour out of himself[5] into us by them, as it were by conduit pipes, and were included in them as in vessels. For immediately upon the beginning of the world he promised his grace unto us; as soon as we first believed, he began to shew himself such an one unto us, and doth shew himself more and more through the whole course of life[6]: we receive him and comprehend him spiritually and by faith. Therefore, when we are partakers of the sacraments, he proceedeth to communicate himself unto us after a special manner, that is to say, proper unto sacraments; and so we, which before were made partakers of Christ, do continue and strengthen that communion or fellowship spiritually and by faith in the celebration of the sacraments, outwardly sealing the same unto ourselves by the signs[7].

Now, who will hereafter say, that they which think thus of the sacraments, and are by this faith partakers of them,

[3 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, a void or bare: vacuus aut nudus, Lat.]
[4 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, and ordained: et instituta, Lat.]
[5 Rather, pour out himself.]
[6 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, our life.]
[7 Rather, the signs sealing the same unto us by things sensible.]

have nothing but empty shews, and receive nothing in them; albeit we neither include grace in the signs, neither derive it from them? But if any man have any other opinion of God and his ordinances, that shall no more be falsehood in God[1], or accuse him of untruth, than if any one should charge a just man with a lie, because he performeth not that which he looked for; when in the meantime this man promised not the thing which he looked for; but he, through his corrupt and false opinion, hath dreamed that it was promised unto him. And thus far by occasion I have shewed what agreement and difference there is between the sacraments of the old and new Testament, and that our sacraments do neither confer nor contain grace.

Now we return to that which we began; I mean, to the principal ground of this disputation: that, forasmuch as we have taught what they do not work, so now at length we may set down what they work in very deed; that is to say, expounding what is the power, end, and lawful use of the sacrament[2], whereunto they are ordained of God. We handled indeed the place of the causes why they were instituted in the beginning of the sixth sermon. But now I will add other things which pertain to this purpose, and entreat of each thing by itself more fully and at large.

Sacraments are witnesses of the truth.

The chief end of sacraments is this; that they are testimonies to confirm the truth, by which the Lord in his church even visibly doth testify, that the things now uttered by preaching of the gospel, and by the promises assured to the faithful from the beginning of the world, are in every point so brought to pass, and are so certainly true, as they are declared and promised in the word of truth. Even so baptism is the heavenly and public witness in the church of Christ, whereby the Lord testifieth, that it is he which receiveth men freely into favour, and which cleanseth from all blemishes, and, to be short, maketh us partakers and heirs of all his goodness. For after the same manner circumcision in times past was a public and heavenly testimony, that it is God that purgeth and adopteth us[3]. For therefore Moses saith, Deut. xxx.: "The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, that thou mayest love the Lord thy God

[1 Deo fraudi fuerit, Lat.]
[2 sacramentorum, Lat.] [3 us, not in Lat.]

with all thy heart," &c. After the selfsame manner the Lord himself, instituting the holy supper in his church, by the present signs doth openly bear witness, that his body was certainly given for us, and his blood truly shed for the remission of our sins; that he also is that living food, that feedeth us to eternal life. Wherefore we read in Chrysostom his 83rd Homily upon Matthew these words: "As in the old law, so in the same manner hath he here left with us a memory of the mysteries, stopping and bridling hereby the mouths of heretics. For when they say, Whereby appeareth it that Christ was offered? and many other mysteries; then we, alleging these things, do thereby stop their mouths. For if Jesus be not dead, whose representation or sign is this sacrifice[4]?" Thus far he. You perceive, I suppose, how this writer doth bring against heretics the sacrament[5] of the supper for the testimony of truth, that is to say, of the Lord's true death. Wherefore as the gospel is called a witness, and the preachers of the gospel witnesses; even so we call sacraments witnesses of the same truth, which, though they be dumb, yet nevertheless are visible; after which name[6] St Augustine calleth them "visible words[7]." For the preaching of the gospel, consisting of words heard with the ears, is a speaking witness; but sacraments, which consist of signs and are seen with the eyes, are speechless witnesses, and, as it were, remnants and remembrances of the preaching of the gospel.

The gospel is a witness.

Yea, sacraments were instituted by God to that end, that they might visibly confirm[8] unto us the ready good will of God toward us, and also[9] the preaching of the gospel, and all the promises of life and salvation; and that they should be, as it were, seals set and fixed to the gospel and promises made by God, which might testify and confirm that faith in Christ is

Sacraments do visibly confirm the good will of God to us-ward.

[4 Ὥσπερ οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἐγκατέδησε τὸ μνημόσυνον τῷ μυστηρίῳ· κἀντεῦθεν ἐμφράττων τῶν αἱρετικῶν τὰ στόματα· ὅταν γὰρ λέγωσι, πόθεν δῆλον ὅτι ἐτύθη ὁ Χριστός; μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοὺς ἐπιστομίζομεν. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀπέθανεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, τίνος σύμβολα τὰ τελούμενα;—Chrysost. Hom. in Matth. LXXXII. (al. LXXXIII.) Tom. VII. p. 783. Par. 1727.)

[5 symbolum, Lat.] [6 quo nomine, Lat.: on which account.]

[7 Quid sunt aliud quæque corporalia sacramenta, nisi quædam quasi verba visibilia?—Aug. contra Faust. Man. Lib. XIX. cap. 16. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 72. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

[8 obsignent, Lat.] [9 adeoque, Lat.: and so.]

true righteousness. That which I have said I will confirm by the writings of the apostles. But I taught a little before, that there is all one ground of the sacraments of the old Testament and of the new, a few things only excepted; so that now by very good right, by the comparing of both together we may estimate and utter what the force[1] and use of our sacraments is. Paul therefore to the Romans, fourth chapter, saith: "We say that faith was imputed to Abraham for righteousness. How was it then imputed? When he was circumcised, or when he was uncircumcised? Not when he was circumcised, but when he was uncircumcised: after he received the sign of circumcision, as the seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had when he was uncircumcised, that he should be the father of all them that believe, not being circumcised, that righteousness might be imputed unto them also; and the father of circumcision, not unto them only which are of the circumcised, but unto them also that walk in the steps of the faith of our father Abraham, which he had when he was uncircumcised." All these are Paul's words. Among which, first of all, some words are meet[2] to be expounded: then we must seek after the sense and meaning of the apostle's words: and last of all we must apply them to our purpose touching the sacrament.

Rom. iv.

Sacraments are seals, and whereunto seals do serve.

The apostle here useth two words, that is to say, the sign and the seal. *Signum*, the word sign, is more general and stretcheth very far; but a seal[3] is a word that properly belongeth unto sacraments, which are seals and confirmations. For all signs seal not; for some by signification only do accomplish their duty; but σφραγίζειν properly is, to seal for assurance and confirmation sake of faith or credit: wherefore σφραγὶς is a seal which is set to, to keep and confirm our faith and promise, and to be without all danger of deceit. And here, as elsewhere very often, the Lord doth imitate the manner of men. For we men are wont, by setting to our seals, to confirm our writings, covenants, and faithful promises, which we before had made by word. And that this hath always been the cause of the instituting and use of seals, appeareth plainly by these testimonies of the scriptures. When the children of Israel under Ezra made a covenant with the

[1 finem, Lat. omitted: end.]
[2 videntur, Lat.] [3 σφραγὶς, omitted.]

Lord, by and by they set down their covenant in writing, and seal the writing, to be a testimony of the truth; as in Nehem. the ix. chap. And Hag. the ii. chapter thou mayest read: "I will take thee to my servant[4], Zorobabel, thou son of Salathiel," saith the Lord, "and will make thee as a sign or sealing ring; for I have chosen thee." As if he had said; All men shall certainly learn, that in the son of Salathiel the continuance of the posterity of the Messias doth consist and remain[5]. Thus writeth Jeremy, chap. xxii.: "As surely as I live, saith the Lord, if Chonenias, the son of Jehoakim, king of Juda, were the signet or seal on my right hand, yet will I pluck thee thence." Which is as much as if he had said; Though thou were he in whom I will keep my promises, yet shalt thou be led captive into Babylon. To this agreeth that of Matthew written of the Jews: "So they went, and made the sepulchre sure, and sealed the stone;" without doubt, against deceitful practices; "they appointed a watch[6]." It appeareth therefore by these testimonies whereto the use of seals serveth.

Neh. ix. Hag. ii.

Jer. xxii.

Matth. xxvii.

These things being thus declared, let us now diligently search out the counsel and meaning of the apostle's words. Paul sheweth, that justification happeneth unto men by the power and virtue of no works, of no ceremonies or sacraments, but by the only merit[7] of Christ through faith. To prove this, he bringeth the example of Abraham, of whom the scripture hath pronounced: "Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness." Thence he gathereth, that Abraham was justified by faith; yea, that that was imputed unto him for righteousness. Where both by the word or force of imputation, and by the whole sentence of Moses, he doth most strongly reason, shewing that through grace righteousness is imputed by faith. Whereunto he joineth also a testimony out of David touching righteousness by imputation. I handled that place in the first sermon of the fourth decade[8]. Then he returneth again to the example of Abraham, and applieth to his purpose that place alleged out of Genesis, weighing the circumstances of the manner and time

The place of Paul, Rom. iv. is expounded: 'And he received a sign of the circumcision,' &c.

[4 Rather, O my servant: serve mi, Lat.]
[5 propaganda Messiæ posteritas, Lat.]
[6 Rather, appointing also a watch.]
[7 beneficio, Lat.]
[8 See Vol. III. page 44, &c.]

of his justification[1], and saith: "How was it then imputed? when he was circumcised, or when he was uncircumcised? Not when he was circumcised, but when he was uncircumcised." Which things, verily, are plainer than that they require any exposition. But because the Jew might object; Why then, the institution and use of circumcision was of no force, but void, unprofitable, and vain; for if Abraham were justified before he was circumcised, what could circumcision profit him further? and if it brought nothing, surely it was superfluous and unprofitable: Paul, preventing that objection, maketh answer: "And he received," saith he, "the sign of circumcision, as the seal of the righteousness of faith, &c." Circumcision, saith he, was neither void nor unprofitable. For albeit it justify not, neither cleanse, nor apply the gifts of God; yet it followeth not therefore that there is no further use of it: for it hath another end. For he received the sign of circumcision for a certain seal of the righteousness of faith; that is to say, God instituted circumcision, that it should be a seal to ratify and confirm, yea, and also[2] visibly to testify, that faith is righteousness, and that men are justified through faith; I say, in such sort as faith is also imputed unto them for righteousness, as it was imputed unto Abraham. For it followeth: "That he might be the father of all that believe, though they be not circumcised, that righteousness might be imputed unto them also;" and so forth. And although these things be more clear than the daylight, yet I will endeavour further to open the same by a parable. For suppose that a king, of his favour and mere liberality, would entertain[3] some servant into his court, yea, and[2] make him partaker of all his goods; and moreover would extend this benefit unto the children and posterity also of him whom he had adopted; and would immediately command, that that covenant[4], privilege, and favour, granted by lively words, should also be put in writing, which he might confirm by setting to his seal; to the end that might be to his posterity a sure testimony against all gainsayers, that the same favour and adoption doth pertain to them also, and that the prince would continue his good and favourable kindness unto the posterity of him whom he had adopted, if they also continue

The matter is made plain by a parable.

[1 of his justification, not in Lat.] [2 adeoque, Lat.: and so.]
[3 recipere, Lat.] [4 transactio, Lat.]

faithful unto their prince. For even after the same manner Almighty God, the King of kings, and most bountiful of all princes, freely and not by any merit of ours going before, chooseth Abraham, upon whom he bestoweth innumerable benefits, and unto whom he offereth a covenant and participation of all goodness; and not unto him only, but to all his posterity also, saying: "I, the Almighty[5] God, will be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee; I will bless thee and thy seed; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." He sanctified also this privilege, confirming it with an oath; and by and by commandeth to deliver the same unto their children, as it were from hand to hand, instead of writing; and afterward willeth his servants the prophets to set it down in writing; and last of all he himself, by instituting circumcision, now as it were setting to his seal to the letters patents, or charter, would have it confirmed and ratified to them that should come after, to the end they might certainly know that that also pertained unto them.

Sacraments have a more effectual force than any sealed charters.

Where notwithstanding it seemeth this must not be dissembled of us, that sacraments have a greater and more effectual force than any sealed charters can have. For privileges, which princes give, are written in parchment, and their seals are set to parchment written; but God imprinteth his seal into the very bodies of those that are his. For he caused circumcision to be on the privy member of man, whereby issue is raised, increased, and continued; that, as a mark printed in the very bodies, it might more than seal and witness, that the blessing and partaking of all good things pertaineth to the circumcised, if they abide faithful to the Lord God entered into league with men. And therefore very significantly is circumcision called of Paul, not "the seal of righteousness," but, "the seal of righteousness of faith;" that is, a ratifying and assurance that faith is righteousness, that it is faith whereby we are justified, that righteousness is due to them that believe, that God assuredly will bless the faithful and impute faith unto them for righteousness, as he also imputed faith unto Abraham.

How baptism sealeth.

Now since sacraments have the like reason, we may apply these things to our sacraments. Christ therefore, the

[5 omnisufficientia, Lat. See Vol. III. page 135.]

anointed of the Lord, after he had by guiltless[1] and undeserved death redeemed the world from the power of Satan, and being now ready to ascend into heaven to the Father, he
Mark xvi. called his disciples about him, and said: "Go into the whole world, and preach the gospel to all creatures; he that shall believe and be baptized, &c." The preaching of the gospel doth lay open and abroad the great, the precious, the healthful, the lively, the bountiful, the royal, and divine privilege, that of the children of the devil we are made the children of God, the heirs (I say) of God, and joint-heirs with Christ, who by the shedding of his blood hath purchased for us this inestimable salvation. From this grace of God none is excluded, but he which through disobedience, by his own corruption and fault, doth exclude himself. For touching the children and infants of the believers, the Lord in the gospel pronounceth,
Mark x. saying: "Suffer the young children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God." And
Matth. xviii. again: "Verily I say unto you, Except ye turn, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Who shall receive such a little child in my name, receiveth me. Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." Neither is it likely, now Christ is come, that God is more unmerciful than he was before he came into the world. But then he said: "I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee." That therefore is now of more force, since the Lord is come to seek and save that which was lost; and, to be short, to pour forth most liberally his grace and good gifts upon all flesh. Wherefore that royal, ample, and divine privilege, is first by the very preaching of our Lord Christ, and then by the doctrine of his apostles, revealed unto the world; and afterward, the Lord so commanding, the same privilege was set down of the apostles and evangelists in writing. Now, the Lord himself added this sacrament[2], as a sign and seal, unto his preaching and to the scripture, ordaining baptism in the place of circumcision, the which, because it was a bloody thing and, to conclude[3], a sign of the

[1 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, his guiltless.]
[2 Rather, a sacrament.] [3 denique, Lat.]

blessed seed which was to come, which then was revealed, ought to be abrogated. And baptism itself also, succeeding circumcision, is also a seal of the righteousness of faith, an evidence and sealed charter[4], that God doth assuredly cleanse us and make us heirs of eternal life; and that the whole grace of baptism[5] pertaineth to them that are baptized, if they stand stedfast in true faith.

Infants which believe not are baptized.

But thou wilt say, the infants of Christians, which are to be baptized, believe not. I grant. No more did the infants of the Jews believe; which nevertheless were circumcised, and were in league with God, and made partakers of all good gifts: so that true godliness biddeth us attribute the same to our infants. When the offspring of the Jews waxed in age and did wickedly transgress, they fell from the covenant of God. So likewise the infants of the Christians, when they come to age and commit wickedness, do fall from the grace of the gospel: yet are they received again by faithful repentance into the same grace from whence they fell.

But to our purpose. Baptism, the seal of the righteousness of faith, is not set to parchment, or to the writing of the gospel; but it is applied to the very bodies of the children of God, and is as it were marked and imprinted in them. For we are wholly dipped with our bodies, or wholly sprinkled with the water of baptism: which truly is a visible sealing, confirming that the true God is our God, which sanctifieth and purifieth; and that purification, and every good gift of God, is due unto us as the heirs of God. And to the setting forth of this matter pertaineth that evident place of Paul, which in the Epistle to the Galatians is thus read: "For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For all ye that are baptized have put on Christ." And so forth.

How the Lord's supper is a seal of the righteousness of faith.

The supper of the Lord hath the like reason, which also is a seal of the righteousness of faith. For the Son of God died; he by his death redeemed the believers; also his body and blood is our meat and drink unto eternal life. And truly, this singular and excellent privilege, given unto the faithful, is declared and set down in writing by the apostles: but it is consecrated and sealed of the Lord himself by the sacrament of his body and blood; whereby he sealeth us an assurance,

[4 Rather, and charter, sealing that, &c.]

[5 Rather, of the gospel; evangelii, Lat.]

that we are justified by faith in the death of Christ, and that all the good gifts of Christ are communicated unto us, and that we are fed and strengthened by Christ. Moreover, that the sealing might be the more lively, he setteth not the seal to written parchment, but it is brought and also given to be eaten of our bodies; that we might have a witness within ourselves, that Christ with all his gifts is wholly ours, if we persevere in faith. For the Lord himself in the gospel saith: "He that eateth me shall live by the means of me." But he eateth which believeth. For in the same place the Lord saith: "I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth in me shall never thirst."

John vi.

Hereby we gather the sum of the whole matter; that the sacraments do seal up the promises of God and the gospel; and that therefore so often mention is made in the church of evidences or letters patents, or charters, and seals of the preaching of the gospel and the promises of God; and that the whole mystery of our salvation is renewed and continued, as oft as those actions, instituted of God, (I mean sacraments,) are celebrated in the church.

Hitherto I think doth that belong, which the faithful minister of Christ, Zuinglius, upon the sacraments hath delivered in these words: "Sacraments bear witness of a thing that hath been done. For all laws, customs, and ordinances, do shew their authors and beginnings. Therefore baptism, since it setteth forth in signification the death and resurrection of Christ, it must needs be that those things were done indeed[1]." These words are to be found *In Expositione Fidei ad Regem Christianum.* The same Zuinglius, *ad Principes Germaniæ contra Eggium,* saith: "When that nobleman, taking his journey into a far country, distributing bread and wine, did far more lively and peculiarly give himself unto us, when he said, 'This is my body,' than if he had said, This is a token or sign of my body; although he took away his natural body and carried it into heaven. Yet nevertheless by these words, in that appertaineth to faith and grace, he giveth him-

Zuinglius of the sacraments, which certify and bear witness.

[1 Testimonium rei gestæ præbent (sacramenta). Universæ enim leges, mores, ac instituta, auctores suos initiaque prædicant. Baptismus ergo cum Christi mortem ac resurrectionem significando prædicat, eas vere gestas esse oportet.—Zuingl. Christ. Fid. præd. Expos. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 555. Tigur.]

self wholly, as if he had said: Now I go to die for you, and after a while will wholly depart from hence; but I will not have you doubt of my love and care to you-ward. How much soever I am, I am altogether yours. In witness whereof, I commend unto you a sign of this my betraying and testament, to the intent you might maintain the memory of me and of my benefits: that when ye see this bread and this cup ministered unto you in the supper of my remembrance, ye may be no otherwise mindful of me, that is, that I delivered up myself for you, than if you should see me with your eyes face to face, as ye now see me both to eat with you, and by and bye shall see me to be led from you to die for you[2]." Hitherto I have recited Zuinglius his words, and anon I will rehearse other words of his again: not that I stay myself upon them, or upon any testimonies of man; but that it may be made manifest, that this man did not (as some have falsely thought) contemn the sacraments.

In the meanwhile, we acknowledge these testimonies of the holy scripture: "And God it is which stablisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us: which hath also sealed us, and hath given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts." 2 Cor. i. And also: "After ye believed, ye were sealed with the holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance, unto the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory." Ephes. i. verse 13. And again: "Grieve not the holy Spirit of God, by whom ye are sealed unto the day of redemption." Ephes. iv.

The Holy Ghost doth properly seal.

[2 Sic in eucharistia, cum homo ille nobilis abiturus esset in regionem longinquam, panem ac vinum præbens, longe vividius ac peculiarius sese nobis dabat cum diceret, Hoc est corpus meum, quam si dixisset, Hoc est symbolum corporis mei: etiamsi naturale corpus suum ablaturus ac cœlo illaturus esset. Nihilo tamen minus sese totum, quod ad fidem et gratiam pertinet, his verbis donat, quasi diceret, Nunc in mortem pro vobis eo, paulo post ex integro hinc migraturus. At nolo de amore et cura in vos mea ambigatis. Totus vester sum, quantus quantus sum. In cujus rei testimonium, hujus meæ traditionis ac testamenti symbolum vobis commendo, quo memoriam mei meorumque beneficiorum excitetis; ut cum vobis hunc panem et hunc calicem exhiberi videatis in memorali cœna, non aliter sitis mei memores, quod scilicet me pro vobis tradiderim, quam si videritis me coram, quemadmodum nunc videtis, et vobiscum convivari, et mox ad supplicium pro vobis a vobis rapi.—Id. ibid. Tom. II. fol. 549.]

We acknowledge the truth of God to be sufficiently sound, true, and certain of itself; neither can we from elsewhere have a better confirmation than out of it[1]. For if[2] our mind be not confirmed on every side, it wavereth. God therefore frameth himself according to our weakness, and by his sacraments, as much as may be, doth as it were uphold us; yet so, that we refer all the benefit of our confirmation to the Spirit itself and to his operation, rather than to the element. Wherefore, as we attribute confirmation to doctrine and to teachers, even so do we sealing to the sacraments. We read in the Acts of the Apostles, chapter xiv. and xviii.: "The apostles returned and strengthened the disciples' souls again, and exhorted them to continue in the faith." Again, in the first to the Thess. iii.: "We have sent (saith Paul) Timotheus, our brother and minister of God, to confirm or stablish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith." Nevertheless, unless the inward force of the Spirit do draw and quicken the hearts of the hearers, the outward persuasion of the teacher, though it be never so forcible and vehement, shall nothing avail: but if the Holy Spirit do shew forth his might, and work with the word of the preacher, the souls of the hearers are most mightily strengthened. And so it standeth with the mystery of the sacrament. For if the inward anointing and sealing of the Holy Ghost be wanting, the outward action will be counted but a toy to the unbelievers, neither worketh the sealing of the sacraments anything at all; but when faith, the gift of the Holy Ghost, goeth before, the sealing of the sacraments is very strong and sure. Some also have said very well: If our minds be destitute of the Holy Ghost, the sacraments do no more profit us, than it doth a blind man to look upon the bright beams of the sun. But if our eyes be opened through the illumination of the Spirit, they are wonderfully delighted with the heavenly sight of the sacraments[3]. And Zuinglius, in *Libello ad Principes Germaniæ*, saith: "It doth not offend us, though all those things which the Holy Ghost worketh be referred to the external sacrament, as long as we understand them to be spoken figuratively, as the fathers spake[4]." Thus saith he.

[1 ex seipsa, Lat.] [2 Rather, But if. Nisi vero, Lat.]

[3 Calvin. Instit. Lib. iv. cap. 14. § 9. Opp. Tom. ix. p. 344. Amstel. 1667.]

[4 Nos non offendit, ut etiamsi universa quæ Spiritus operatur

And although sacraments seal not the promises to the unbelievers, because they mistrust them; yet nevertheless the sacraments were instituted of God that they might seal. The wicked and ungodly person receiveth not the doctrine of the gospel; yet no man therefore doth gather, that this doctrine was not instituted of God to teach. Some one there is that will not give credit to a sealed charter; yet doth it not therefore follow, that the sealed charter serveth not to assure or confirm one's faith. Therefore since the doctrine of the gospel worketh nothing in him that is obstinate and rebellious; since the sacraments do nothing move him that is profane and unholy, neither profit the wicked by any manner means; that cometh not to pass through him that did institute them, or through the word and sacraments[5], but through the default of the unbeliever. In the meantime, of themselves they are instituted to profit and to seal, and to have their holy use and end in the holy. And thus much have I said of the principal virtue of sacraments; that they be testimonies of God's truth and of his good will toward us, and are seals of all the promises of the gospel; sealing and assuring us that faith is righteousness, and that all the good gifts of Christ pertain to them that believe.

The sacraments seal nothing to the unbelievers.

There is also another end and use of sacramental signs; that is to say, that they signify, and in signifying do represent: which were superfluous to prove by many testimonies, since it is most manifest to all men, at least by that which we spake before. Now to signify is to shew, and by signs and tokens to declare and point out any thing. But to represent doth not signify (as some dream) to bring, to give, or make that now again corporally present which sometime was taken away; but to resemble it in likeness and by a certain imitation, and to call it back again to mind, and to set it as it were before our eyes. For we say that a son doth represent or resemble his father, when after a sort he expresseth his father in favour and likeness of manners; so that he which seeth him may verily think, that he seeth his father as it were present.

Sacraments represent things.

And after this manner do sacraments stir up and help our

Sacraments do stir up and help faith.

externo sacramento referantur, dummodo symbolice dicta, quomodo patres locuti sunt, intelligamus.—Zuing. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 549.]

[5 Rather, by any fault of him, &c. or of the word and sacraments.]

faith, while we see outwardly before our eyes that which stirreth up the mind, worketh in us[1] and warneth us of our duty: yea, that very thing, which we awhile before comprehended in our mind, is now after a sort visibly offered to our senses, in a similitude, parable, type, or figure, to be viewed and weighed in our mind, that mutually they might help one another. The similitude, therefore, or analogy of the sign to the thing signified is here by the way to be considered.

Of the analogy in baptism.

I told you before[2], that analogy is an aptness, proportion, and a certain convenience of the sign to the thing signified, so that this may be seen in that as in a looking-glass. The matter shall be made manifest by examples.

The bountiful and gracious Lord of his mere mercy receiveth mankind into the partaking of all his good gifts and graces, and adopteth the faithful, that now they be not only joined in league with God, but also the children of God; which thing by the holy action of baptism, being instead of the sign or the very sign itself, is most evidently by representation laid before the eyes of all men. For the minister of God standeth at the holy font, to whom the infant is offered to be baptized; whom he receiveth and baptizeth into the name, or in the name, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: for we may find both "into the name," and "in the name." So that[3] to be baptized "into the name of the Lord," is to be sealed into his virtue and power (for the name of the Lord signifieth power), into the favour, mercy, and protection of God; yea, to be graffed, and as it were to be fastened, to be dedicated, and to be incorporated into God. To be baptized "in the name of the Lord," is by the commandment or authority of God to be baptized; I mean, by the commission or appointment of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to be received into the company of the children of God, and to be counted of God's household; that they which are baptized are, and be called, Christians, and be named with the name of God, being called the children of God the Father, &c. His speech therefore doth somewhat resemble that which we read elsewhere, that "the name of God was called upon over some one[4];" which is in a manner as if we

[1 excitat, Lat.]
[2 See above, page 244.]
[3 Porro, Lat.: Furthermore.]
[4 See Vol. III. page 205.]

should say, that one is called by the name of God, that is, to be called "the servant and son of God." They therefore which before by grace invisibly are received of God into the society of God, those selfsame are visibly now by baptism admitted[5] into the selfsame household of God by the minister of God, and therefore at that time also receive their name[6], that they may always remember that in baptism they gave up their names to Christ, and in like manner also received a name. After this manner, by a most apt analogy, the very sign resembleth the thing signified. To be short, baptism is done by water; and water in men's matters hath a double use: for it cleanseth filth, and, as it were, reneweth man; also it quencheth thirst, and cooleth him that is in a heat. So also it representeth the grace of God, when it cleanseth[7] his faithful ones from their sins, regenerateth and refresheth us with his Spirit. Beside this, the minister of Christ sprinkleth, or rather poureth in[8], water; or, being dipped, taketh them out of the water: whereby it is signified, that God very bountifully bestoweth his gifts upon his faithful ones; it signifieth also that we are buried with Christ into his death, and are raised again with him into newness of life. Pharaoh was drowned in the gulf of the Red sea, but the people of God passed through it safe. For our old Adam must be drowned and extinguished; but our new Adam day by day must be quickened, and rise up again (out of the water). Therefore is the mortification and vivification of Christians very excellently represented by baptism.

To give and take names in baptism.

Now in the Lord's supper bread and wine represent the very body and blood of Christ. The reason hereof is this. As bread nourisheth and strengtheneth man, and giveth him ability to labour; so the body of Christ, eaten by faith, feedeth and satisfieth the soul of man, and furnisheth the whole man to all duties of godliness. As wine is drink to the thirsty, and maketh merry the hearts of men; so the blood of our Lord Jesus, drunken by faith, doth quench the thirst of the burning conscience, and filleth the hearts of the faithful with unspeakable joy. But[9] in the action of the supper the bread of the Lord is broken, the wine is poured out. For

Of the analogy in the supper.

[5] inscribuntur, Lat.] [6] a name: their, not in Lat.]
[7] Rather, he cleanseth.] [8] Rather, poureth on.]
[9] Rather, Therefore. Ergo, Lat.]

the body of our Saviour was broken, that is, by all means afflicted, and his blood gushed and flowed plentifully out of his gaping wounds. And we ourselves truly do break with our own hands the bread of the Lord; for we ourselves are in fault that he was torn and tormented. Our sins wounded him, and we ourselves crucified him; that is to say, he was crucified for us, that by his death he might deliver us from death. Furthermore, we take the bread into our hands, we likewise take the cup into our hands, because he said, "Take ye, eat ye; take ye, and divide it among you." Neither do we lay them aside or hide them, neither do we[1] give them forthwith to others: but when we have received them, we eat and drink them, swallowing them down into our bodies; then afterward, we do communicate and offer them to other. For they, which lawfully celebrate the Lord's supper, do not only believe that Christ suffered, or that he suffereth, for other and not for them; but they believe that Christ suffered for themselves; they believe that Christ doth, and as it were, hath already communicated all his gifts most liberally unto them. Therefore, as the sustenance of bread and wine, passing into the bowels, is changed into the substance of man's body; even so Christ, being eaten of the godly by faith, is united unto them by his Spirit; so that they are one with Christ, and he one with them. And as meat plentifully prepared, daintily dressed, and only seen upon the table, doth not asswage hunger; so, if thou hear Christ reverently[2] preached unto thee, and dost not believe that Christ with all his good gifts is thine, neither the word though reverently preached, nor yet the board though abundantly stored, do profit thee anything. And it maketh much to the reconciling, renewing, and maintaining of friendship, that we are all partakers of one bread, that we offer bread to our brethren, and that we drink of the cup which we receive at our brethren's hand. For upon no other cause the ancient fathers seem to call the supper *synaxis*, a communion. But of that we will speak somewhat elsewhere. And this much have I brought for example sake touching the analogy of the sign and thing signified, and would say more, but that I trust to them that be diligent this is sufficient; for I have ministered occasion to think upon, and to find out more and greater things.

Synaxis, communion.

[1 modo, Lat. omitted: only.] [2 magnifico, Lat.]

How the sacraments do stir up faith.

By this short treatise touching the analogy I think it is plain, that[3] sacraments stir up and help the faith of the godly. For whiles our mind comprehendeth and considereth the benefits of God, Christ his blessing, our redemption, and other his good gifts; while it enjoyeth them with great pleasure of the spirit; whiles in them it is glad and rejoiceth; sacraments are now also outwardly given, which do visibly represent those things to our eyes, and as it were make them to enter into all our senses[4], which the mind inwardly comprehendeth, considereth, and meditateth upon. For because the whole action, which consisteth of the words and the rite or ceremony, is counted with the sign; our eyes see the signs and all things which are done in the whole action of the signs; all which do as it were speak: our ears hear the words and institutions of Christ: yea, our very touching and tasting, they also do feel and perceive how sweet and good the Lord is: so that now the whole man, as it were both body and soul, caught up into heaven, doth feel and perceive that his faith is stirred up and holpen, and, to be short, that the fruit of faith in Christ is passing sweet and comfortable. All these things have place in them that believe. In them that believe not the signs remain, as they are, without life. Therefore these things are brought to pass by the virtue or power of faith and of the Spirit working in the lawful use of the sacraments: without faith and the Holy Ghost they are not felt or perceived.

The efficacy or force in the preaching of God's word.

There is not unlike efficacy or force also in the preaching of the word of God. For when this word by parables, by examples, and by description, is set forth to the hearers, if the Spirit and faith shine in their mind, by these they seem not only to hear things expounded, but to see them with their eyes. In consideration whereof I think Paul said: "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that ye should not believe the truth; to whom Jesus Christ was described[5] before your eyes, and among you crucified?" For it is certain, that Christ was nowhere either described[6] or crucified among the Galatians. He speaketh therefore of his plainness of preaching the word, whereby things indeed are shewed; but

[3 Rather, how, in what way: quomodo, Lat.]

[4 Rather, which meeting our eyes, and so likewise all our senses, visibly represent those things, which the mind, &c.]

[5 depictus, Lat.: Erasmus' rendering.] [6 pictum, Lat.]

yet with such force and efficacy, as if they were in a manner laid before their eyes. There is the same reason also in sacraments, which for that cause were called of them of old "visible words."

Zuinglius of the sacraments upholding faith.

Of these things in this manner entreateth Zuinglius in his book *Ad Principes Germaniæ contra Eggium*, saying: "Doth not a faithful man desire, when he feeleth his faith to fall[1], to be upholden and restored to his place? And where in the whole world shall he hope to find that more conveniently, than in the very actions of the sacraments, so much as belongeth to all sensible things? For let it be, that all creatures allure and provoke us to the contemplation or beholding of God's majesty; yet all that their allurement or provoking is dumb: but in the sacraments there is a lively provoking and speaking allurement. For the Lord speaketh, and the elements also speak; and they speak and persuade that to our senses, which the word and Spirit speaketh to our mind. Howbeit, hitherto all these visible things are nothing, unless the sanctification of the Spirit go before[2]." These things he handleth more at large, first in his annotations upon the 27. cap. of Jeremy[3]; and afterward, *In Expositione Fidei ad regem Christianum*[4].

Furthermore, we read that St Augustine, disputing against the Manichees, *Lib.* XIX. *contra Faustum, cap.* 11, said: "Men cannot be gathered together into any name of religion, either true or false, unless they be knit together in some fellowship of visible signs or sacraments, &c.[5]" We acknow-

[1 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, like to fall.]

[2 Nonne cupit (fidelis), ubi fidem labi senserit, fulciri et in locum restitui? Id autem ubi gentium commodius, quam in ipsa sacramentorum actione inventurum sperare poterit, quantum ad omnia sensibilia attinet? Esto enim, omnes creaturæ invitent nos ad numinis contemplationem; at omnis ea invitatio muta est: in sacramentis vero viva et loquens est invitatio. Loquitur enim Dominus, loquuntur et elementa: atque idem loquuntur et suadent sensibus, quod menti sermo et Spiritus. Adhuc tamen hæc visibilia omnia nihil sunt, ni invisibilis sanctificatio Spiritus præcedat.—Zuing. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 547. Tigur.]

[3 Ibid. Tom. III. fol. 363.] [4 Ibid. Tom. II. fol. 551.]

[5 In nullum autem nomen religionis seu verum seu falsum coagulari homines possunt, nisi aliquo signaculorum vel sacramentorum visibilium consortio colligentur.—August. contra Faust. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 72. col. 1. Par. 1531.]

ledge this opinion of St Augustine, fetched from the scriptures, doth teach[6] touching the sacraments, that we by them are gathered and knit together into the unity of the body of Christ, and are separated from all other religions, fellowships, and assemblies: and more too we are bound by them, as by an oath, to the true worship of one God, and unto one sincere religion; to the which we openly profess that we agree and give our consent with all them that are partakers of the sacraments. Where this chiefly is to be marked; that the gathering or knitting together into the unity of the body of Christ hath a double respect. For either we are joined with Christ, that he is in us, and we live in him; or else we are coupled with all the members of Christ, to wit, with Christ's faithful servants, I mean, with the catholic church itself. Furthermore, we are knit together with Christ in spirit and faith. But we are joined to the church, or to the members of Christ, by the unity of faith and of the Spirit, and by the bond of charity. All which verily are the inward gifts of the Spirit, which freely are bestowed on us by the Lord only, not by any creatures, not by any elements. Sacraments therefore do visibly graff us into the fellowship of Christ and his saints, who were invisibly graffed by his grace before we were partakers of the sacraments: but by receiving of the sacraments, we do now open and make manifest of whose body we should be[7], and are, members; the Lord with his signs or marks by his minister also visibly marking us for his own household, and for his own people. Which thing by the scriptures we will more fully open and make manifest.

A conjunction with Christ and with the church.

They who in time past, by the force of the covenant, by the grace, mercy, and promise of God, were the people of God, were by circumcision visibly gathered together into one church, and knit together into one body. For the apostle St Paul saith unto the Ephesians: "Wherefore remember, that ye being in time passed gentiles in the flesh, called uncircumcision of them which are called circumcision in the flesh made with hands; that at that time, I say, ye were without Christ, and were aliants from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenant of promise, &c." Whereby

By sacraments we are visibly gathered together into one religion, and distinguished from others. Eph. ii.

[6 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, rightly, We acknowledging this opinion, &c. do teach touching, &c.]

[7 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, we would be: esse velimus, Lat.]

it is also easily understood, how the Jews by circumcision were distinguished from other religions and fellowships, and that circumcision in another place for this cause is put for them that are circumcised, and why the name of uncircumcised was reproachful: for those that were uncircumcised were counted for ungodly and unclean persons, that had no fellowship, nor
Phil. iii. part, or inheritance, with God and his saints. Of baptism,
Rom. xv. which was ordained in the stead of circumcision, something is spoken in my former sermons. And also the apostle setteth
1 Cor. xii. it out most plainly: "As the body," saith he, "is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body, which is one, though they be many, yet are but one body; even so is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit." We are therefore knit together by the sacrament of baptism into the unity of the body of Christ; so that to have broken this bond, and to yield ourselves into another fellowship of religion and brotherhood, may worthily be called sacrilege and treason. Hereunto the apostle seemed to have respect when he asked the Corinthians: "Are ye not baptized into the name of Christ?" declaring thereby, that they which are baptized into the name of Christ have openly sworn and bound their faith before the church of Christ, so that now they neither can nor ought to rejoice in any other name than in the name of Christ, into whose household they are received by baptism. So, I say, we are separated by baptism from all other religions, and are only consecrated to christian religion.

The place of Paul, 1. Cor. x. The bread which we break, &c. is expounded.

He hath the like place in all points touching the supper of the Lord, 1 Corinth. chap. x. For when the apostle would declare to the Corinthians, that it is a thing far from all godliness, unseemly, yea, and sacrilegious, that Christians should eat in the idols' temples things offered to idols, and be partakers of the gentiles' sacrifices, reasoning from the manner and nature of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, he saith: "Fly from idolatry; I speak as unto them that have understanding; judge ye what I say. The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we that are many are one bread, and one body, because we are all partakers of one bread. Behold Israel

which is after the flesh; are not they which eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar? What say I then? That the idol is any thing? or that that which is sacrificed unto idols is any thing? Nay, but rather this I say, that those things which the gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with the devils. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of the devils. Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils, &c." For all this is Paul's saying; which since it serveth notably to our purpose and is very plain, I will but briefly run over it.

First, he layeth down the state and scope of the matter, whereunto he immediately directeth his whole discourse. "Flee," saith he, "idolatry." And he meaneth by the word, "idolatry," whatsoever pertaineth to idolatry, especially the eating of meat offered to idols. But if you know not what *idolothytum* is (which word he there useth[1]), understand that it is a Greek word, which Paul useth in this case; and it signifieth a thing sacrificed to an idol, or a thing publicly in sacrifice consecrated to an idol. And it was the manner of the Corinthians to sacrifice at the altars of their gods in idol-houses, that is to say, in their idol-temples, and to call Christians unto those their sacrifices: and they, when they came, sat and ate of that which was offered unto idols, eating without difference with the idolaters, thinking they might have done that without any fault at all; because by the bright shining of the gospel it appeared, that neither the idol, neither that god whom the idol represented, and therefore also the things themselves that were offered to idols, were nothing else but vain names and things of no price or estimation. But Paul, disputing against these from the eighth chap. unto the eleventh, teacheth, that it is far wide from Christianity to be partakers of the gentiles' sacrifices, and saith: I will speak unto you as unto them that have discretion; that, after I have shadowed out unto you which way to walk, you by the sharpness of your wit may understand what is true and what is false, and, to be short, which way you must incline. And then he scattereth certain grounds of arguments, which they afterward discussing might by their diligence polish and make perfect. They, saith he, that are partakers of the supper of the Lord

[1 The parenthesis is the Translator's.]

(in which the bread of the Lord is broken, and the cup of the Lord is drunken) are of the same communion, fellowship, or body with the Lord. For κοινωνία, which word Paul useth here, and which interpreters have translated communion or partaking (though fellowship is better than partaking; as in the Dutch translation "Gemeind" is better than "Gemeindchafft[1]"), is not taken actively (as I may so say), for the distributing, giving, or reaching out Christ's body by the minister; but passively, for the fellowship and society, for the body, I say, of the church: as when the church is called a communion, that is, an assembly, a gathering together and society of saints or godly Christians[2]. Furthermore, the church is called κοινωνία, or a communion, of the body and blood of Christ, because it is redeemed by the body and blood of Christ, and, being partaker of Christ, liveth by him. For he liveth in the godly Christians, communicating unto them all his good gifts of life. And that the partakers of the supper of the Lord are the body and[3] communion of Christ, he declareth by a reason which followeth, saying: "Because we, that are many, are one bread and one body." Whereunto by and bye he addeth another more evident reason, for interpretation's sake, saying: "For we are all partakers of one bread." In that we are partakers of one bread, saith he, we do openly testify that we are partakers of the same body with Christ and all his saints: in which words he hath a notable respect to the analogy. "For as by uniting together of many grains," as Cyprian saith, "is made one bread or one loaf; as of many clusters of grapes one wine is pressed out: so out of many members groweth up and is made the body of the Church, which is the body of Christ[4]."

Now in the words of Paul these things offer themselves unto us to be marked. First, for that now he calleth that a

[1 Luther's Version has gemeinschafft.]

[2 or godly Christians, the Translator's addition.]

[3 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, or: aut, Lat.]

[4 Nam quando Dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multorum granorum adunatione congestum, populum nostrum, quem portabat, indicat adunatum: et quando sanguinem suum vinum appellat, de botris atque acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum, gregem item nostrum significat, commixtione adunatæ multitudinis copulatum. —Cyprian. Opp. Ep. LXIX. p. 182.]

multitude, or many, by a word expressing his mind better, which before he named a communion. A communion therefore is nothing else but a multitude or congregation. For he said, "The bread is the partaking of the body of Christ:" but now he saith, "We being many are one bread, one body." "We being many," saith he; that is, all we which are a multitude and a congregation or church, redeemed by the body of Christ (which was) given, and by his blood (which was) shed for us. Afterwards he saith, "We being many are one body:" he doth not say, are made one body. For we are not first graffed into the body of Christ (as we have often repeated already) by partaking of the sacraments; but we, which were before engraffed by grace invisibly, are now also visibly consecrated. Again, by the like reason of sacraments, or by an example of the scripture taken from the sacraments of the people of the old Testament, he sheweth, that the partakers of the sacraments are one body, both with him to whom they offer, and with them with whom they offer, or with whom they eat of things offered to idols. "Behold," saith he, "the Israelites, which offer sacrifices after the flesh. Are not they that eat the sacrifices *κοινωνοὶ*, that is to say, communicants, fellows, or partakers of the things[5] of the temple or of the altar?" For under the word, of the things of the temple or of the altar (*θυσιαστήριον* is his word), he comprehendeth whatsoever doth belong to the worship and religion of the God of the Jews; so that the sense or meaning may be this: Are not all they one body, one communion, one people, both with the God of Israel and with his people, which eat of the sacrifices offered to the God of Israel by the Israelitish people? As if he had said: There is none that is ignorant of it, or that can deny it, since it is confessed and manifest among all men. By these things he leaveth to the Corinthians of their own accord thus much to be gathered: Therefore they, that are partakers of the sacraments of the Gentiles, are one body and one fellowship with the gods of the Gentiles and the Gentiles which do sacrifice. Now by the figure *occupatio* (which is, when in answering we prevent an objection that may be made[6]) he placeth these words between: "What say I then? That the idol is anything? Or, that that which is offered in sacri-

[5 of the things, not in Lat.]

[6 This parenthetical explanation is the Translator's.]

They are the members of the devil that are partakers of unlawful sacraments.

fice to idols is any thing[1]?" Whereunto by and bye he addeth: "But this I say[2], that the things, which the Gentiles offer in sacrifice, they offer to devils[3], and not to God." Hereupon he might lawfully have inferred: Therefore, if you continue to be partakers of things offered to idols, ye shall verily be one body and one fellowship both with the devil himself and all his members. But because this might have been taken of many to have been bitterly[4] spoken, he addeth another saying somewhat more mild and gentle, and saith: "And I would not that ye should be *κοινωνοὶ*," that is, "communicants, or partakers, and have fellowship with devils." After which words, by comparing the contrary parts, he bringeth in the sum of the whole matter, to which he directed all his reasons, and saith: "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils: ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils." And so forth. The sacraments therefore do separate us from all other worshippings and religions, and do bind and consecrate, yea, and also as it were make us of the same body with one true God and sincere Christian religion; because we, being partakers of them, do openly profess that we be the members of Jesus Christ: which no man that is well in his wits will take, and make them the members of fornication and of idols.

Zuinglius of binding sacraments, &c.

That which Zuinglius, that learned man, hath *In Expositione fidei Christianæ ad Regem Christianum*, is not impertinent to this purpose. "Sacraments," saith he, "are instead of an oath. For *sacramentum* with the Latins is used also for an oath. For they that use one and the self-same sacraments are one peculiar nation, and an holy sworn congregation; they are knit together into one body and into one people; whom whoso betrayeth shall perish. Therefore the people of Christ, since by eating his body sacramentally they are knit into one body; now he that is faithless, and yet dare be so bold as to make himself one of this society or fellowship, betrayeth the body of Christ, as well in the head as in the members, &c.[5]" Thus far he.

[1 Rather, But I do not say this because the idol is worth any thing, or that which is offered in sacrifice to an idol has any divine majesty about it.] [2 sentio, Lat.]

[3 diabolo, Lat.] [4 acerbius, Lat.: too bitterly.]

[5 Septima sacramentorum vis est, quod vice jusjurandi sunt.

By this it is easy to understand, that sacraments put us in mind of our duty: especially if we mark in the writings of the apostle[6] how considering the manner of sacraments the apostles frame their exhortations. Where again the analogy being considered, it hath very much light and force in it. Trees are pruned, and all that which is dry, barren, and superfluous in them is cut away. And so by circumcision, they that were circumcised were put in mind to cut away with the knife of the Spirit whatsoever grew up in the flesh[7] against the law of God. Hereunto had Moses respect when he said in Deut.: "Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no more stiff-necked." Whom Jeremy following in the iv. chap. saith: "Be ye circumcised in the Lord[8], and cut away the foreskin of your hearts," &c. Those things, which the apostle hath taught touching the celebration of the passover, are more plain than that they need here to be rehearsed; and I have already entreated of them at large in the sixth sermon of my third decade. The very same apostle, in his epistle to the Romans, saith: "Know ye not, that all we, which have been baptized into Jesus Christ, have been baptized into his death? We are buried then with him by baptism into his death; that likewise as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we should walk in newness of life," &c. So we are put in mind by the mystery of baptism to renounce and forsake Satan and the world, to mortify and subdue the flesh, and to bury the old Adam, that the new man may rise up again in us through Christ. Furthermore, the supper of the Lord doth admonish us of brotherly love and charity, and of the unity that we have with all the members of Christ. It warneth us also of purity and sincerity in faith, that, because we have openly professed that we

Sacraments put the faithful in mind of their duty.

Deut. x.

Jer. iv.

Rom. vi.

Nam et sacramentum Latinis pro jurejurando usurpatur. Qui enim unis eisdemque sacramentis utuntur, una eademque gens ac sancta quædam conjuratio fiunt; in unum corpus, inque populum unum coeunt: quem qui prodit, perjurus est. Populus ergo Christi cum ejus corpus sacramentaliter edendo in unum corpus conjungitur, jam qui perfidus est, attamen sese huic societati audet insinuare, corpus Christi prodit tam in capite quam in membris.—Zuingl. Christ. Fid. Expos. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 556.]

[6 apostolorum, Lat.: the apostles.]

[7 ex carne, Lat.: from the flesh.]

[8 Domino, Lat.; to the Lord.]

are united to Christ and to all his members, we should have a special care and regard, that we be not found faithless and untrue to our Lord Christ and his church; that we should not defile ourselves with foreign and strange sacrifices. We are also admonished of thankfulness, to magnify the grace of God who hath redeemed us, according to that saying: "As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth his death[1] until he come."

1 Cor. xi.

Thus far have I entreated of the force, the end, and the effect of sacraments; unto the which I have, as I think, attributed no more nor no less than I ought, that is, as much as may be proved out of the scripture to be due unto them. They are the institutions of Christ; therefore they care not for counterfeit and strange praises. They have praise sufficient, if they have those praises, which he that instituted them, namely God, and Christ Jesus, the high priest of the catholic church, vouchsafed to attribute unto them.

That the sacraments profit nothing without faith.

Now, because there is mention made very oft of faith in this whole book, I will further shew also that without faith sacraments profit nothing; and again, that to those which receive them by faith they are not superfluous or vain: for this seemeth as yet to belong to the full exposition and consideration of sacraments. That sacraments without faith profit not, it is easily proved. For it is said, that sacraments are seals of the preaching of the gospel, and things appertaining to the same. For[2] if the preaching of the gospel be heard without faith, it doth not only profit nothing unto life, but it turneth rather unto judgment, (to him that heareth); the Lord himself bearing witness, and saying: "If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not; for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world. The word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day." To that saying of the Lord agreeth this of the apostle: "For unto us was the gospel preached, as well as unto the fathers: but the word which they heard did not profit them, because it was not coupled with faith to them that heard[3]." Who now is such a dorhead which cannot gather, that sacraments without faith are unprofitable; especially since the same apostle saith,

John xii.

Heb. iv.

[1 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, the Lord's death: mortem Domini, Lat.]

[2 Cæterum, Lat.: But.]

[3 Erasmus' Version.]

"Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord?" But all our worthiness before God doth consist in faith; the same apostle yet again witnessing out of the prophet, "The just shall live by faith:" and, "By faith the elders (or fathers) obtained a good report." Whereunto also belongeth that which is read in the gospel: "They which were bidden were not worthy:" whereupon it followeth, that worthiness consisteth in faithful obedience. Hereunto also may be referred (I think) those examples, whereof mention hath been made more than once already before: "All our fathers were baptized, and did all eat of one spiritual meat; but in many of them God had no delight." And Paul again saith: "Without faith it is impossible to please God:" therefore without faith sacraments profit nothing. The examples of Simon Magus and Judas the traitor are very well known; of which one was baptized, the other admitted to the supper, and yet had no fruit of the sacraments, because they wanted true faith.

1 Cor. xi. Rom. i. Heb. xi. Matt. xxii. 1 Cor. x. Heb. xi.

To these pithy and divine testimonies of God we will now add some places of St Augustine. Out of his nineteenth book against Faustus, and twelfth chapter: "Peter saith, 'Baptism saveth us;' and lest they should think the visible sacrament were sufficient, by which they had the form of godliness, and through their evil manners, by living lewdly and desperately, should deny the power thereof, by and bye he addeth: 'Not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but in that a good conscience maketh request to God[4].'" Again, Lib. ii. *Contra Literas Petiliani*, cap. 7, he saith: "They are not therefore to be thought to be in the body of Christ, which is the church or congregation, because they are corporally partakers of his sacraments. For they in such are also holy; but to them that use and receive them unworthily they shall be forcible to their greater judgment. For they are not in that society of Christ's church, which in the members of Christ,

Augustine doth teach that sacraments received without faith are unprofitable to the receivers.

[4 Sic et vos, inquit (apostolus Petrus), simili forma baptisma salvos facit. Et ne sibi sufficere putarent visibile sacramentum, per quod habebant formam pietatis, et per malos mores perdite vivendo virtutem ejus abnegarent, continuo subjecit, Non carnis depositio sordium, sed conscientiæ bonæ interrogatio.—August. contra Faust. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 72. col. 1. Par. 1531.]

by being knit together and touching one another, do grow into the fulness of God. For that church is builded on a rock; as saith the Lord, 'Upon this rock will I build my church:' but they build on the sand; as the Lord also saith, 'He that heareth my words and doth them not, I will liken him to a foolish man[1].'" And again in his treatise upon John xiii.: "The syllables of Christ's name and his sacraments profit nothing, where the faith of Christ is resisted. For faith in Christ and his sacraments is, to believe in him which justifieth the ungodly, to believe in the Mediator, without whose intercession we are not reconciled unto God[2]." Thus far Augustine.

Sacraments depend not on our worthiness or unworthiness.

An objection is made: If sacraments do nothing profit without our faith, then they depend on our worthiness or unworthiness; so that they are not perfect[3]. I answer: That among the wicked and unbelievers sacraments, verily, of themselves are sufficiently ratified and confirmed by the institution of God; neither dependeth their perfectness upon the condition and state of the partakers, that they are either better among the good, or worse among the bad. For that remaineth perfect and sound which the Lord hath instituted, and retaineth his institution always good, howsoever men vary and are faithless. For the apostle saith: "Shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect? God forbid. Yea, let God be true, and every man a liar." But I have

Rom. iii.

[1 Nec ideo putandi sunt esse in Christi corpore, quod est ecclesia, quia sacramentorum ejus corporaliter participes fiunt. Illa enim et in talibus sancta sunt, et eis indigne tractantibus et sumentibus ad majus judicium valebunt. Ipsi autem non sunt in illa ecclesiæ Christi compage, quæ in membris Christi per connexum et contactum crescit in incrementum Dei. Illa quippe ecclesia in petra est; sicut Dominus dicit, Super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam: illi autem in arena ædificant; sicut idem Dominus dicit, Qui audit verba mea, et non facit ea, similabo eum viro stulto.—August. cont. Lit. Petil. Lib. II. cap. 108. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 34. col. 3.]

[2 Non aliquid prosunt syllabæ nominis Christi et sacramenta Christi, ubi resistitur fidei Christi. Fides autem Christi est credere in eum, qui justificat impium; credere in mediatorem, sine quo interposito non reconciliamur Deo.—August. in Evang. Joan. Tract. LIII. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 79. col. 3.]

[3 inter malos et infideles, Lat.: among the wicked and unbelievers. The Translator inserts the words in the next sentence.]

touched this matter also somewhat before. Yet, because it is one thing to offer, and another thing to receive; God verily offereth of his goodness his bountiful gifts unto men to this end, to profit and to save them, and to make them whole, as the physician doth by ministering physic to his patient; but because that foolish and mad man doth not acknowledge the benefit, as the sick patient which refuseth physic being ministered, the benefit which is offered doth no more profit the one, than physic not received doth good to the other; not through the default of him that offereth the benefit, or of him which ministereth physic, but through the folly of him which refuseth and will none of it. After this manner disputeth St Augustine also of this matter. For Lib. iii. *De Baptismo cont. Donat.* cap. 14, he saith: "It skilleth not, when the perfectness and holiness of the sacrament is in handling, what he believeth, and what manner of faith he hath, that receiveth the sacrament. Verily, it availeth very much to the way of salvation, but for the question of the sacrament it maketh no matter[4]." Also *Contra Literas Petiliani*, Lib. ii. cap. 47, he saith: "Remember, that the lewd life and corrupt manners of evil men do nothing hinder the sacraments of God, to make them not holy at all, or less holy; but that to the ungodly they are a testimony of their damnation, and not a furtherance of their salvation[5]." He also, *Tract. in Joan.* 26, saith: "If thou receive the sacrament carnally, it ceaseth not to be spiritual; but to thee it is not so[6]."

Of baptism of infants.

As easily is that objection confuted, that baptism profiteth not infants, if we still say that sacraments without faith profit

[4 Nec interest, cum de sacramenti integritate et sanctitate tractatur, quid credat, et quali fide imbutus sit ille qui accipit sacramentum: interest quidem plurimum ad salutis viam, sed ad sacramenti quæstionem nihil interest.—August. de Baptismo contra Donatist. Lib. III. cap. 14. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 83. col. 2.]

[5 Memento sacramentis Dei nihil obesse mores malorum hominum, quo illa vel omnino non sint, vel minus sancta sint: sed ipsis malis hominibus, ut hæc habeant ad testimonium damnationis, non ad adjutorium sanitatis.—Id. contra Lit. Petiliani, Lib. II. cap. 47. Opp. Tom VII. fol. 25. col. 4.]

[6 Quid est, Spiritus et vita sunt? Spiritaliter intelligenda sunt. Intellexisti spiritaliter? Spiritus et vita sunt. Intellexisti carnaliter? Etiam sic illa spiritus et vita sunt, sed tibi non sunt.—Id. in Evang. Joan. Tract. XXVII. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 48. col. 3.]

not; for infants have no faith. Thus they babble. We answer first, That the baptism of infants is grounded upon the free mercy and grace of God, who saith: "I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed;" and again: "Suffer children to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of God," &c. Infants therefore are numbered and counted of the Lord himself among the faithful; so that baptism is due unto them, as far forth as it is due unto the faithful. For by the imputation of God infants are faithful; whereunto pertaineth this saying of our Saviour: "He that shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me," &c. For he manifestly calleth "little ones" believing; for imputation's sake, doubtless, not for confession, which by no means as yet is in little ones. To this also may be added, that the father of the infant doth therefore desire to have his child signed with the mark of the people of God, to wit, baptism, because he believeth the promises of God, that is, that his infant is of the household of God; therefore there is faith in the baptism of infants. But the father doth not believe. Be it so; yet that is no hinderance to the infant; for in the faith of the church he is brought to be baptized. The church, verily, believeth that infants ought to be brought to the Lord; the church believeth that they are of the household and people of God: therefore she commandeth them to be partakers of the mysteries. So that again, in the baptism of infants a man may find faith. Hereunto doth St Augustine add this, saying, Lib. i. *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione*, cap. 19: "Wherefore infants are rightly called faithful, because they after a sort do confess their faith by the words of them that bear them[1]." He reasoneth more touching this matter in his epistle to Boniface, which is in order the three and twentieth[2], where he that desireth may find more.

But all these things, say they, prove not that infants have faith of their own; for the faith of their parents, of their bearers, or the faith of the church, is another's faith, and not theirs. Be it so. Yet most certain is that saying, that the Lord counteth infants among his, that is, among the faithful; so that now they are not only baptized in another's faith, but in their own, that is to say, which it pleaseth the

[1 — recte fideles vocantur (parvuli), quoniam fidem per verba gestantium quodammodo profitentur.—Id. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 136. col. 4.]

[2 Id. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 17, &c.]

Lord to impute unto them. Furthermore, that is not another's, which is common to the self-same body: but infants are in the very same body of the church, whereby that which is the church's is their own, and not another's. Neither can any man easily tell what motions of the Holy Spirit infants have beside, &c. For insomuch as they are of God, they have the Spirit of God; "and whoso have not, they are not of God," Rom. viii. Rom. viii.

That sacraments are not superfluous or void to them that have faith.

As they decline too much to the left hand, which are persuaded that sacraments, yea, without faith, do profit the receivers; so they go too far wide on the right hand, who think that the sacraments are superfluous to them that have faith. Faith, say they, doth fully acquit us; so that after we have faith sacraments can increase nothing in us: therefore it must needs be that they are unprofitable. Such in times past are the heretics Messaliani read to have been, who were both called *Euchitæ*[3], and ἐνθουσιασταὶ, that is, divine men, forsooth, and inspired of God; for they did contend that the faithful, after they had received the Holy Ghost, had need of no sacraments. But these men are very injurious even to God himself; who instituted not his sacraments for the faithful without great cause, neither unprofitably. And, "Verily, Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness, and he was counted the friend of God," just and holy, not being void doubtless of the Holy Ghost: but he also "received circumcision, the seal of the righteousness of faith which was before he was circumcised." It is said to the same Abraham: "Every man-child, whose foreskin shall not be circumcised, shall be cut off from my people, because he hath broken my covenant." Truly, the angel of the Lord is ready to kill Moses, because he delayed circumcision in his children longer than was lawful, either by his own negligence, or through the fault of his Madianitish wife. What, shall there be found any more righteous and holy than the Son of God, as he which, having received the fulness of the Spirit, poureth plentifully of the same into his members? He himself being the head, yet he came to John Baptist, and requireth to be baptized of him in Jordan. And when he refused, and said, "I have need to be baptized of Gen. xvii. Exod. iv. Matt. iii.

[3 Mosheim. E. H. Book II. Cent. IV. part 2. chap. 5. § 24. Vol. I. p. 409. note 5, ed. Soames. See also above, page 94, note 6.]

thee, and comest thou to me?" he heareth: "Suffer it to be so now; for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." Certainly righteousness giveth to every man that which is his own. Faith therefore, which is the righteousness of Christians, giveth glory to God; and believeth, that he being wonderful wise doth will well unto men; and therefore that he hath instituted nothing unprofitably, but all things for the salvation of his faithful ones. A faithful man therefore useth all the institutions of God without any reasoning or gainsaying. Neither is there any here, I think, that will say, that this deed of Christ pertaineth nothing to him, whereby undoubtedly he laid before us an example to follow. Yea, that which he himself did, he willed other also to do, when he sent his disciples forth, and said: "Go into the whole world, and preach the gospel to all creatures; baptizing them in the name of the Father," &c. "He which shall believe and be baptized shall be saved." Where truly he joineth together both faith and baptism; which to abide upon[1] he would not have done, if sacraments were superfluous there, where faith is. Whereby it manifestly appeareth, that they are wrong as far as heaven is wide, which think that sacraments are indifferent, that is to say, a thing put to our own will and choice, either to use or not to use. For as we have heard already a flat commandment concerning baptism; so the Lord, instituting and celebrating the supper, saith: "Do this in the remembrance of me." He therefore that despiseth these commandments of God, I see not how he can have faith, whereby he should be invisibly sanctified. Hitherto belongeth now that which the faithful prince of Æthiopia confesseth, that he believed with all his heart in the Lord Jesus; yet nevertheless, as soon as he saw water, he said: "Behold, here is water; what letteth me to be baptized?" He doth not say, I believe with all my heart, and I feel that I am justified and cleansed; why then should I be washed with water, having no filth remaining? Therefore, wheresoever true faith is, there sacraments are not contemned or refused, but more desired. For Cornelius the centurion also, after he had received the Holy Ghost, doth not gainsay Peter, who said: "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as

Sacraments are indifferent.

[1] So all the editions; haud dubie, Lat.]

we?" Peter was a faithful preacher of the gospel, a skilful teacher of the truth; therefore he deceiveth no man: and he teacheth us by his own deed, that faith doth then specially provoke us to be partakers of the sacraments, when it is true in the faithful. To whom Paul, his fellow-minister, agreeth, saying: "Let every one prove himself, and then let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup:" but that proving is made by faith. Therefore not faith, but unthankfulness[2], doth contemptuously reject the sacraments.

Many are sanctified without visible sacraments.

Truly I am not ignorant, that very many without the use of visible sacraments have been sanctified, and at this day also are sanctified: but none of those despised or contemned them. They were not partakers of the sacraments, being thereunto driven by necessity; as there be at this day some that are held captives under the tyranny of antichrist and the Turk, and for the time believe with their whole heart in the Lord Jesus. Therefore the examples of these or such like are no defence for them which may receive the sacraments, if they regard[3] the ordinances of God, and set so much by them as of duty they should do. I will note here, for the singular benefit of the readers, St Augustine's disputation, because it maketh notably for our purpose. He, *Quæst. lib. in Levit.* iii. cap. 84. saith: "It is demanded not without cause, whether invisible sanctification do profit nothing without visible sacraments, wherewith a man is visibly sanctified? which without doubt is absurd. For more tolerably it may be said, that this sanctification is not without them, than that it doth not profit, if it be without them; since in sanctification all their profit consisteth. But we must also weigh this; how it is rightly said, that without the sacraments sanctification cannot be. For visible baptism did nothing profit Simon Magus, to whom invisible sanctification was wanting: but because this invisible sanctification profited them that had it, in like manner they which were baptized received also the visible sacraments. And yet neither is it shewed, where Moses himself was sanctified with visible sacrifices or oil, who notwithstanding did visibly sanctify the priests: but who dare deny that he was invisibly sanctified, whose grace was so great, surpassing, and excellent? This also may be said of John Baptist. For he was first a baptizer, before he was seen to be

[2 perfida, Lat.] [3 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, regarded.]

baptized: whereupon we can deny by no means that he was sanctified; yet we do not find that that was visibly wrought in him before he came to the ministry of baptizing. This also may be verified of the thief crucified with Christ, to whom the Lord said, as he hung with him on the cross, 'To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.' For he could not have been partaker of so great felicity, unless he had been invisibly sanctified. Whereby we gather, that invisible sanctification hath been present with some, and profited them, without the visible sacraments; and that visible sanctification, which is wrought by visible sacraments, may be present without this invisible sanctification, but yet may not profit us. Yet nevertheless, the visible sacrament is not therefore to be contemned; for the contemner thereof can by no means be invisibly sanctified. Hereof it is that Cornelius and they that were with him, when they did now appear to be invisibly sanctified by the Holy Ghost poured into them, yet notwithstanding they are baptized: neither is visible sanctification, which had invisible sanctification going before it, counted superfluous[1]." Thus far he.

[1 Merito quæritur, utrum etiam ista invisibilis sanctificatio sine visibilibus sacramentis, quibus visibiliter homo sanctificatur, pariter nihil prosit? Quod utique absurdum est. Tolerabilius enim quisque dixerit, sine illis istam non esse, quam si fuerit non prodesse; cum in ista sit omnis utilitas illorum. Sed etiam hoc, quod sine illis ista esse non possit, quomodo recte dicatur intuendum est. Nihil quippe profuit Simoni Mago visibilis baptismus, cui sanctificatio invisibilis defuit: sed quibus ista invisibilis, quoniam affuit, profuit, etiam visibilia sacramenta perceperant similiter baptizati. Nec tamen Moyses, qui visibiliter sacerdotes sanctificabat, ubi fuerit ipse ipsis sacrificiis vel oleo sanctificatus ostenditur: invisibiliter vero sanctificatum negare quis audeat, cujus tanta gratia præeminebat? Hoc et de Joanne Baptista dici potest. Prius enim baptizator quam baptizatus apparuit; unde eum sanctificatum nequaquam negare possumus: id tamen in eo factum visibiliter non invenimus antequam ad ministerium baptizandi veniret. Hoc et de latrone illo, cui secum crucifixo Dominus ait, Hodie mecum eris in paradiso. Neque enim sine sanctificatione invisibili tanta felicitate donatus est. Proinde colligitur, invisibilem sanctificationem quibusdam affuisse atque profuisse sine visibilibus sacramentis: ... visibilem vero sanctificationem, quæ fieret per visibilia sacramenta, sine ista invisibili posse adesse, non posse prodesse. Nec tamen ideo sacramentum visibile contemnendum est. Nam contemptor ejus invisibiliter sanctificari nullo modo potest. Hinc est, quod Cornelius et qui cum eo erant, cum jam visibiliter infuso sancto spiritu sanctificati apparerent, baptizati sunt tamen, nec superflua judicata est

With this disputation another question also hath some affinity or likeness; which is, Whether sacraments depend upon the worthiness of the ministers, and whether they be hindered in their force by the unworthiness of the ministers? Cyprian more than in one place doth contend, "That they cannot baptize[2] which want the Holy Ghost[3]:" which error springeth hereupon, for that he attributeth too much to the ministry of baptism. He doth think that men are purified or cleansed by baptism: so that thereby he doth gather, that an unclean person cannot purify or cleanse, and therefore not baptize; and that the baptism of an unclean person is not baptism: from whence he deriveth anabaptism, or rebaptizing. But if that holy man had rightly and religiously distinguished between power and ministry, between the sign and the thing signified, between the outward and inward sanctification; he had undoubtedly understood, that we are invisibly sanctified by the mere grace of God, and that this inward sanctification is outwardly by the ministry represented and sealed. There he might have understood, that sealed evidences may be published as well by an evil minister as by a good. God's sacraments are[4] to be referred to God, the author of them; who is faithful and true in all his ordinances, how false and faithless soever men be. Although Judas were a thief, yet he preached and baptized; whose doctrine and baptism was as well the doctrine and baptism of Christ, as was Peter's and Andrew's, James' and John's. And touching the perfectness and pureness both of the doctrine and baptism done by the ministry of Judas; no man ever doubted, as though they were never taught or baptized whom he taught and baptized, who in the mean while is called of the Lord himself, not a devilish man, but a very devil. For he baptized not in his own name, but in the name of Christ; he preached not his own, but the doctrine of Christ. To conclude; the Lord of his goodness, for his truth's sake and not for Judas' sake, wrought in the faithful; which working of

Cyprian's error touching the sacrament of baptism.

John vi.

visibilis sanctificatio, quam invisibilis jam præcesserat.—August. Quæst. super Levit. Lib. III. cap. 84. Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 49. col. 1.]

[2 So ed. 1577; the other edd. they cannot be baptized: eos baptizare non posse, Lat.]

[3 See especially Cyprian. Ep. LXX. p. 189, &c.]

[4 Rather, The sacraments are God's, and are, &c.]

his another's ungraciousness and maliciousness could not hinder, as at this day verily it hindereth not a whit. Truly, we must do what we can to have holy and unblameable ministers, so far forth as by our care and diligence we are able to procure and bring to pass: yea, let us deprive and disgrace them, whom we shall find to behave themselves unworthy of their function: but in the mean time, let us not doubt at all of the pureness of the sacraments, which they while they were in their office ministered unto us, that is to say, after the same manner and form as the Lord instituted. And verily, as the faithful do not fasten their minds on the elements, so neither do they on the ministers. They in all things look only up to God the author of all goodness, and to the end of those things which the Lord ordained.

St Augustine hath handled this matter very diligently, excellently well applying to these things very effectual arguments; whose words I will set down, Lib. III. *Contra Donatist. de Baptismo* 3, cap. 10. "The water is not unholy," saith he, "or defiled, over which the name of the Lord is called on, though it be called on of unholy and unclean persons; because neither the creature itself, nor yet the name, is unclean. And the baptism of Christ, consecrated with the words of the gospel, is holy, both by them that are unclean and in them that are unclean, though they be defiled and unclean; because his holiness cannot be polluted, and in his sacraments a divine power is present, either to the salvation of them that use them well, or to the condemnation of them that use them ill. Doth the light of the sun, or of a candle, when it shineth through a filthy sink, gather no uncleanness from thence; and can the baptism of Christ be polluted with any man's wickedness? For if we apply our minds unto the very visible things under which sacraments are delivered, who knoweth not that they are corruptible? But if we ascend unto that which is figured by them, who seeth not that they be incorruptible; though men by whom it is ministered according to their deservings are either rewarded or punished[1]?" And so

[1 Non est aqua profana et adultera, super quam nomen Dei invocatur, etiamsi a profanis et adulteris invocetur: quia nec ipsa creatura, nec ipsum nomen adulterum est; baptismus vero Christi, verbis evangelicis consecratus et per adulteros et in adulteris, sanctus est, quamvis illi sint impudici et immundi; quia ipsa ejus sanc-

forth. I could allege many examples of this kind, if I thought them necessary. For I think that by them it is largely and plainly enough declared, that the perfectness and pureness of the sacraments are not to be esteemed by the worthiness or unworthiness of the ministers, but by the truth of God who did institute them. To him be glory, power and dominion, for ever and ever.
Amen.

OF HOLY BAPTISM; WHAT IT IS; BY WHOM, AND WHEN IT WAS INSTITUTED, AND THAT THERE IS BUT ONE BAPTISM OF WATER. OF THE BAPTISM OF FIRE. OF THE RITE OR CEREMONY OF BAPTISM; HOW, OF WHOM, AND TO WHOM IT MUST BE MINISTERED. OF BAPTISM BY MIDWIVES; AND OF INFANTS DYING WITHOUT BAPTISM. OF THE BAPTISM OF INFANTS. AGAINST ANABAPTISM OR RE-BAPTIZING; AND OF THE POWER OR EFFICACY OF BAPTISM.

THE EIGHTH SERMON.

Now I have to entreat particularly of holy baptism, and of the holy supper of the Lord; which may be done so much the more briefly, as we have largely spoken already of sacraments in general. Christ our Lord open your minds, and guide my tongue unto the glory and praise of his blessed name for ever!

titas pollui non potest, et sacramento suo divina virtus assistit, sive ad salutem bene utentium, sive ad perniciem male utentium. An vero solis vel etiam lucernæ lux, cum per cœnosa diffunditur, nihil inde sordium contrahit, et baptismus Christi potest cujusquam sceleribus inquinari? Si enim ad ipsas res visibiles, quibus sacramenta tractantur, animum conferamus, quis nesciat eas esse corruptibiles? Si autem ad id quod per illas agitur, quis non videat non posse corrumpi; quamvis homines per quos agitur pro suis moribus vel præmia percipiant vel pœnas luant?—August. contra Donatist. Lib. III. cap. 10. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 83. col. 1.]

Baptism.

Baptism is a word fetched from the Greeks, who use both these words *baptismus* and *baptisma*, (both which signify baptism), as the Latins also do; and baptism is a dipping, which word Tertullian willingly useth[1]. For βάπτω signifieth to dip or dip in; and βαπτίζω, to plunge or put far in. Whereupon also, to baptize, is used for to plunge in, to wash away, or to cleanse; and baptizings in the scriptures are put for washings and purifyings, as it appeareth in St Mark, the seventh chapter, and in Paul to the Hebrews, the ninth chapter. To be baptized with the same baptism, is proverbially spoken of him that is partaker of the self-same danger or misfortune[2]; and to be baptized with blood, is to be imbued with blood.

What baptism is.

They define baptism, for the most part, to be a token or recognizance of our cleansing, yea, of our enrolling[3], whereby we are received into the church to be of the number of God's children. But we, describing the nature of baptism more at large, do say; that it is an holy action instituted of God, and consisting of the word of God and the holy rite or ceremony whereby the people of God are dipped in the water in the name of the Lord: to be short, whereby the Lord himself doth represent and seal unto us our purifying or cleansing, gathereth us into one body, and putteth the baptized in mind of their duty.

In this description of baptism these things seem chiefly to be considered: Who did institute baptism: of what things it consisteth: whether it be simple, but one and the self-same[4], or drawn into many parts: what rite or ceremony of baptizing is delivered (to the church): what the end and force of baptism is.

Who instituted baptism.

It was no man that did institute the sacrament of baptism, but God himself; though by man it took the name[5], that is to say, by John it was ministered, who of it was called the Baptist. That we might understand this, the evangelists in many places have confirmed that the calling of John was

[1 intinctio. Tertull. de Pœnitentia, capp. 2. 6. Tom. IV. pp. 38, 47. ed. Semler. Hal. Mag. 1824.]

[2 Erasmi. Adag. Chiliad. p. 478. *mali retaliatio.* Han. 1617.]

[3 initiationis, Lat.]

[4 but—self-same, Translator's paraphrase and addition.]

[5 it took the name, not in Lat.]

from heaven; for thereby we may gather, that his ministry was from heaven[6]. Doth not he say himself in express words: "He which sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Holy Ghost," &c.? Also our Lord in the gospel, arguing that the baptism of John was not from men but from God, he demandeth of the Pharisees: "The baptism of John, whence was it, from heaven, or of men?" Wherefore the godly, yea even at this day, do receive baptism as it were at the hands of God himself, though they be baptized through the ministry of men. For the Lord, establishing[7] his institutions by his Spirit, worketh salvation in the elect. So that it must needs follow, that the virtue or efficacy of baptism is not hindered by an evil minister: whereof hath been already elsewhere[8], and hereafter shall be spoken.

John i.

Matt. xx.

At that time truly baptism was instituted and began at St John the apostle[9], when he began to preach openly that the time was fulfilled, and that Christ was exhibited and given to the world. But the signs of things to come or of things which should be revealed, the thing itself being present, do no more remain, but ought to be changed into other signs. And circumcision was a sign of the blessed seed which was to come; I mean, of the Messias himself, which, by the shedding of his blood, should bestow his blessing upon the whole world. Therefore when he was come and should forthwith shed forth his blood, it was needful that circumcision should be changed into baptism. Whereof shall be spoken hereafter.

When baptism was instituted.

Now baptism consisteth of the sign and of the thing signified; of the word or promise of God and of the holy rite or ceremony. The sign is the outward action, that is, the sprinkling of water in the name[10] of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, with the calling upon of the name of God. The promise or word of God is, "baptizing them:" "He that shall believe and be baptized shall be

Of what things baptism consisteth.

[6 divinum, Lat.: of God.] [7 assistens, Lat.]

[8 See above, pp. 343. 350.]

[9 Eo tempore vero institutus est a Deo, et inceptus a beato Joanne baptismus, &c. Lat. *by God*, is omitted; and *the apostle* is added (wrongly) by the Translator.]

[10 in nomen, Lat.: into the name.]

saved." And so forth. Whereof we have spoken abundantly enough in the sixth sermon.

One only baptism.

Many in the old time have distinguished between the baptism of John, and the baptism of Christ and his apostles[1]. For some of them deny that forgiveness of sins was comprehended in the baptism of John: but if we diligently view and weigh the doctrine of the holy scripture, we shall find, that the baptism of John and Christ and his apostles is one and the self-same. Certainly, the doctrine of John, of Christ, and his apostles, is one and the self-same everywhere; for they all with one mouth do preach the gospel, and by it repentance and the remission of sins in the name of Christ. Let him that will confer those things which John the Evangelist writeth of the doctrine of John Baptist in the first and third chapter, and that which Luke writes, in the four and twentieth chapter of his gospel and in the Acts of the Apostles, of the doctrine of Christ and his apostles; and he will say, that all their doctrine is one and the self-same. But to their doctrine is baptism set to, as a seal to an evidence. Who therefore believeth, that there are divers seals of their doctrine, or divers baptisms[2]? St John baptized with water: the Lord commended no other element to his disciples than water; neither baptized they any otherwise than with water. They themselves baptized into Christ, into repentance and remission of sins: but St Mark writeth of John Baptist: "John baptized in the wilderness, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins." And St Paul, speaking of the doctrine and baptism of John, saith: "John baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Jesus Christ." By these testimonies who cannot gather, that the baptism of John and of Christ is altogether the very same?—unless this peradventure seem to any man to bring some difference, that John baptized in him that was to come and should be revealed, but the apostles into him that was already revealed. But I see not how so little space

The baptism of John, of Christ, and of the apostles, is one and the self-same.

Acts xix.

[1 Tertull. de Baptism. cap. x. August. Vincentio, Epist. 48. De Baptism. contr. Donat. Lib. v. capp. 9—15. Chrysost. Homil. in Matt. xiv.]

[2 ejusdam doctrinæ diversa esse sigilla vel baptismata, Lat.: that there are different seals or baptisms of the same doctrine.]

of time can bring any difference, especially since John spake so much, from the beginning of his preaching, of him which should be revealed[3]: for immediately he did both point him out present with his finger, and he bare witness that he was present and revealed, and that he should come no more or be revealed. Hereunto is added, that Christ was baptized with no other than with the baptism of John. For if John's baptism were another baptism beside the baptism of the church of Christ, it would follow, that neither Christ was baptized with our baptism, neither we in the baptism of Christ. But Christ did sanctify with his body the baptism of John, and did vouchsafe to be baptized with us into the same fellowship; so that we at this day are also baptized, not with the baptism of John, but of Christ, who by John instituted baptism, and he himself consecrated the same. Wherefore Christ in Matthew, xxviii. cap., and in Mark, the xvi. cap., doth not abrogate the baptism which John began; he doth not institute a new, but commandeth to continue and to minister the same to them that believe: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Of the baptism of Christ, which is also the baptism of fire.

Now whereas John saith himself, "I baptize with water, but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost:" he maketh not difference between his own baptism of water and Christ's baptism; but he attributeth somewhat more unto Christ, wherein no man or minister (for they did err which in time past baptized with fire) had part with him; but he alone giveth the baptism of fire, that is, the singular gifts of the Holy Ghost; but first of all, the use of tongues under the form of fire. For so this matter is expounded in the Acts; first by the Lord Christ himself, then by experience in the church. For the Lord saith: "Depart not from Hierusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, whereof, saith he, ye have heard of me. For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost after these few days." And consequently, upon the day of Pentecost they were baptized with the baptism of Christ; not with water again, but were all filled with the Holy Ghost; cloven tongues, as it were fiery, sitting upon each one of their heads; and they began to speak with other tongues. In the Acts, the citi-

Acts i.

Acts viii.

[3 testimoniumque exhibuit præsenti et revelato, non venturo amplius aut revelando, Lat.]

zens of Samaria are baptized of Philip with the baptism of Christ in water lawfully and fully: but the very same afterward are baptized with the peculiar baptism of Christ, while by the laying on of hands by Peter and John they receive the Holy Ghost. Not that hitherto they were altogether void of the gift of the Holy Ghost (for how could they believe without the Holy Ghost?); but for that they were baptized with the visible baptism of fire beside, and received the gift of tongues and other excellent graces. As it is also read of
Acts x. Cornelius, who verily, being first baptized with fire, I mean, with the peculiar baptism of Christ, spake with tongues, and afterward was baptized with water. Contrariwise, those twelve disciples at Ephesus were first fully baptized with the baptism of John, and with the baptism of the water of the christian church or congregation; and afterward, Paul the apostle laying his hands on them, they are baptized, not with water
Acts xix. again, but with fire; Luke bearing witness, and saying: "The Holy Ghost came upon them, and they spake with tongues and prophesied."

But this baptism of fire, and the visible ministration of the gifts, ceased together with miracles; neither at this day is it usual or common in the church: but the baptism of water remaineth, which is one and the self-same, whether it be ministered by the hands of John or of the apostles, or by divers hands of the ministers of the church; for divers hands make not divers baptisms. Wherefore we rightly believe, that there is but one only and simple baptism of the faithful in
Ephes. iv. all ages. For Paul in express words saith: "There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God and Father of all."
1 Cor. i. Whereunto also tendeth this saying of the same apostle: "I thank God that I baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius; lest any should say that I had baptized in mine own name." Upon this apostolic truth the reverend fathers of the council of Constantinople are read to have made this confession in their creed: "I believe one baptism for the remission of sins[1]." For there is but one church only, one body, one head, and one king, prince, and high priest of the catholic church.

Of the rite or ceremony of baptism. Now I am come to expound the rite or ceremony of baptism. It was simple and but one from the beginning, and not

[1 Vol. I. pp. 16, 17.]

chargeable or burdenous to the church through immoderate ceremonies. John baptized in Ænon beside Salem, because much water was there; and he baptized in the name of Christ. So did the apostles likewise. Whereby it remaineth for an undoubted truth, that the very best form of baptizing is that which is done by water, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; for so the Lord commanded in the xxviii. of Matthew. Do you ask how it cometh to pass, that Luke in the Acts maketh mention that Peter and Paul baptized in the name of the Lord, and expresseth not that they baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost? I answer, that under the name of the Lord the mystery of the Trinity is comprehended. For when the Lord said, "I and the Father are one," he which is baptized in the Lord[2] is also baptized into the Father, and so in like manner into the Holy Ghost which is not divided from them; for verily they have one and the self-same Spirit. For truly Luke saith, that they were baptized of the apostles in the name of the Lord, whom the apostles baptized according to the Lord's institution. Some say Christ is the accomplishment or fulfilling, and the proper object, of baptism: wherefore it is no marvel, that the apostles baptized into the name of the Lord, who nevertheless were commanded to baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; for all the mysteries of baptism are laid forth unto us in the only Son of God. John iii.

Truly we say both, "To baptize into the name of the Lord," and "To baptize in the name of the Lord." The use of speaking after the first manner is read in the xxviii. of Matthew, and in Luke, Acts the xix.; for both have εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, *In nomen*, "into the name." And also[3] Tertullian interpreteth it, *contra Praxeam*, saying: "He commanded that we should be baptized into the Father and the Son[4]," &c. The latter manner doth the same Luke use in the Acts, x. and ii., saying, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, and ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι, that is, "In the name." Moreover, what it is to baptize into the name, or in the name, of the Lord, I told you in the last sermon next

What it is to baptize in the name of the Lord.

[2 in Dominum, Lat.: into the Lord, ed. 1577.]

[3 ita interpretatur, Lat. And so also, ed. 1577.]

[4 Novissime mandans (Christus) ut tinguerent (discipuli) in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum.—Tertull. adv. Prax. cap. 26. Tom. II. p. 199. ed. Semler. Hal. Magd. 1824.]

before this[1]; that it is, to be enrolled into God's household, that he which is baptized may now receive the name of God and be called the son of God, yea, and be as it were registered into the roll of the children of God, citizens of the kingdom of heaven. Whereupon we have also names given us in baptism, that, as often as we hear ourselves named, we may remember our baptism and the mysteries thereof. Neither is it a new thing or strange from the scriptures, that names are given us in baptism; for so it was used also in circumcision, which is to be seen in Luke, ii. chapter[2].

Furthermore the question is asked, Whether we ought to baptize with these bare words, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost;" or whether it be lawful to add or join something else? I think we ought to answer, That it is the servant's duty to add nothing to his Lord's institution, but diligently to keep that which he hath delivered; yea, and advisedly to mark what in baptism the Lord himself and his apostles did, and holily to
1 Cor. xiv. imitate the same; that in the church of God, as Paul hath commanded, all things may be done decently and in good order. But after that most holy form of baptism[3] set down and delivered, we see two things in holy baptism and in the use thereof to be observed. For first, the apostles, and they that were with the apostles, did teach very significantly of the promises of God and faith in Christ; which is apparent in the Acts of the Apostles. It is lawful therefore, in the action or ministration of baptism, to recite the promises of God, to rehearse the belief, and require faith, either of them that are to be baptized, being of perfect age, or else of them
Luke iii. which bring the infants to be baptized. Moreover, when the Lord was baptized of John Baptist in Jordan, he prayed; which thing Luke in his gospel reporteth of him in the history of the gospel. It is lawful therefore in the use of baptism to pray, and solemnly to call upon the name of the Lord. At the first the prayers were moderate and short, not of a great length and tedious; in process of time there was no measure kept, not only in tedious blessings, but also in divers ceremonies which they that came after added there-

[1 See page 255.] [2 See Vol. II. p. 179.]
[3 of baptizing, ed. 1577.]

unto; of the which it shall not seem altogether unprofitable to rehearse somewhat out of the old doctors.

Ceremonies added in times past to baptism.

Tertullian, in his book *De Corona Militis*, saith: "When we go to the font, there, and also a little before in the church, the bishop laying his hand on us, we do confess that we forsake the devil, his pomps, and all his angels. Then are we thrice dipped in the water, not" (some leave out 'not') "answering any thing more than the Lord hath set down in the gospel. When we be taken out of the font, we taste of milk and honey mingled together; and from that time we abstain from daily washing by the space of a whole week[4]." We hear in this an utter denying or renouncing, a third dipping, a tasting of milk and honey, and after baptism an abstinence from bathing by a week's space. In his first book against Marcion he maketh mention also of oil[5]. Truly, milk is meet for children, unto whom also they that be of perfect age, being baptized, are likened. Beside this, in the old Testament there is often mention made of the land of promise flowing with milk and honey. Those things were first offered to be tasted of them that are baptized, to give them to understand, that, Christ Jesus being their captain, and having passed over Jordan, they might by an infallible hope have[6] an inheritance in the land of promise.

St Hierome witnesseth that wine was mingled with milk, and saith, *Com. Lib.* 15. *ad Isaiam:* "The Lord provoketh us not only to buy wine, but milk also; which signifieth the innocency of infants: which type and custom is even unto this day kept in the west churches, to give to them that are born anew in Christ wine and milk[7]." At this day neither of

[4 .... aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus. Dehinc ter mergitamur amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in evangelio determinavit. Inde suscepti, lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus: exque ea die lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadam abstinemus.—Tertull. de Coron. Mil. cap. 3. ed. Semler. Tom. IV. p. 293. Hal. Magd. 1824.]

[5 Sed ille quidem (Dominus) usque nunc nec aquam reprobavit creatoris, qua suos abluit; nec oleum, quo suos unguit, &c.—Id. adv. Marcion. Lib. I. cap. 14. Tom. I. p. 21.]

[6 esse repositos, Lat.]

[7 .... ut non solum vinum emamus (provocans), sed et lac, quod significat innocentiam parvulorum: qui mos ac typus in occidentis

them both is given to infants, no, not of them which will seem to be zealous maintainers of the old ceremonies. They believe in the meanwhile, that their omitting of these ceremonies is without sin, and needeth no satisfaction.

Now also we may gather out of the sixth book of Augustine *De Bap. Contra Donat.* cap. 24. that they used divers and what prayers they thought good about baptism[1]. The same Augustine *Contra Pelag. et Celest.* Lib. ii. cap. 40. saith: "In baptizing of children they first conjure and blow away all contrary power: which also the infants, by the words of them that bear them, do answer that they renounce[2]." This ceremony he mentioneth also *Libro Primo de Nup. et Concup. ad Valer.* cap. 20. and *Libro* ii. cap. 18.[3] It is said in the ecclesiastical decrees, that the holy church throughout the whole world used that ceremony[4]. Again, Augustine, *In Epistola ad Bonifa.* 43. saith, that the godfathers do answer for the faith of the children, and confess their faith. "We ask them," saith he, "which offer the infants, and say, Believeth he in God? (who, being of that age, knoweth not whether there be a God or no.) They answer, He believeth;

ecclesiis hodie usque servatur; ut renatis in Christo vinum lacque tribuatur.—Hieron. Comment. in Isai. Proph. cap. LV. Lib. XV. Opp. Tom. III. col. 401. Par. 1693—1706.]

[1 Si non sanctificatur aqua, cum aliqua erroris verba per imperitiam precator effundit, &c. Multorum enim preces emendantur quotidie, si doctioribus fuerint recitatæ, et multo in eis reperiuntur contra catholicam fidem, &c.—August. de Baptis. contra Donat. Lib. VI. cap. 25. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 95. col. 4.]

[2 — prius exorcizatur in eis (parvulis) et exsufflatur potestas contraria; cui etiam verbis eorum a quibus portantur sese renunciare respondent.—Id. de Peccat. Orig. contra Pelag. et Celest. Lib. II. cap. 40. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 166. col. 1.]

[3 In veritate itaque, non in falsitate potestas diabolica exorcizatur in parvulis, eique renunciant.—Id. de Nupt. et Concup. ad Valerium. Lib. I. cap. 20. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 169. col. 1.- Omnes baptizandi infantuli non ob aliud exsufflantur, nisi ut ab eis princeps mundi mittatur foras.—Ibid. Lib. II. cap. 18. fol. 174. col. 1.]

[4 Illud etiam quod circa baptizandos in universo mundo sancta ecclesia uniformiter agit, non otioso contemplamur intuitu: cum sive parvuli sive juvenes ad regenerationis veniunt sacramentum, non prius fontem vitæ adeant quam exorcismis et exsufflationibus clericorum spiritus ab eis immundus abigatur.—De Eccles. Dogm. cap. 31. ap. August. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 43. col. 2.]

and so they answer unto every question which is asked[5]." The same Augustine, in his book *de Trinitate.* 15. cap. 26, maketh mention also of oil, wherewith they that were baptized were anointed[6].

Rabanus Maurus, bishop of Mentz, a long time following after Augustine[7], reckoneth up many more ceremonies of baptism. For he, *Libro de Institutione Cleri.* i. cap. 27, saith: "They are marked in the forehead and heart with the cross in baptism, that the devil, seeing that mark, may know that that sheep is not of his fold. Also consecrated salt is put into the child's mouth, that, being seasoned with the salt of wisdom, he may be free from the stink of wickedness, and rot no more with the worms of sin. His ears and nostrils are touched with spittle, saying the word, *Ephatha*, used of our Saviour, being thereunto added, that by the virtue of Christ, the high priest, his ears may be opened to receive the knowledge of God, and to hear the will and commandments of God. Then the child is blessed, and his breast anointed with holy oil, that no reliques of the enemy may lurk and remain in him. After this, in the name of the holy Trinity he is baptized, being dipped thrice in the water." And in his 28. chapter: "And being baptized, he immediately is signed in the forehead with the chrism, with a prayer together following, that he may be made an inheritor of the kingdom of Christ, and of Christ may be called a Christian." And in the 29. chapter: "After baptism there is delivered to the Christian a white garment, signifying pureness and innocency[8]." Also for this cause were the baptized clothed with

[5 Interrogamus enim eos a quibus offeruntur (parvuli) et dicimus, Credit in Deum? de illa ætate, quæ utrum sit Deus ignorat. Respondent, Credit: et ad cetera sic respondetur singula quæ geruntur.—August. Ep. 23. Bonifacio, Opp. Tom. II. fol. 18. col. 3.]

[6 — dono gratiæ, quod visibili significatur unguento quo baptizatos ungit ecclesia.—Id. de Trinit. Lib. XV. cap. 26. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 101. col. 2.]

[7 See above, page 248, note 2.]

[8 — signatur ipso homo signaculo sanctæ crucis tam in fronte quam in corde, ut ipse apostata diabolus, in vase suo pristino suæ interemptionis cognoscens signum, jam sibi deinceps sciat illud esse alienum.... Tunc datur ei sal benedictum in os, ut per sal typicum, sapientiæ sale conditus, fœtore careat iniquitatis, et nec a vermibus peccatorum ultra putrefiat..... Postea tanguntur ei nares et auros

white garments, that they might now remember that they were set free, and of servants and bondslaves of the devil made the freemen of Christ Jesus. Moreover, white colour in times past was consecrated to victories and triumphs: whereby it may seem, that the white garment was therefore given to them that were baptized, that they might be mindful, that whiles they live here on earth they must continually fight, and overcome in Christ; for the life of man is a warfare upon earth. And certainly, whereas offerings also began to be given to the baptized by the godfathers, that seemeth to have been borrowed from warfare. For by the offering or earnest (which we Switzers call *Die ynbindeten*[1]) he that is baptized is warned of his faith given in baptism, always to be mindful what a captain he forsook, and into what garrison he was entertained, wherein he must keep his faith given to the new captain Christ.

Many other things of this kind, which I find among writers of this latter age, I willingly pass over, lest I should seem to abuse your patience and gentleness. And who perceiveth not, yea, that at this day other of this kind innumerable new devices are added[2] to baptism? Therefore the safest and surest way is to build upon the first foundations of the blessed apostles. For if antiquity seem to bolster up the last[3] invented ceremonies, who dare deny, that the authority of the apostles doth excel it many ways? For the apostles were

cum saliva, et dicitur ei illud verbum evangelicum..... Epheta, quod est, adaperire..... ut per salivam typicam sacerdotis et tactum sapientia et virtus divina salutem ejusdem catechumeni operetur; ut aperiantur ei nares ad accipiendum odorem notitiæ Dei, ut aperiantur illi aures ad audiendum mandata Dei. Deinde benedictione sacerdotali munitur, ut ad sacrum baptismum cum fide accepta custodiatur. Ungetur illius tunc pectus de oleo sanctificato cum invocatione sanctæ Trinitatis, ut nullæ reliquiæ latentes inimici in eo residcant. Cap. 27. —et sic in nomine sanctæ Trinitatis trina submersione baptizatur.... postquam..... statim signatur in cerebro a presbytero cum sacro chrismate, sequente simul et oratione, ut regni Christi particeps fiat, et à Christo Christianus possit vocari. Cap. 28. Post baptismum traditur Christiano vestis candida, designans innocentiam et puritatem, &c.—Rabani Mauri de Instit. Cler. Lib. I. Opp. Tom. VI. Col. Agrip. 1626.]

[1 presents made to a godchild at the christening.]

[2 posse, Lat.: can be.]

[3 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, these last.]

before them all which have lastly[4] invented and delivered those manifold ceremonies to be used in baptism.

This also cometh in question, Whether we ought to baptize with bare fair water, or with consecrated water; and why the Lord commanded to baptize with water. St Cyprian, *Epist.* Lib. I. Epist. 12, saith; "The water ought to be cleansed and sanctified before of the priest, to wash away the sins of the man that is baptized[5]." But the examples and testimonies of the holy scripture do more prevail with me than the authority of Cyprian, or any other man, whatsoever it be. This good man of God was also deceived in another place about the mystery of baptism[6]; so that we must read his writings with judgment. The scripture telleth us that John Baptist, and the apostles and faithful disciples of Christ, baptized with water not consecrated. For what can be spoken or read more plain, than that "John baptized in Jordan;" yea, that Christ himself and his apostles also baptized in the river Jordan? Where or how did the apostles consecrate the water of baptism in the Acts of the Apostles? Philip, when the eunuch shewed him water as they journeyed, he baptized him out of that pure and clear fountain. Beside this, I have declared in the sermon next going before, how little pureness is in common form of baptism, whereby the font is consecrated. But if any man think that we ought to baptize with consecrated or holy water, and by consecrated do neither understand anointed or prepared with crosses[7] or sanctified with charms, but chosen to holy uses, I would stand in contention with him never a whit. For the water of baptism in very deed is holy, not in respect of the words rehearsed, or by crosses and other signs made; but because God hath instituted it, and in respect of the holy use and prayers of the godly. Of which matter I spake not long ago, when I entreated of the sanctification or consecration of the sacraments.

Whether we ought to baptize with water not consecrated.

And Christ commanded his disciples to baptize with water

Why the Lord commanded to baptize with water.

[4 posterius, Lat.: in later times.]

[5 Oportet ergo mundari et sanctificari aquam prius a sacerdote, ut possit baptismo suo peccata hominis qui baptizatur abluere.—Cyprian. Epist. LXX. Opp. p. 190. Oxon.]

[6 Bullinger doubtless refers to the sentiments of Cyprian on the re-baptizing of those who had been baptized by heretics.]

[7 characteribus, Lat.]

for divers causes. For types or figures went before baptism in water; as the flood, as the Red sea through which the people of Israel passed, as divers cleansings and set washings mentioned in the law. Neither do the apostles of Christ dis-
1 Pet. iii. semble those things. For Peter saith, that Noe was saved in the water of the flood, but the wicked drowned in the water.
1 Cor. x. Paul affirmeth, that all our fathers were baptized by Moses in the cloud and in the sea. Therefore mortification and vivification is prefigured. And truly, the principal badge of the new Testament is baptism, witnessing that full remission of sins is brought unto us by Christ. And the holy prophets of God, by the mouth of the Lord foreshewing and promising this, have willingly shadowed out this inestimable benefit by water: therefore baptism must be ministered in water. This also served notably to represent the mystery: of which matter I have spoken in my last sermon[1], when I entreated of the analogy or likeness of signs. And for these causes chiefly baptism ought to be ministered in this, and not in any other element.

Whether once or thrice the infant ought to be dipped in the water.

There is contention also about this, Whether once or thrice he that is baptized ought to be dipped or sprinkled with water. Truly, the apostles have not curiously commanded anything in this behalf; so that it is free either to sprinkle or to dip. Sprinkling seemeth to have been used of the old fathers: for honesty and shamefacedness forbiddeth to uncover the body; and also the (weak) state of infants for the most part cannot away with dipping, since sprinkling also doth as much as dipping. And it standeth in the choice of him that ministereth baptism, to sprinkle him either once or thrice, after the custom of the church whereof he is minister. Tertullian, *contra Praxeam*, saith: "The Lord commanded to baptize into the Father, and into the Son, and into the Holy Ghost. Not into one: for we are baptized not once but thrice, at each name into each person[2]." And Gregory, answering Leonard the bishop, saith: "A diverse custom hindereth nothing the holy church, so that it be done in one faith. We by thrice

[1 See above, p. 327.]

[2 Novissime mandans (Dominus) ut tinguerent in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, non in unum; nam nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in personas singulas tinguimur.—Tertull. adv. Prax. cap. 26.]

dipping do signify the mystery of Christ's lying in the grave three days[3]." Again, the reverend fathers in the fourth council held at Toledo do allow but one dipping in baptism, and then add immediately this reason: "And lest any should doubt of the mystery of this sacrament, why we allow but one dipping, he may see therein our death and resurrection. For the dipping into the water is as it were the going down into the grave; and the coming up again out of the water is the rising again out of the grave. Also he may perceive, that therein is shewed the unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of the persons. The unity is figured, when we dip once; the Trinity, when we baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost[4]." This I do not allege to stay myself upon man's testimony[5]; but by man's testimony to shew, that it is free to follow that which serveth most to the edifying of the church.

Of the place of baptism.

Also there is a question moved touching the place of baptism: Whether it be not lawful to baptize in any other place than in the church. I say, that the church is consecrated to ministries and the worship of God, and therefore that comeliness itself requireth to baptize openly in the church. But if necessity will not permit this, the baptism of Christ is tied to no place; for we hear that Philip baptized out of the fountain in the broad field. Yet let us take heed, that we make not necessity a pretence for our lewd affections; but let all things in the church be clean which pertain unto baptism. Let all superfluity be laid aside; let all filth and uncleanness be banished; let all things (as saith the apostle) be done honestly and in order.

[3 — in una fide nihil officit sanctæ ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa. Nos autem quod tertio mergimus, triduanæ sepulturæ sacramenta signamus.—Greg. M. Lib. I. Indict. IX. Epist. 43. Opp. Tom. II. col. 532. Par. 1705.]

[4 Et ne forte cuique sit dubium hujus simpli mysterium sacramenti, videat in eo mortem et resurrectionem Christi significari: nam in aquis mersio quasi in infernum descensio est, et rursus ab aquis emersio resurrectio est. Item videat in eo unitatem Divinitatis et Trinitatem personarum ostendi: unitatem, dum semel immergimus; Trinitatem, dum nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti baptizamus. —Concil. Toletan. IV. can. 5. (A. D. 633) Labb. et Coss. Tom. V. col. 1706.]

[5 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, testimonies.]

The time of baptism.

Touching the time, there is no law prescribed of the Lord: that is left free to the judgment of the godly. They that believed the preaching of St Peter at Hierusalem in the day of Pentecost, the eunuch also whom Philip baptized, and Cornelius the centurion likewise, finally, Paul the apostle at Damascus, yea, and Lydia the purple-seller, a religious or devout woman, and the keeper of the prison, they of Philippos also[1], and other faithful men or women, as soon as they had tasted of the gifts and graces of Christ and believed his word, forthwith they desired to be baptized: they did not foade it off[2] till another next time. Wherefore they do very well, which neither in themselves nor in their families do linger in receiving baptism. The delaying of circumcision in his children fell not out well unto Moses. As therefore we grant, that the time of the baptism[3] is free, so it ought to be our duty to take heed that we abuse not our liberty; being always mindful of these words spoken by God: "The uncircumcised man-child, in whose flesh the foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people, because he hath broken my covenant." But we are not ignorant that baptism came into the place of circumcision. Therefore the omitting of baptism is not free. There were some in the time of Cyprian which held opinion, that baptism ought to be received on the eighth day, after the manner of circumcision. But Cyprian, and the sixty-six bishops and elders that were with him in the council, ordained the contrary; to wit, that every one without any delay should receive baptism, and procure the same speedily in their family. That place is extant, *Epist.* Lib. iii., Epist. viii.[4] Furthermore, Socrates the

Gen. xvii.

[1 custos carceris Philippici, *Lat.*: the keeper of the prison at Philippi also, and other, &c.]

[2 Vol. II. p. 38, note 3.]

[3 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, of baptism.]

[4 Cyprianus, et ceteri collegæ qui in concilio affuerant numero 66, Fido fratri, Salutem.... Quantum vero ad causam infantium pertinet, quos dixisti intra secundum vel tertium diem, quo nati sint, constitutos, baptizari non oportere; et considerandum esse legem circumcisionis antiquæ, ut intra octavum diem eum qui natus est baptizandum et sanctificandum non putares: longe aliud in concilio nostro omnibus visum est.... universi potius judicavimus, nulli hominum nato misericordiam Dei et gratiam denegandum.—Cyprian. Epist. LXIV. Opp. p. 158. ed. Oxon.]

historiographer, Lib. v. ca. 22, saith: "I know also another custom in Thessaly, according to the which they baptize only on the days of Easter. Whereby it cometh to pass, that, saving a very small number, they die unbaptized[5]." But after a certain time there was a law made, that the infants of the faithful should not be baptized but at the feasts of Easter and Whitsuntide. They excepted the time of necessity. We may read this in *Decret. Syricii Pont. in Isidore;* and in the epistles of Pope Leo unto the bishop of Campania and Sicilia, which in order are reckoned to be fifty-seven and sixty-two[6]. But the things that moved them hereunto are such as may be easily disproved and overthrown. Truly, from the beginning the time of baptism was not so limited. Nevertheless, that law of baptizing the faithful at the feast of Easter and Pentecost was renewed by Pipine, Charles, Lodovick, and Lothar, French kings, and was spread far as their dominions reached far[7]. Many things are sung in the service of the papists at the time of Easter and Whitsuntide, which are not understood but by this law and custom. At the length it grew out of use, and the faithful were baptized as occasion and opportunity first served.

This is also in controversy, Who ought to baptize, and what the baptizer worketh? Of the last I will speak first.

What the baptizer worketh.

The baptizer giveth visibly the sacrament of regeneration, and a testimony of the remission of sins; but the Lord by his Spirit doth invisibly regenerate, and forgiveth sins, and sealeth

[5 Καὶ ἄλλο δὲ ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ οἶδα γινόμενον. Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ πάσχα μόνον βαπτίζουσι· διὸ σφόδρα πλὴν ὀλίγων οἱ λοιποὶ μὴ βαπτισθέντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν.—Socrat. H. E. Lib. v. cap. 22. p. 297. Cantab. 1720.]

[6 — sola temeritate præsumitur, ut passim.... plebes baptismi mysterium consequantur: cum hoc sibi privilegium et apud nos et apud omnes ecclesias dominicum specialiter cum Pentecoste sua pascha defendat.... infantibus.... vel his, quibus in qualibet necessitate opus fuerit sacri unda baptismatis, omni volumus celeritate succurri.—Siricii Papæ ad Himerium Tarracon. Epist. Labb. et Coss. Tom. II. col. 1018. Leonis I. Papæ ad universos episcopos per Siciliam constitutos. Epist. ibid. Tom. III. col. 1299. These authorities are quoted Gratian. Decret. par. III. de Consecrat. dist. 4. can. 11—17.]

[7 See Concil. Matiscon. II. Labb. et Coss. Tom. v. col. 981. Mogunt. Tom. VII. col. 1242. Parisiens. VI. Tom. VII. col. 1603. Wormatiens. Tom. VIII. col. 945.]

the regeneration. John and the apostles baptize with water: Christ baptizeth with the Holy Ghost; not only with the visible sign of fire and the gift of tongues, but even he only giveth all spiritual gifts. Which thing the ancient fathers that they might expressly declare, did diligently distinguish between power and ministry. For Augustine, Tract. in John v. saith: "It is one thing to baptize in way of ministry, another thing to baptize by power. Our Lord Jesus Christ could, if he had would, have given power to any one servant to give his baptism, as in his stead; and could translate or remove from himself power to baptize, and place it in one of his servants, and give as great force to baptism being translated or removed into his servant, as it should have being given by the Lord. He would not do so for this purpose; that the hope of them which were baptized should hang on him, of whom they acknowledge themselves to be baptized. He would not therefore that a servant should settle his hope in a servant. And therefore cried the apostle, when he saw men willing to put their hope and trust in him: 'Was Paul crucified for you? Or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?' Paul therefore baptized as a minister, not as the power itself; but the Lord baptized as the power." And again: "John Baptist learned by the dove, 'Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending, like unto a dove, and tarry still upon him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.' Therefore, O dove, let not deceivers seduce thee, which say, We baptize. O dove, acknowledge what the dove taught: 'The same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.' By the dove it is known that it is he; and dost thou think that thou art baptized by his power, by whose ministry thou art baptized? If thou be of that mind, thou art not yet in the body of the dove; and if thou be not in the body of the dove, it is no marvel because thou hast not simplicity; for simplicity especially is figured by the dove. John learned by the simplicity of the dove, that this is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost[1]." Thus far he.

John i.

True simplicity.

[1] Aliud est baptizare per ministerium, aliud baptizare per potestatem.... Potuit autem Dominus noster Jesus Christus, si vellet, dare potestatem alicui servo suo, ut daret baptismum suum tanquam vice sua, et transferret a se baptizandi potestatem, et constitueret in aliquo servo suo, et tantam vim daret baptismo translato

Furthermore, the minister of the church, being lawfully ordained, ought to baptize. The Donatists contend, that none can baptize but he which is pure and holy. They boldly avouched, that that baptism was fruitless and void of effect, which a lewd-living minister, or defiled with wicked vices, did administer. Against these Augustine gravely disputed, and convinced them by the truth of the scripture. He in his 166. epistle saith: "See how perversely and wickedly that is spoken, which ye are wont to say: Because[2] if he be a good man, he sanctifieth him whom he baptizeth; but if he be an evil man, and he not know so much which is baptized, then God sanctifieth him. If this be true, then men ought rather to wish to be baptized of ministers unknown to be evil, than of them which are known to be good, that they may rather be sanctified of God than of man. But far from us be this madness. Why then do we not speak truth and are rightly wise: Because[2] that grace belongeth alway to God, and the sacrament is his, and the ministry only committed unto man; who if he be good, he cleaveth to God, and worketh with God; but if he be evil, God worketh by him the visible form of the sacrament, but he himself giveth the invisible grace? Herein let us all be wise, and let there be no schisms or divisions among us[3]." The same Augustine, in his third book *contra* Who should baptize.

in servum, quantam vim haberet baptismus datus a Domino. Hoc noluit ideo, ut in illo spes esset baptizatorum, a quo se baptizatos agnoscerent. Noluit ergo servum ponere spem in servo. Ideoque clamabat apostolus, cum videret homines volentes ponere spem in scipso, Nunquid Paulus pro vobis crucifixus est? aut in nomine Pauli baptizati estis? Baptizavit ergo Paulus tanquam minister, non tanquam ipsa potestas: baptizavit autem Dominus tanquam potestas... Super quem videris Spiritum descendentem, sicut columbam, et manentem super eum, hic est qui baptizat Spiritu Sancto. Non ergo te decipiant, O columba, seductores qui dicunt, Nos baptizamus. Columba, agnosce quid docuit columba, Hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu Sancto. Per columbam discitur, quia hic est; et tu ejus potestate putas te baptizari cujus ministerio baptizaris? Si tu hoc putas, nondum es in corpore columbæ; et si non es in corpore columbæ, non mirandum, quia simplicitatem non habes: simplicitas enim maxime per columbam demonstratur. Quare per simplicitatem columbæ didicit Joannes, quia hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu Sancto.—August. in Evang. Joan. Tract. v. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 9. col. 2. and 4. Par. 1531.]

[2 Rather, that.]

[3 Videte quam perverse et impie dicatur quod dicere soletis; quia

Literas Petiliani[1], cap. 49, doth plentifully set forth the same matter. And because we have also handled the same thing in the end of our former sermon next before this, it is needless to speak one thing twice.

Whether midwives may baptize.

Here is a question objected unto us, touching the baptism of midwives; Whether women midwives upon the point of necessity, that is, when the infant is in jeopardy to die before he come to be baptized at the hands of the ecclesiastical minister, ought and may baptize? We answer, that baptism is a sacrament of the church, and that women are forbidden to minister in the church; therefore that they neither can nor ought to baptize, as they are by no means permitted to teach.

1 Tim. ii.

The laws of the apostle are well known. "But I suffer not a woman," saith Paul, "to teach, neither to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." The same law is repeated of the same apostle, the first to the Corinthians and fourteenth chapter, and is confirmed by God's law. Man's testimonies agree with God's. For Tertullian, in his book *De Velandis Virginibus*, saith: "It is not permitted unto a woman to speak in the church, much less to teach or to baptize, nor to offer; neither to take to herself the execution of any man's office, much less the priest's[2]." This also is read repeated in the fourth council of Carthage[3], where also Aurelius Augustine is said to have been present. Epiphanius, bishop of Salome[4] in

si bonus sit homo, ipse sanctificat cum quem baptizat; si autem malus sit, et nesciat ille qui baptizatur, tunc Deus sanctificat. Hoc si verum est, optare ergo debent homines ut a malis ignoratis baptizentur potius quam a notis bonis, ut magis a Deo quam ab homine possint sanctificari. Sed absit a nobis ista dementia. Quare ergo non verum dicimus et recte sapimus, quia semper Dei est illa gratia et Dei sacramentum; hominis autem solum ministerium: qui si bonus est, adhæret Deo et operatur cum Deo; si autem malus est, operatur per illum Deus visibilem sacramenti formam, ipse autem donat invisibilem gratiam. Hoc sapiamus omnes, et non sint in nobis schismata.—Aug. Epist. 166. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 146. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

[1 Id. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 40. col. 3.]

[2 Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui; sed nec docere, nec tinguere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris, ne duo (alii, nedum) sacerdotalis officii sortem sibi vendicarent.—Tertull. de Virg. Veland. cap. 9. Tom. III. p. 15. ed Semler. Hal. Mag. 1829.]

[3 Mulier baptizare non præsumat.—Concil. Carthag. IV. can. 100. Labb. et Coss. Tom. II. col. 1207.]

[4 Salaminæ, Lat.: Salamis.]

Cypres, disputing against divers heresies and confuting Marcion, saith: "He also giveth women leave and licence to baptize[5]." He saith as much of the Quintilian and Peputian heretics[6]. He also, reasoning against the heretics Collyridiani, saith: "If women were commanded to sacrifice unto God, or to execute any regular thing in the church, then Mary ought rather to do sacrifice in the new Testament, which was made worthy to carry in her own arms the King of all kings, the heavenly God, the Son of God; whose womb was made a temple and dwelling for the dispensation of the Lord in the flesh, being prepared for that purpose through the bountifulness and marvellous mystery of God. But it did not so please God. But neither was it committed or granted unto her to baptize; otherwise her Son might have been rather baptized of her than of John." The same author addeth: "And truly there is in the church an order of women-ministers called women-deacons; but not permitted to sacrifice, neither to attempt anything, but for reverence sake of women-kind, or for the hour of bathing, or visiting, or for affection and travel[7]."

Sephora circumciseth.

Whereas they object the example of Sephora the Madianite, wife of Moses, which circumcised her son[8] in the time of necessity; that doth establish no common law: as the particular example of Delbora maketh not all women judges.

[5 Δίδωσι καὶ (Μαρκίων) ἐπιτροπὴν γυναιξὶ βάπτισμα διδόναι.—Epiphan. adv. Hæres. Lib. I. hær. XXII. vel XLII. Opp. Tom. I. p. 305. Par. 1622.]

[6 Τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Μωϋσέως ὡς προφήτιδα λέγουσιν, εἰς μαρτυρίαν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς καθισταμένων γυναικῶν ἐν Κλήρῳ.—Epiph. adv. Hær. Lib. II. hær. XXIX. sive XLIX. p. 418.]

[7 Εἰ ἱερατεύειν γυναῖκες Θεῷ προσετάσσοντο, ἢ κανονικόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδει μᾶλλον αὐτὴν τὴν Μαρίαν ἱερατείαν ἐπιτελέσαι ἐν καινῇ διαθήκῃ, τὴν καταξιωθεῖσαν ἐν κόλποις ἰδίοις ὑποδέξασθαι τὸν παμβασιλέα Θεὸν ἐπουράνιον, Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἧς ἡ μήτρα ναὸς γενομένη καὶ κατοικητήριον εἰς τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἔνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν κατὰ φιλανθρωπίαν Θεοῦ, καὶ ἔκπληκτον μυστήριον ἡτοιμάσθη. Ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐδόκησεν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βάπτισμα διδόναι πεπίστευται· ἐπεὶ ἠδύνατο ὁ Χριστὸς μᾶλλον παρ' αὐτῆς βαπτισθῆναι, ἤπερ παρὰ Ἰωάννου... Καὶ ὅτι μὲν Διακονισσῶν τάγμα ἐστιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερατεύειν, οὐδέ τι ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν, ἕνεκεν δὲ σεμνότητος τοῦ γυναικείου γένους, ἢ δι' ὥραν λουτροῦ, ἢ ἐπισκέψεως πάθους, ἢ πόνου, &c.—Id. Lib. III. hær. LIX. sive LXXIX. Opp. Tom. I. p. 1060.]

[8 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, their son.]

For there are many peculiar things done in the scripture, out of which if any man shall go about to draw general things and common laws, he shall bring in absurdities innumerable. What if Moses in the same place doth only describe the deed of his wife, moved thereunto by anger and displeasure, and not for religion's sake, to perform the ministry unto God? For she, grudging[1] against her husband, yea, and against God, took the foreskin of her son which was cut away, and cast it at his father her husband's feet, not without reproach, saying:

Exod. iv. "A bloody husband art thou unto me." As if you should say: *Ich habb woll ein bluotigman an dirr*[2]. And though the angel was appeased with Moses, because he seemed to allow the deed of the woman as well pleasing God; yet that is more to be imputed to the mercy of God, rather than to the righte-

2 Sam. xii. ousness of the woman's deed. It did grievously displease God, that David had slain Urias, and moreover had taken Beerseba to himself to wife; yet of his goodness and singular mercy he vouchsafed to call Salomon, who was born of Beersabe, by this name, Jedidia, because the Lord loved him. So the gracious Lord is also reconciled with Moses, who either by his own negligence, or through the fault of his Madianitish wife, lingered circumcision in the body of her son against the law longer than was meet; and is content with, and taketh in good part, the circumcision, which the woman performed rather of indignation than for religion; yet he will not that after her, as a perfect example, other women should circumcise.

Of salvation of infants departing without baptism.

But, you say, by baptism ministered by a woman the peril of death or eternal damnation was to be prevented, into which the infant falleth if he depart this world without baptism. My answer is: When the infant, being newly delivered out of his mother's womb, departeth with too too speedy death, so that the parents cannot, though they would never so fain, bring him to be baptized of the minister of the church, this pinch of necessity truly is not to the damnation or death of the infant; because he, being received into the covenant by the grace of God, is delivered from death through the blood of the Son of God. We are not destitute of testimonies of scripture duly serving in this behalf. In the law it was not lawful

[1 impotenter obstrepens, Lat.]

[2 A full bloody husband have I in thee! Luther's rendering is: Du bist mir ein blutbräutigam.]

to circumcise an infant before the eighth day; but it is certain, that very many departed out of this world before the eighth day: yet in the meanwhile, if any man-child had departed the third or fourth day after his birth, no condemnation was imputed unto him. For otherwise David, a very sound man in religion, and one that loved his children dearly, and one very desirous of the salvation of his household, when his child was dead which was begotten and born unto him of Beersabe, could not have shewed himself so cheerful to his courtiers; to whom among other things he said, that he should go unto the dead child, to wit, into the land of the living. If it were no danger unto women-children to die uncircumcised (for they without circumcision were saved), neither verily shall it be damnable for men-children being not baptized to die at the point of necessity; for we have oftentimes said, that holy baptism entered and took the place of circumcision. Hitherto pertain the testimonies out of the law and the prophets. In the law the Lord protesteth more than once, that he hath a most certain care and regard of infants. In Jonas he expressly professeth, that he hath a consideration and a respect of those that are not yet come to the years of discretion: for the Lord spared the most famous city of Ninive partly for their sakes.

Thou sayest, These testimonies of the old Testament pertain nothing to us, which live under the new Testament. I answer; That God, after the coming of Christ in the flesh, is not more rigorous unto us than he was before Christ's coming. For if it were so, what should we say else, but that Christ came not to fulfil, but to weaken and abolish the promises of God? since that in times past among them of old the grace and the promise were effectual in necessity without the sign; but now among us, being without the sign, they begin to be void and of no force.

Wherefore I, trusting to God's mercy and his truth and undoubted promise[3], believe that infants, departing out of this world by too too timely[4] death, before they can be baptized, are saved by the mere mercy of God, in the power of his truth and promise through Christ, who saith in the gospel: "Suffer little ones to come unto me; for of such is the king- Mark x.

[3 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, true and undoubted promise; veraci et indubitatæ promissioni, Lat.]

[4 præpropera, Lat.]

Matt. xviii. dom of God:" again: "It is not the will of my Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish." For
Gen. xvii. verily God, who cannot lie, hath said: "I am thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee." Whereupon St Paul also
1 Cor. vii. affirmeth, that they are born holy which are begotten of holy parents: not that of flesh and blood any holy thing is born; for "that which is born of the flesh is flesh:" but because that holiness and separation from the common seed of men is of promise, and by the right of the covenant. For we are all by nature and natural birth born the sons of wrath, death, and damnation; but Paul attributeth a special privilege to the children of the faithful, wherewith by the grace of God they which by nature were unclean are purified. So the same apostle in another place doth gather holy branches of an holy root; and again elsewhere saith: "If by the sin of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift of grace, which is by one man Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many." And therefore Augustine doubted not to say: "As all which die, die no otherwise but in Adam; even so all that are made alive, are not made alive but in Christ. And upon this whosoever shall say unto us, that any in the resurrection of the dead can be made alive otherwise than in Christ, he is to be abhorred and detested as a common plague of the christian faith[1]." *Ad Hiero. epi.* 28.

They object, By this means the use of baptism is made void and quite taken away; yea, Pelagianism is sprung up again, which with so great travail St Augustine, with many other learned and holy men, beat down and kept under. He
Gen. xvii. falsely spake that said: "The soul, whose foreskin is not circumcised, shall be cut off from his people, because he hath
John iii. broken my covenant." He falsely spake that said: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." For if these sayings be true, and children not baptized, truly the sequel is, that they dying without baptism are not saved. I answer, That I weaken holy baptism by no means, much

[1 Sicut omnes qui moriuntur, non nisi in Adam moriuntur, ita omnes qui vivificabuntur, non nisi in Christo vivificabuntur. Ac per hoc quisquis nobis dixerit quenquam in resurrectione mortuorum vivificari posse nisi in Christo, tanquam pestis communis fidei detestandus est. —August. Epist. 28. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 21. col. 2. Par. 1531.]

less take it quite away, when I defend that infants upon the pinch of necessity, not being guilty of the contempt of God or wicked negligence, are not damned though they die unbaptized. For so salvation should be tied to the sign, and the promise of God should be made void; as though that alone without the sign upon the point of necessity were vain, and could work nothing: as if the hand of God were shortened, and bound as it were to the sign. For otherwise I teach by all means, that infants are to be baptized, and that baptism is not to be delayed negligently, or to be put off maliciously. But in the meantime, if by too too speedy death they depart unbaptized, I exhort and charge, that a good hope and confidence be had in the truth and mercy of the Lord, who promiseth in the law and the gospel, that he is the God of young infants, and that his will is that not so much as one of his little ones should perish.

The Pelagians deny the baptism of infants, and why.

With Pelagius and Pelagians we have nothing to do: neither are we ignorant what St Augustine hath written unto Hierome, Epist. 28, in this behalf. "Whosoever shall say," saith he, "that infants which leave this life, not having been partakers of Christ his sacrament of baptism, are quickened and made alive in him, this man doubtless doth set himself both against the preaching of the apostles, and condemneth the whole church; where for this cause they make haste, and run with their children to have them baptized, for that without doubt they believe, that by no means otherwise they could be made alive in Christ[2]." And against the Pelagians, Epist. 106: "The apostolical seat, dealing against Pelagius, accurseth them which said that infants unbaptized have life everlasting[3]." The same Augustine, Lib. 1. *De Ani. &c.* cap. 9, to Renatus, disputeth against Vincentius Victor, who granteth[4]

[2 Quisquis dixerit quod in Christo vivificabuntur etiam parvuli, qui sine sacramenti ejus participatione de vita exeunt, hic profecto et contra apostolicam prædicationem venit, et totam condemnat ecclesiam, ubi propterea cum baptizandis parvulis festinatur et curritur, quia sine dubio creditur aliter eos in Christo vivificari omnino non posse.—Id. ibid.]

[3 —contra apostolicæ sedis auctoritatem (disputabit), ubi de hac ipsa re cum ageretur, hoc testimonium adhibitum est evangelicum, ne parvuli non baptizati vitam posse habere credantur.—Aug. Ep. 106. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 95. col. 1.]

[4 So ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, granted.]

that infants are inthralled to original sin, and yet nevertheless are saved though they be not baptized. Against whom he bringeth forth this saying of our Saviour: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God[1]." But we, which condemn both Pelagius and Pelagians, do affirm both those things which they deny; to wit, that infants are born in original sin, and therefore that the sanctification of Christ is necessary unto them, without which they are not saved. Again we defend and maintain, that the same infants ought to be baptized, if it be possible, though by the right of the covenant they belong to the body of Christ and are sanctified by the blood of Christ. Pelagius taught, that infants ought not to be baptized; for that, he held opinion, they are without all fault, or any sin, blame, and offence. That wicked and ungodly man therefore did not acknowledge either our own corruption, or the benefit which God hath performed by, in, and through Christ. Yet canst thou find neither of these in our assertion and doctrine; wherefore we take no part with the Pelagians. St Augustine, in that selfsame epistle unto St Hierome, expressly saith: "Thou art none of them which say, that there is no guilt drawn from Adam, from which the infant should be washed by baptism[2]." And against Julian also, Lib. I. cap. 2,[3] he proveth by the sentences of the holy fathers, that infants have original sin[4]; and thereupon gathereth, that therefore infants ought to be baptized, because they have sin. For the Pelagians gathered clean contrary: They have no sin, therefore they are not to be baptized. For the council of Carthage writeth thus to Innocent: "The Pelagians deny that infants are to be baptized: for these, say they, perished not, neither is there anything to be saved; because there is nothing in them that is corrupt or wicked, &c.[5]" But we, insomuch as we

[1 Aug. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 236. col. 1.]

[2 Non es ex illis qui modo nova quædam garrire cœperunt, dicentes nullum reatum esse ex Adam tractum, qui per baptismum in infante solvatur.—Aug. Ep. 28. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 20. col. 1.]

[3 The title of this chapter is, Testimonia Doctorum de Peccato Originali.—August. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 193.]

[4 astruit originale peccatum, Lat.: proveth original sin: that infants have, not in Lat.]

[5 Parvulos etiam propter salutem ... baptizandos negant ... Quia,

believe that infants are born in sin, yea, and that they are both born the children of wrath, and are corrupt and wicked; moreover, because we believe that the Son of God was born without sin of a pure virgin, to fulfil and confirm God's promises, which do not shut out infants from salvation, but let them in as joint partners in the league; therefore we hold and defend that they are to be baptized. And therefore this reason gathered of Augustine we cannot simply allow: "Out of the fellowship of Christ no man cometh unto life: but by baptism we are joined as members into the body of Christ, and have fellowship with him. Therefore infants which are not to be baptized[6] are without the fellowship of Christ, and therefore are condemned[7]." For as we deny not, that we are graffed into the body of Christ by partaking of the sacraments (as we declared in our last sermon of sacraments, next and immediately going before this); so we have elsewhere shewed, and that too oftentimes already very largely, that the first beginning of our uniting or fellowship with Christ is not wrought by the sacraments; but that the same uniting or fellowship, which was founded and grounded upon the promise, and by the grace of God through the Holy Ghost was communicated unto us and ours, yea, before the use of the sacraments, is continued and sealed unto us by the participation or receiving of the sacraments. Although therefore an infant die without baptism, and being shut out by necessity from having fellowship with Christ[8], so that he be neither partaker nor yet sealed by the visible sign of the covenant; yet he is not altogether an aliant or stranger from Christ, to whom he is fastened with the spiritual knot of the covenant, by the virtue whereof he is saved.

Lib. iii. De pec. mer. et remiss. cap. 4.

inquiunt, isti non perierant, nec est quod in eis salvetur... quia nihil est in eis vitiatum.—Labb. et Coss. Tom. II. col. 1535.]

[6 infantes non baptizati, Lat.: infants which are not baptized.]

[7 Quid autem apertius tot tantisque testimoniis divinorum eloquiorum, quibus dilucidissime apparet, nec præter Christi societatem ad vitam salutemque æternam posse quenquam hominum pervenire, nec divino judicio posse aliquem injuste damnari... unde sit consequens, ut quamvis nihil agitur aliud cum parvuli baptizantur nisi ut incorporentur ecclesiæ, id est, Christi corpori membrisque socientur, manifestum sit eos ad damnationem nisi hoc eis collatum fuerit pertinere.—Aug. de Pecc. Mer. et Remis. Lib. III. cap. 4. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 148. col. 2.]

[8 from having—with Christ, not in Lat.]

The exposition of the place, "The soul of the uncircumcised shall be cut off."

The place of Gen. xvii., alleged of cutting off the uncircumcised from the people of God, in consideration of the time, it fitly agreeth to those that are of perfect age and well grown in years, and not to babes or infants; which thing is seen in Moses, whom the angel of the Lord, for neglecting circumcision, or for delaying it longer than was lawful, would have slain[1], as he testifieth of himself: neither am I ignorant that certain old interpretators[2] refer that not to Moses, but to Eleazar the son of Moses. But the very course of the history and the circumstances of the same do sufficiently prove, that the danger lay on the father's, and not on the son's neck. What if a reason be added in the words of the law, which by no means agreeth to infants? "Therefore shall the uncircumcised perish," saith he, "because he hath broken my covenant." So that if we consider that circumcision in the very same place was commanded not only to infants, but to such as were of perfect age, as to Abraham, Ismael, and others desiring visibly to be joined into the fellowship of God; we are not to marvel that destruction is threatened to the disobedient. For if any man at this day understand and know the Lord's ordinance comprehended in his words[3], "He which shall believe and be baptized shall be saved," will yet nevertheless not be baptized, but boasteth that faith is sufficient for him unto salvation, that baptism is superfluous; he hath despised the ordinance of God, and is condemned for a rebel and an enemy[4] to God.

The exposition of the place, "Except a man be born of water, &c." John iii.

Furthermore, that place of John iii. is not to be understood of the outward sign of the holy baptism[5], but simply of the inward and most spiritual regeneration of the Holy Spirit; which when Nicodemus understood not perfectly, the Lord figured and made the same manifest unto him by parables of water and of the spirit, that is to say, of the wind or the air, by elements very base and familiar. For by and bye he addeth: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh," &c.: again, "The wind bloweth where it lusteth," &c.; which must needs be meant of the air; for the other part of the comparison followeth: "So is every one that is born of the Spirit."

[1 invadit, Lat.]

[2 Tertullian adv. Jud. cap. 3. Augustin. Quæst. in Exod. § 11.]

[3 So ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, these his words; his ejus verbis, Lat.]

[4 non amico, Lat. omitted: and for one who is not a friend.]

[5 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, of holy baptism.]

Furthermore he addeth: "If I tell you of earthly things, and ye believe not; how will you believe, if I tell you of heavenly things?" But the argument which he put forth was not altogether earthly; for this is the argument of his whole disputation: "Except a man be born from above[6] he cannot see the kingdom of God:" that is to say, unless a man be renewed, and as it were born again by the Spirit of God, which is given from above, that is to say, poured into him from heaven, he cannot be saved. The doctrine is altogether heavenly; but the means whereby he delivered, declared, and set forth this heavenly doctrine, is earthly. For by things taken from the earth he shadowed out to man, being gross of understanding and earthly, a spiritual and heavenly thing, and laid it open as it were even to the view of his eyes. As by water and air oftentimes the qualities of bodies are changed, and as the effect and working of water and the air in bodies is marvellous; in like manner is the working of the Holy Ghost in the soul of man, which it changeth, purifieth, and quickeneth, &c. For so the Lord himself afterward (which I told you even now) expoundeth another parable of the Spirit. And because all old writers, for the most part, by water have understood sacramental water, that is to say, holy baptism, we also receive this interpretation. For we willingly grant that baptism is necessary to salvation, as well in such as are of perfect age as also in babes or infants, so that necessity constrain not the contrary. For otherwise, if we go forward stubbornly with St Augustine to condemn infants by this place, truly we shall be compelled also to condemn even those that are baptized, if they depart this life without partaking of the body and blood of Christ. For St Augustine, being infected with the like error, defendeth that the sacrament of the Lord's supper ought to be put into the infants' mouth, or else they are in danger of death and damnation[8], because it is written: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his

De peccatorum meritis et remissione, Lib. i. cap. 20.[7]

John vi.

[6 e supernis, Erasmus's rendering: and Auth. Ver. marg.]

[7 The title of the chapter is, Eucharistia etiam infantibus necessaria ut baptismus.—August. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 136. col. 4. Par. 1531.]

[8 de vita periclitaturis, Lat.: or else they are brought into danger as to life.]

blood, ye have no life in you." Therefore after this same order he placeth these two sentences: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot see the kingdom of God;" and, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man," &c. So that if thou persist obstinately in St Augustine's sentence, verily thou wilt condemn the whole church at this day, which denieth the partaking of the Lord's supper unto infants. But if in this thing there be admitted a convenient interpretation, why are ye so rigorous and obstinate in another and the like place and cause not disagreeable?

What will you say, if in this opinion Augustine doth not satisfy, no, not himself in all and every point? To a layman he thinketh it venial sin, if he baptize in time of necessity. He cannot tell whether it be godlily spoken, that baptism ministered by a layman ought to be iterated or done again[1]. But how much better and safer had it been, letting the necessity of baptism pass, which hath no lawful causes, to hold opinion that infants, if they be not prevented by death, ought to be baptized of the minister of the church, in the church, their parents procuring it as opportunity first serveth; and that too too speedy and sudden death (which we call the pinch of necessity) is no let or hinderance to salvation to them which are not yet brought to be baptized? The same Augustine trembleth and is afraid to determine of the punishment of damned infants for not being baptized; neither knoweth truly what he might certainly say. In his first book, *De Anim. &c.*, cap. 9, he saith: "Let no man promise to infants unbaptized as it were a middle place of rest or felicity, whatsoever it be, or wheresoever it be, between hell and the kingdom of heaven[2]." But that sentence is, for the most part, received of all men; whereupon also the infants are buried in the churchyard in a certain middle place between the profane

[1 Et si laicus aliqua pereuntis dederit (baptismum) necessitate compulsus . . . nescio an pie quisquam dixerit esse repetendum. Nulla enim cogente necessitate si fiat, alieni muneris usurpatio est: si autem necessitas urgeat, aut nullum, aut veniale delictum est.—August. cont. Ep. Parmen. Lib. II. cap. 13. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 9. col. 3.]

[2 Non baptizatis parvulis nemo promittat inter damnationem regnumque cœlorum quietis vel felicitatis cujuslibet atque ubilibet quasi medium locum.—Id. de Anim. et ejus Orig. Lib. I. cap. 9. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 236. col. 1.]

and holy ground[3]. And again the same Aug. *contra Julianum Pelagianum*, Lib. v. cap. 8, writeth: "That those infants of all other shall come in the easiest damnation." And immediately he addeth: "Which of what manner and how great it shall be, although I cannot describe, yet I dare not say that it were better for them to be as no body than to be there[4]." And again, in his epistle to St Hierome, 28, he saith: "When I come to determine of the punishments of little infants, believe me, I am driven into narrow straits, neither find I anything at all to answer[5]." Here also may that be added which he disputeth upon, Lib. iv. *contra Donatist.* cap. 22 and 23, touching the thief which was crucified with Christ, among other things saying: "That then baptism is fulfilled invisibly, when not the contempt of religion, but the point of necessity, excludeth and shutteth out from visible baptism[6]." Why then should we not believe also, that in infants departing by too too timely death, baptism is invisibly performed, since that not contempt of religion, but the extremity of necessity which cannot be avoided, excludeth and debarreth them from visible baptism? And since very many at this day do grant, that any man of perfect age without baptism in the point of necessity may be saved, so that he have a desire of baptism; why then may not the godly desires of the parents acquit the infants now newly born from guiltiness? But this much hitherto.

Who are to be baptized.

Touching this also, who are to be baptized, both in time past and our age there hath been bitter jarring. Pelagius in time past denied that infants ought to be baptized, which we

[3 in cœmiterio innocentum, Lat.: omitted.]

[4 Quis dubitaverit parvulos non baptizatos, qui solum habent originale peccatum nec ullis propriis aggravantur, in damnatione omnium levissima futuros? Quæ qualis et quanta erit, quamvis definire non possum, non tamen audeo dicere, quod eis ut nulli essent quam ut ibi essent potius expediret.—Aug. contra Julian. Pelag. Lib. v. cap. 8. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 213. col. 2.]

[5 Cum ad pœnas ventum est parvulorum, magnis, mihi crede, coarctor angustiis, nec quid respondeam prorsus invenio.—Id. Epist. XXVIII. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 21. col. 4.]

[6 Tunc impletur (baptismus) invisibiliter, cum mysterium baptismi non contemptus religionis, sed articulus necessitatis excludit.—Aug. de Baptismo contra Donat. Lib. IV. cap. 22. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 88. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

heard even now. Before Pelagius' time, Auxentius Arianus, with his sectaries, denied that they are to be baptized[1]. Some in the time of St Bernard denied the same, as we may gather out of his writings[2]. The anabaptists at this day, a kind of men raised up of Satan to destroy the gospel, deny it likewise[3]. But the catholic truth, which is delivered unto us in the holy scriptures, doth simply pronounce, that all they are to be baptized whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and giveth sentence that they are partakers of purification or sanctification or remission of sins. For in all this treatise concerning the sacraments I have already and do now shew, that baptism is a badge or cognisance of the people of God, and an assured token of our purification by Christ. Therefore since the young babes and infants of the faithful are in the number or reckoning of God's people, and partakers of the promise touching the purification through Christ; it followeth of necessity, that they are as well to be baptized, as they that be of perfect age which profess the christian faith.

Who be the people of God.

But there is a busy disputation begun, Who be the people of God, and partakers of remission of sins by Christ? So that the disputation is touching the secret election of God, and other hard questions depending on this thing. But briefly and simply we can rid our hands of this. We say, that the people of God are acknowledged either by men's confession of the christian faith, or else by the bountiful promise of God. By men's confession; for we acknowledge them to be the children of God, who, being now grown to perfect age, do openly confess the true God, that God is their God, and that Jesus Christ is their Saviour. But that confession is either unfeignedly or hypocritically made: unfeignedly, as when St Peter saith, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God;" when the eunuch saith, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God:" but hypocritically, as when Simon Magus in the Acts of the Apostles saith, that he believeth in Jesus Christ. But whether a man believe unfeignedly or hypocritically,

[1 See Examinations, &c. of Archdeacon Philpot, ed. Park. Soc. pp. 274, &c. where much is borrowed, word for word, from this sermon of Bullinger's.]

[2 Bernard. in Cantic. Serm. LXVI. § 9. Tom. IV. col. 3071. Epist. 241. Tom. I. col. 506. ed. Par. 1839.]

[3 Bulling. adv. Anabapt. Lib. VI. cap. 2.]

when he maketh open confession of his faith in Christ, (the secrets of the heart God only seeth; for he only is rightly believed to be the searcher of men's hearts,) it belongeth not to us, if he make a right confession, to separate or cast him away from the people of God. For Philip did not cast off or put back Simon Magus; but upon his confession received him for a faithful man, and baptized him as a faithful man, though he in very deed, and before God, were an hypocrite. In the first sermon of this decade[4] we declared, that hypocrites also are reckoned in the church, till time they be revealed. But concerning remission of sins, those only among them that be of perfect age do obtain it, which unfeignedly believe: which in another place is often shewed. St Peter said to Simon Magus, though he were baptized, "Thou hast neither part nor fellowship in this business, because thy heart is not right in the sight of God." Acts viii.

Furthermore, by the free and bountiful promise of God, not only by the confession of men, we esteem and acknowledge the people of God. For to whomsoever the Lord promiseth that he will be their God, and whomsoever he receiveth and acknowledgeth for his, those no man without an horrible offence may exclude from the number of the faithful. And God promiseth, that he will not only be the God of them that confess him, but of infants also; he promiseth to them his grace and remission of sins. Who therefore, gainsaying the Lord of all things, will yet deny that infants belong to God, are his, and that they are made partakers of purification through Christ? And that God acknowledgeth infants for his and sanctifieth them, by the very sum of the covenant it is manifest. "I will make my covenant between me and thee," saith the Lord unto Abraham, "and thy seed after thee in their generations, by an everlasting covenant; that I may be God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee." There is added circumcision, a sign of sanctification, whereof I spake abundantly, when according to order I entreated of circumcision[5]. Neither is there any cause why any man should fear, that with circumcision and the ceremonies of the law the promise is abrogated, and that by the coming of Christ the covenant is broken and annihilated. For we said even now, Gen. xvii

[4 See above, p. 12.]
[5 Vol. II. pp. 171—182.]

that Christ came to fulfil the promises of God, and not to break them. And therefore the Lord in the gospel speaketh of infants, that is to say, which have not as yet confessed the faith, and saith: "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God." And though it be said "of such," and not "of those;" yet no man is so ignorant, but understandeth, there is a likeness between those things which are compared between themselves. Therefore if the kingdom of God belongeth unto them that are of perfect age, because they are become like little children; surely it followeth of necessity, that the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven belongeth also to infants or little children. For it followeth in the gospel: "Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall in no wise enter therein." Therefore it behoveth the heirs of the kingdom of God to be first infants or little children. And who knoweth not, that no man, unless he be sanctified and purified, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven? Children enter into the kingdom of God: therefore they are purified, to wit, by the grace of God. For by their nature and birth they are unclean, and sinners; but for Christ's sake they are purified, who said, "That he came to seek and save that which was lost." Paul also expressly testifieth, that "by the sin of one, Adam, sin came on all men unto condemnation; and that by the righteousness[1] of one, Christ, good came upon all men to the righteousness[1] of life." Therefore it is certain, that infants are partakers of purification and remission of sins through Christ, albeit they do not confess remission of sins. What, doth not the Lord say in the gospel, "It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish?" Again: "He that shall receive such a young child in my name, receiveth me; but he that shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better that a millstone were hanged about his neck," &c. See therefore and "take heed, that ye despise not one of these little ones: for I say unto you, that their angels in heaven do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." Behold, what could be more manifestly spoken? It is not the will of my heavenly Father, that infants should perish. Therefore he receiveth them freely into grace and favour, though they have

Rom. v.

[1] justificationem, Lat.]

not yet confessed. Moreover, he that receiveth such a little one, to wit, as he himself set in the midst of them, for Christ's sake, he is said to receive Christ himself. Lo, he attributeth to the receivers of infants that which he promised to the receivers of the prophets. He addeth: "But he which shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me." He manifestly calleth the little ones, not yet able to confess, believers, because he reputeth them of his grace for believers. Neither is this any wonder or strange thing, since God, yea to them that are of perfect age, imputeth faith for righteousness. For in all points righteousness, acceptation, or sanctification, is free and imputative, that the glory of his grace might be praised. Furthermore, his will is that little ones should not be despised, much less to be cast out among[2] the number of the saints. Yea, he doth affirm that angels are given unto them to be their keepers, who though they be ministers of God's majesty, yet the selfsame are given and granted to little children to be their guard: so that hereby[3] we may judge what great store the Lord setteth by infants, and learn not to wipe them out of the score of God's people, to whom the inheritance of life is due. We attribute nothing here to the birth which is after the flesh, but all things to the grace and promise of God. Now it is evident by all the[4] testimonies, that as well the infants of the faithful are to be baptized, as also those that are of perfect age, confessing the faith.

Infants confessing or believing.

Now on the contrary part the anabaptists do contend, that none is to be baptized, but he alone which both is able to be taught, and to believe, yea, and make confession of his faith also. And for confirmation of this thing they bring these sayings of our Saviour: out of St Matthew, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father," &c.: out of Mark, "Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel to all creatures: he which shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved," &c. Behold, say they, teaching goeth before baptism; therefore they that are not able to be taught ought not to be baptized. Furthermore, to believe goeth before, and to baptize followeth after: infants do not believe, therefore they are not to be baptized. Upon all these they heap up out of the Acts of the Apostles ex-

By what arguments the anabaptists teach that infants ought not to be baptized.

[2 e numero, Lat.: from among.] [3 vel inde, Lat.: hereby also.]
[4 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, all these: ex his omnibus, Lat.]

amples, which prove that the faithful, that is to say, they that confess the faith, were baptized of the apostles. They reckon up also the newly-instructed Christians[1] of the old time, to whom, say they, there had been no place given, if they had baptized infants. I answer: If the order of the words make any thing in this matter, we also have in a readiness to serve our turn. For in Mark thus we read: "John baptized in the desert, preaching the baptism of repentance;" in which place we see, that to baptize goeth before, to preach followeth after. Yea, I will shew also that that place, which they allege out of Matthew for themselves, maketh also for us. For Matthew's words be these: "All power is given unto me both in heaven and in earth," saith the Lord. "Go therefore," and μαθήτευσατε, that is to say, discipulate, (that I may so speak;) that is, make ye me disciples, or gather together all nations. Yea, he teacheth them also the way and means how to gather disciples unto him out of all nations, or all nations, by baptizing and teaching them. By baptizing and preaching ye shall gather me together a church. And he setteth out both of them severally one after another, sweetly and shortly, saying: "Baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things which I have commanded you." Now therefore baptism goeth before teaching. But we do not thereby gather, that those nations, which never heard anything before of God and the Son of God and the Holy Ghost, are to be baptized; neither would the apostles have borne that: but we allege these things, to declare upon how fickle a foundation the anabaptists do build. And we simply say, that it is not true which these men imagine, that the Lord commanded his apostles to baptize them only whom they taught. Neither doth he here point out who are to be baptized in the whole world[2]; but he speaketh of them that are of perfect age, and of laying the first foundations of faith and of the church among the gentiles, being rude as yet and ignorant altogether in religion. They that are of perfect age are able to hear preaching or teaching: infants are not so. They that are of perfect age are able to believe and confess: infants are not so. Therefore he speaketh nothing here of infants. Yet

Matt. xxviii.

[1 catechumenos, Lat.]

[2 in universum, Lat.: in all instances.]

therefore they are not debarred from baptism. It is a general law, "He which doth not labour, let him not eat;" but who is so cruel and unnatural to think, that therefore infants are to be famished to death? The Lord, when true religion began to be spread abroad, sent his apostles into all nations, unto them which both were ignorant of God and strangers from the testaments of God. Truly, it behoved them not first to baptize, and afterward to teach; but first to teach, and then to baptize. If at this day we should go to convert or turn the Turks to the faith of Christ, first truly we should teach them, afterward baptize the servants of Christ and those that would yield themselves into his subjection. So the Lord himself in times past also first renewed his covenant with Abraham himself, and instituted circumcision for a seal of the covenant; and after that Abraham was circumcised. But he himself, when he understood that infants also were partakers in the covenant, and that circumcision was the seal of the covenant, he afterward did not only circumcise Ismael, being thirteen years of age, and all that were born in his own house, but infants also, among whom we reckon Isaac also. Even so the faithful which were turned by the preaching of the gospel from gentilism, and confessing were baptized; when they understood that their infants were counted among the people of God, and that baptism was the badge of God's people, they caused also their infants to be baptized. As therefore it is written of Abraham, he circumcised all the men-children in his house; so we oftentimes read in the Acts and writings of the apostles, that, after the master of the house is turned, the whole family is baptized.

But as concerning the newly-instructed Christians, they came in the old time from the Gentiles daily unto the church, whom these did instruct in the principles of faith, being ignorant therein, and afterward baptized them. But the ancient fathers themselves nevertheless baptized also the infants of the faithful; which anon we will declare.

Neither do they lawfully gather, when they conclude in this sort: He which shall believe, and be baptized, shall be saved; infants do not believe; therefore they are not to be baptized. For again, it is certain that it is spoken of them that be of perfect age, as in Matthew. And because he requireth faith and confession of faith of those that are of

perfect age, it doth not follow thereupon that he requireth the same of infants. For he accounteth these as his own of his mere grace and free promise, without their confession. So that of the contrary part we do thus reason: They that believe are to be baptized: (which the very adversaries also do confess:) infants do believe; for God reckoneth them in the number of the faithful, which I have afore manifestly proved: therefore infants are to be baptized.

Infants understand not the mystery of baptism.

They object, that infants understand not the mystery of baptism; and therefore, that it is not only repugnant to religion, but to common sense and reason, to baptize infants; for to baptize an infant is to baptize a log, since neither of them hath the use of reason. But these filthy knaves let their tongues run at random against the very majesty of God. God commanded to circumcise the infants; and circumcision containeth high mysteries, which infants understand not. But hath God ordained anything against reason and common sense? Go, ye false knaves, go with your blasphemies to the place which you deserve! It is a most filthy deed, yea, and more than barbarous, in that ye compare infants to logs; for what great store God setteth by infants, we taught you already before out of the gospel. But men, which now begin to have the use of sound reason, are diligently and earnestly to be taught and admonished to remember they are baptized, and to endeavour, by calling on the name of the Lord, in all points to be answerable in life and conversation to their promise and profession. For[1] Abraham instructed his son Isaac, and all the holy fathers their children.

That the baptism of infants is of God, and that the apostles baptized infants.

But letting pass these brainsick, frantic, and foul-mouthed railers, who (as we have heard) never want words to wrangle, though we have had never so much, never so often, and never so earnest conference with them[2]; let us proceed to declare in a few but yet manifest arguments, that infants are to be baptized, and that the apostles of Christ our Lord have baptized infants. The Lord commanded to baptize all nations,

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, For so. Ita vero, Lat.]

[2 Bullinger had many conferences with anabaptists during his pastorate at Bremgarten; and in the years 1525, 1527, 1531, and 1532, public disputations with them were specially held in Zurich, Basle, Berne, and other neighbouring towns.—Bulling. adv. Anabap. Lib. I. capp. 5—7.]

and therefore infants; for they are comprehended under the word of "all nations." Again, whomsoever God reckoneth among the faithful are faithful: for Peter in a vision heareth: "That which God hath cleansed call not thou common or unclean." God reckoneth infants among the faithful; therefore they are faithful: except we had rather resist God, and seem to be stronger than he. And now we count it out of all controversy, that the apostles of Christ baptized them, whom Christ commanded to baptize: but he commanded to baptize the faithful; therefore the apostles baptized infants. Acts x.

The gospel is greater than baptism: for Paul saith, "The Lord sent me to preach the gospel, and not to baptize." Not that he did absolutely deny that he was not sent to baptize, but because he preferred doctrine; for the Lord commended them both to his apostles. Furthermore, in the gospel children are received of God, and not refused: who then, unless he be willingly obstinate, can debar them from the less? In sacraments the thing signified and the sign are considered. The thing signified is the excellenter; from that infants are not debarred. Who, then, will deny them the sign? Truly, the holy sacraments of God are more esteemed by the word than the sign. By the word we gather, that women are not excluded from the supper of the Lord. Although therefore we read not that they were in the first institution, and set at the first table of the Lord, neither that there is any express law which commandeth us to admit them to the supper; yet nevertheless, without fear or doubt, by a perfect argument[3] we admit them. 1 Cor. i.

St Peter could not deny them the baptism of water, to whom he saw the Holy Ghost to be given, which is an assured token of God's people; for he saith in the Acts of the Apostles: "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" Wherefore the holy apostle Peter denied not baptism to infants. For he knew assuredly, even by the doctrine of his Lord and Master (that I may speak nothing now of the everlasting covenant of God), that the kingdom of heaven is of infants. No man is received into the kingdom of heaven, unless he be the friend of God; and these are not destitute of the Spirit of God: "For he which hath not the Spirit of Rom. viii.

[3 ex syllogismo, Lat.]

Christ, the same is none of his." Children are God's; therefore they have the Spirit of God. Therefore, if they have received the Holy Ghost, as well as we; if they be accounted among the people of God, as well as we that be grown in age; who, I pray you, can forbid these to be baptized with water in the name of the Lord? At the first the apostles murmured, being then not sufficiently instructed, against them that brought infants unto the Lord. But the Lord rebuked them, and said: "Suffer little children to come unto me." Why then do not the rebellious anabaptists obey the commandment of the Lord? For what other thing do they at this day, which bring children unto baptism, than that which they in times past did, which brought infants unto the Lord? And the Lord received them, laid his hands on them, and blessed them; and, to be short, by words and gestures he notably signified, that children are the people of God, and most acceptable to God. But why then by the same means, say they, did he not
John iv. baptize them? Because it is written, that "Jesus himself did not baptize, but his disciples." Now[1] since of the thing itself it is so plainly determined, why as yet do we contend about the sign? Hitherto good men are satisfied; but contentious persons go on to busy themselves with questions.

Beside this, circumcision among the old people of God was given to infants; therefore baptism ought to be given to infants among the new people; for baptism succeeded in the place of
Col. ii. circumcision. For St Paul saith: "By Christ ye are circumcised with circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of the flesh subject to sin[2], by the circumcision of Christ; buried with him in baptism." Lo, Paul calleth baptism the circumcision of Christians, "made without hands;" not that water is not ministered by hands, but in that no man henceforth is circumcised with hands, the mystery of circumcision remaining nevertheless in the faithful. Neither shalt thou read any of the old interpreters of the church which have not confessed, that baptism came instead of circumcision. Yea, the likeness and similitude of both of them do shew a manifest succession.

To that which I have said I join this. The servants of God have always been careful to give the signs to them for

[1 Præterea, Lat.: And besides.]

[2 corpus peccatorum carnis, Lat., and Erasmus.]

whom they were ordained. For, that I may pass over all other; did not Josua diligently provide, that the people should be circumcised afore they entered into the land of promise? And since the apostles, the preachers to the whole world, have been the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who hereafter may doubt that they baptized infants, since baptism came into the place of circumcision? Josh. v.

Undoubtedly the apostles of Christ framed all their doings unto the types and figures of the old Testament: therefore it is certain, that they framed baptism also, and therefore that they baptized infants, because they were in the figure of baptism; for the people of Israel went through both the Red sea and the river Jordan with their children. And although they be not always expressed, as neither women are in the holy scriptures; yet they are comprehended and understood by them.

To this appertaineth that which is clearly set down in the scriptures, that the apostles baptized whole houses or families. In houses first of all children are comprehended, as the greatest and most beautiful part of the house. So then the apostles baptized children or little ones, and not only them that are of perfect age. And that a house especially comprehendeth infants or little ones, it may be declared very easily. And first out of the place of Genesis xvii. which even very now I alleged. Next, in that Joseph sent for Jacob his father with his whole house out of the land of Canaan into the land of Egypt, lest his house should have perished with hunger. There are many places of this kind in the law and the prophets, and in the whole scripture. But be it, that there were no infants in those houses (which thing these janglers object) which the apostles baptized; yet nevertheless they do pertain unto the house, and are counted of it; so that if they had been in the house, without doubt they had baptized them. Whereas therefore they contend, that they were not baptized in those families or houses; truly, I say that the fault was neither in the children, as though they had been unworthy of baptism, neither in the apostles, as though they were not wont to baptize infants; but in that, because they were not present: for if they had been present, they had been baptized. For why? the apostles baptized whole houses, unto which children belong.

Now I can shew by the writings of the old doctors, that The baptism of infants

hath lasted from the time of the apostles.

baptism of infants hath continued from the apostles' time even unto us; neither was it ordained by any councils, or by the decrees of any pope, or other men; but instituted and delivered of the apostles out of the scriptures. Origen, Lib. *Enarrat. in Epist. Pauli ad Rom. v.* expounding the vi. chap. saith: "That the church of Christ received of the apostles themselves baptizing of infants[1]." St Hierome maketh mention of the baptizing of infants, Lib. iii. *Contra Pelagianos*[2], and in his epistle to Læta[3]. St Augustine citeth the place of Chrysostom, nay, being cited of Julian, chap. ii.[4] He also unto Hierome, Epist. 28, saith: "St Cyprian, making no new decree, but most stedfastly keeping the faith of the church, was of this opinion with certain of his fellow-bishops, that the new-born child might rightly be baptized[5]." The place of Cyprian is to be seen in *Epi. ad Fidum;* as also I declared before, when I spake of the time of baptism[6]. The same Augustine against the Donatists, Lib. iv. cap. 23 and 24, boldly affirmeth, that "baptizing of children was not fetched from the authority of men, or of councils, but from the tradition or doctrine of the apostles[7]." Cyril, Lib. *in Levit. viii.* both approveth the baptizing of children[8], and condemneth the

[1 Ecclesia ab apostolis traditionem suscepit etiam parvulis baptismum dare.—Origen. Comment. in Ep. ad Rom. Lib. v. Opp. Tom. IV. p. 565. Par. 1759.]

[2 Critob. Dic, quæso, et me omni libera quæstione, quare infantuli baptizentur?—Hieron. adv. Pelag. Dial. Lib. III. Opp. Tom. IV. par. 2. col. 545. Par. 1704.]

[3 Nisi forte æstimas Christianorum filios, si baptisma non acceperint, &c.—Id. Epist. ad Lætam, LVII. Opp. Tom. IV. par. 2. col. 593.]

[4 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, nay, being cited of Julian he expoundeth it, Lib. I. contra Julian. cap. 2. Imo a Juliano citatum illustrat lib. contra Julian. I. cap. 2. Lat.—Aug. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 195. col. 1. Par. 1531.]

[5 Beatus quidem Cyprianus non aliquod decretum condens novum, sed ecclesiæ fidem firmissimam servans, . . . mox natum rite baptizari posse, cum suis quibusdam coepiscopis censuit.—Id. Ep. XXVIII. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 21. col. 3.]

[6 See above, page 365.]

[7 —quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate apostolica traditum rectissime creditur.—Aug. de Bap. contra Donat. Lib. IV. cap. 24. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 88. col. 3.]

[8 —quid causæ sit, cum baptisma ecclesia observatur, etiam

iterating of baptism[9]. Which thing I do not allege to this end, to build the baptizing of children upon man's witness; but to teach that man's testimonies agree with the testimonies of God, and that the truth of antiquities is on our part, lies and new forgeries on the shameless anabaptists' side, who feign that baptizing of children was commanded by the pope.

The history of anabaptism.

Now I think it not labour lost to speak somewhat of anabaptism. In the time that Decius and Gallus Cæsar were emperors, there arose a question in the parts of Africa of rebaptizing heretics. And St Cyprian and the rest of the bishops, being assembled together in the council of Carthage, liked well of anabaptism. But Cornelius, bishop of Rome, in very deed an holy and learned man, and a martyr also, together with the other[10] bishops of Italy, misliked the same. For they would that heretics, after they had renounced their wicked opinions and made their confession touching the right opinion, should be cleansed by the only laying on of hands. Ye may read this in Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, Lib. vii. There is also extant a treatise of that matter in the Ecclesiastical Decrees, cap. 52.[11] But we must understand, that St Cyprian affirmed nothing obstinately in this cause. For in the end of his epistle to Jubaianus he writeth: "These things have I briefly sent unto you in writing, after our mean capacity, most dear brother, commanding no man to follow them, neither preventing any man's opinion; but that every bishop, having liberty of his own judgment, may do what he thinketh best[12]."

After that time both the Arians and Donatists did rebaptize. Touching the Arians historiographers write, and especially Sozomenus, Lib. vi.[13] Ecclesiastical writers do touch the same thing also elsewhere in their works. Against the

parvulis baptismum dari &c.—Cyril. Alexand. Comment. in Levit. Lib. VIII. fol. 33. Par. 1514.]

[9 Id. de Adorat. in Spirit. et Ver. Lib. VI. Opp. Tom. I. p. 176. Par. 1638.]

[10 multis, Lat.: many.]

[11 Qui sint habendi pro baptizatis.—Aug. de Eccles. Dogmat. 52. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 44. col. 1. Par. 1531.]

[12 Hæc tibi breviter pro nostra mediocritate rescripsimus, frater carissime, nemini præscribentes aut præjudicantes, quo minus unusquisque episcoporum quod putat faciat, habens arbitrii sui liberam potestatem.—Cyprian. Jubaiano. Ep. LXXIII. p. 210. Oxon.]

[13 Sozom. H. E. p. 227. Cantab. 1720.]

Donatists St Augustine with other learned men disputed. There is also an imperial law made by Honorius and Theodosius, that holy baptism should not be iterated. Justin. Cæs. hath published the same *In Cod.* Lib. i. Tit. 6, in these words: "If any minister of the catholic church be detected to have rebaptized any, let both him which committed the unappeaseable offence (if at least by age he be punishable), and he also that is won and persuaded thereunto, suffer punishment of death[1]." Moreover, Valentin., Valens, and Gratianus, give in charge to Florianus, superintendent of Asia, in these words: "That same minister which by unlawful usage shall iterate holy baptism, we account him unworthy of an ecclesiastical function. For we condemn their error, which tread under foot the precepts of the apostles; and having obtained the sacraments in Christ's name, they purify not again by a second baptism, but defile and deflower them under the name of cleansing[2]." Thus far they.

Imperial law against the anabaptists.

And verily they which rebaptize and are rebaptized, they both defile the name of God, which was called on over the baptized in the former baptism, and cast from them the institution of God as vain and vicious. Christ is read to be baptized but once. The apostles were not baptized twice. All the saints of God are baptized only but once. Yea, those which Judas baptized once are not read to be baptized again of a worthier minister; for in my last sermon I shewed, that the pureness of the sacraments dependeth not upon the worthiness or unworthiness of the minister. Neither can you read that any in the old time were twice circumcised, no, not they which were manifestly known to be circumcised of idolatrous priests before the reign of Ezechias and Josias: but they were not baptized[3] into

[1 Impp. Honorius et Theodosius A. A. Anthemio P. P. Si quis rebaptizare quempiam de ministris catholicæ sectæ fuerit detectus, una cum eo qui piaculare crimen commisit, (si tamen criminis per ætatem capax sit,) et hic cui persuasum sit, ultimo supplicio percellatur.—Justinian. Cod. Lib. I. tit. 6. II. p. 88. Lugd. 1551.]

[2 Impp. Valentin. Valens, et Gratian. A. A. A. ad Florianum, vicarium Asiæ. Antistitem, qui sanctitatem baptismatis illicita usurpatione geminaverit, sacerdotio indignum esse censemus. Eorum enim condemnamus errorem, qui apostolorum præcepta calcantes, christiani nominis sacramenta sortitos alio rursus baptismate non purificant, sed incestant lavacri nomine polluentes.—Ibid. p. 87.]

[3 Rather, but not into, &c.: they were baptized, not in Lat.]

idolatry, but into the covenant of the Lord God; whereof I have admonished you elsewhere. Therefore it is an horrible offence to iterate the ceremony of baptism, and it is without example. Neither in this matter is there any necessity: for to what end is it to baptize again, when as baptism once given is sufficient for the whole course of a man's life? Beside this; since anabaptism is nothing else but a confederacy, conspiracy, and a certain linking together by one mark into a new and seditious, or at the least superstitious, company, into a new and schismatical church, and into a new and strange kind of doctrine, and as contrary as can be to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles; truly it is no marvel, that the obstinate anabaptists are kept under and punished by common laws. For otherwise these things are damnable, and not to be dissembled or suffered of a christian magistrate.

The places alleged to prove anabaptism are confuted. Josh. v.

But the anabaptists presently object unto us these two places. The first out of the fifth chapter of Josua, where we read in these words: "Make thee sharp knives (of stone), and go to again, and circumcise the children of Israel the second time." Behold, the second time they could not be circumcised, say they, unless they had been also circumcised before. I answer: To circumcise the second time, or to do a thing once again, doth not signify to do that which was done before. For when the foreskin was once cut off, how could it be cut off again? Therefore that which was left undone for a certain space is now again renewed, and is said to be done the second time. So that the second time is not applied to them that would be circumcised[4], but unto the very time wherein they that were uncircumcised should be circumcised. For they were first solemnly circumcised in Egypt, before they did eat the passover. Now, entering into the land of Canaan, they are the second time solemnly circumcised, which hitherto by reason of the wilderness and journeying were not circumcised. And so it followeth immediately in the same chapter, that all the males that came out of Egypt died in the wilderness, and that their sons were uncircumcised; so that now it was expedient that they should be circumcised, as their fathers were before them. Therefore the anabaptists in this testimony of the law have no defence at all.

The twelve men of

The latter testimony to maintain anabaptism, or rebaptizing,

[4 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, should be circumcised.]

Ephesus not rebaptized.

they bring out of the xix. chapter of the Acts; where they say that those twelve men of Ephesus were once baptized by Apollos with the baptism of water, and with that of John's likewise; but the very same afterward are rebaptized of Paul in the name of Christ. I answer, that those twelve men were not baptized again of Paul with water; they were once baptized with water, which was sufficient for them. But neither could Paul minister another baptism of water than that of John's. For I taught and evidently proved, anon after the beginning of this sermon, that the baptism of water ministered by John, Christ, and his apostles, is one and the selfsame. There I declared, that the baptism of fire, or of the Spirit, is peculiar and proper to Christ. Those men therefore of Ephesus were baptized with the baptism of water, as the Samaritans were by Philip; but they were not as yet fully instructed of the baptism of fire, neither were they baptized with fire: yea, they confess they know not whether there be any such baptism, that is, whether there be an Holy Ghost which in the visible form of fire should come down upon men. For they could not be altogether ignorant that there was a Holy Ghost, without whom undoubtedly they had not believed, yea, in whom they had believed if they had rightly believed. Therefore they were only ignorant of that baptism of fire. As therefore Peter and John laid their hands on the Samaritans, and they forthwith received the Holy Ghost; so Paul layeth hands on the men of Ephesus, and they receive the Holy Ghost. For Luke saith: "When they heard these things, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus." And lest any man should understand this of the baptism of water, by and bye he addeth the manner thereof, and a plain exposition, saying: "And when Paul had laid his hands on them, the Holy Ghost came upon them." This, I say, he called baptizing in the name of the Lord Jesus; for it followeth: "And they spake with tongues, and prophesied." And this always hath been the fruit and effect of the baptism of fire in the primitive church, as I declared anon after the beginning of this sermon. Wherefore the anabaptists have no testimony out of the scriptures for their anabaptism, or rebaptizing. So that all that will gather their wits about them do plainly see, that they are to be forsaken and shunned of all good men. But we have sufficiently disputed against them, as it seemeth. Now we go forward to expound those things that

Acts viii.

Acts xix.

remain to be opened touching baptism, which are not the last and of least account.

Of the force of baptism.

Now that we are come to entreat of the virtue and efficacy of baptism, we will follow that order which we shadowed out in the description of baptism; knitting up at least the particulars[1], because in the general consideration of sacraments we have spoken largely of them. Yet nevertheless, it is good first of all to know, what the adversaries of the church have sometime thought touching the force of baptism.

The Manichees baptized none of their sect; for they taught, that baptism did avail the receivers nothing to salvation[2]. The Seleucians, who are called also Hermiani, did likewise set baptism at nought[3]. The Messalians, which be called Euchetes, or prayer-makers, (as I have shewed in the end of my former sermon,) and the Enthusiastes, inspired, I say, by some heavenly power, nay rather by some hellish[4] fury, are persuaded that baptism neither profiteth nor hindereth any man. For so they did attribute all means of salvation to the inward working of the Spirit, yea, to man's prayers, insomuch that they loathed and abhorred all outward helps, yea, and doctrine also, as unprofitable and without force. Which Theodoret in his Ecclesiastical History, Lib. IV. cap. 11, rehearseth of them[5].

But the holy scripture teacheth, that we are washed clean from our sins by baptism; for baptism is a sign, a testimony and sealing, of our cleansing. For God verily hath promised sanctification to his church, and he for his truth's sake purifieth his church from all sins by his grace through the blood of his Son, and regenerateth and cleanseth it by his Spirit; which cleansing is sealed in us by baptism, which we receive:

[1 perstringentes saltem singula, Lat.: at least touching lightly on the several parts.]

[2 Baptismum in aqua nihil cuiquam perhibent (Manichæi) salutis afferre, nec quemquam eorum quos decipiunt baptizandum putant.—Aug. de Hær. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 5. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

[3 Seleuciani vel Hermiani . . . baptismum in aqua non accipiunt —Id. ibid. fol. 6. col. 2.]

[4 hellish, not in Lat.]

[5 — μηδεμίαν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος ὠφέλειαν τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις γίνεσθαι, &c.—Theodoret. H. E. Lib. IV. cap. 11. p. 162. Cantab. See also Epiphan. adv. Hæres. hær. LXVIII. sive LXXX. Tom. I. pp. 1067, &c. Par. 1622.]

and thereof is it called in the scriptures cleansing, and remission of sins, purifying, new birth, regeneration, and the laver or fountain of regeneration: as circumcision is called the covenant; and sacrifices, sins and sanctifications. For we read in the gospel according to St Mark: "John baptized in the desert, preaching the baptism of repentance, for the remission of sins." The same also is mentioned in Luke. In the gospel of John, the third chapter, baptism is called purifying. In the Acts of the Apostles, Peter saith to the people which demanded what they should do: "Repent ye, and let every one of you be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins." Ananias also saith to Paul: "Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, in calling on the name of the Lord." And now Paul himself saith: "Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it, to sanctify it, when he had cleansed it, in the fountain of water in the word." Wherefore the promise, yea, the truth of sanctification and free remission of sins, is written and engraven in our bodies when we are baptized. For God by his Spirit, through the blood of his Son, hath newly regenerated and purged again our souls, and even now doth regenerate and purge them.

We are baptized into the remission of sins.
Mark i.
Luke iii.
John iii.
Acts ii.
Acts xxii.
Ephes. v.

Baptism is effectual for man's whole life.

And baptism is sufficient and effectual for the whole life of man; yea, and reacheth and is referred to all the sins of all them that are baptized. For the promise of God is true. The seal of the promise is true, not deceivable. The power of Christ is ever effectual throughly to cleanse and wash away all the sins of them that be his. How often therefore soever we have sinned in our life-time, let us call into our remembrance the mystery of holy baptism; wherewith for the whole course of our life we are washed[1], that we might know, and not doubt, that our sins are forgiven us of the same God and our Lord, yea, and by the blood of Christ, into whom by baptism once we are graffed, that he might always work salvation in us, even till we be received out of misery into glory. Neither is there any doubt, that Abraham in his whole life had continually in his mind[2] the mystery of circumcision, and rested in God and the seed promised unto him. Yet I think that that ought diligently to be marked, which St Augustine pithily and plainly hath often cited[3]:

[1 semel, Lat. omitted: once.] [2 exercuerit, Lat.: practised.]
[3 inculcavit, Lat.: insisted on.]

"That our sins are forgiven, or purged, in baptism, not that they are no more in us, (for as long as we live concupiscence beareth sway, and always breedeth and bringeth forth in us somewhat like itself;) but that they should not be imputed unto us: neither that we may not sin[4], but that it should not be hurtful for us to have or had sinned, that our sins may be remitted when they are committed, and not suffered to be continued[5]." *De Fide et Operib.* cap. 20. And also many more of this kind Gratian reciteth *Distinct.* iv. *de Consecrat.*[6]

Beside that, by baptism we are gathered together into the fellowship of the people of God. Whereupon of some it is called the first sign or entry into Christianity[7], by the which an entrance into the church lieth open unto us. Not that before we did not belong to the church: for whosoever is of Christ, partaker of the promises of God and of his eternal covenant, belongeth unto the church. Baptism therefore is a visible sign and testimony of our ingraffing into the body of Christ; and it is rightly called a planting, incorporating, or ingraffing into the body of Christ. For I said in the general discourse of sacraments, that we first by baptism were joined with Christ, and afterward with all the members of Christ, our brethren. For Paul saith: "All ye that are baptized have put on Christ." But to put on Christ is to be made one with him, and as it were to be joined and incorporated in him, that he may live in us and we in him. For he only by his Spirit regenerateth and reneweth us, and most liberally enricheth us with all manner good gifts; which the same apostle in another place expresseth in these words: "God saved us by the fountain of regeneration[8], and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us richly through Jesus Christ

By baptism we are gathered together to be the people of God.

Gal. iii.

Tit. iii.

[4 nec ut peccare liceat, Lat.: neither that we may take licence to sin.]

[5 — a mortuis operibus agant pœnitentiam (baptizandi), omniumque se omnino præteritorum remissionem in baptismo accepturos esse non dubitent: nec ut peccare liceat, sed ut peccasse non noceat, ut sit factis remissio, non permissio faciendi.—Aug. de Fid. et Oper. cap. 20. Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 17. col. 2. Par. 1531.]

[6 Dist. IV. col. 1986. Taurin. 1620.]

[7 initiale vel initiationis signum, Lat.: into Christianity, not in Lat.]

[8 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, the regeneration.]

Luke iii. our Saviour." Yea, and therefore Christ our Lord is baptized in our baptism, to declare that he is our brother, and we joint-heirs with him. Very well therefore said St Augustine: "That baptism is thus far forceable, that we, being baptized, are incorporated into Christ and counted his members[1]." The same Augustine calleth baptism "the sacrament of christian fellowship[2]." For we are gathered again visibly by baptism to the unity[3] of one body with all the faithful, as many as 1 Cor. xii. have been, are, and shall be. For Paul also saith: "By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body." And it follow-

Baptism serveth for our confession. eth hereby, that baptism serveth for our confession, and is rightly called the token of christian religion. For it is a badge or cognisance, whereby we witness and profess that we consent and are linked into christian religion. We confess that we by nature are sinners and unclean, but sanctified by the grace of God through Christ. For if we were clean by nature, what needed we then any cleansing? But now since we are cleansed, who doubteth of the truth of God? Therefore when we receive baptism, we truly and freely confess both our sin wherein we were born, and also free forgiveness of sins.

Lastly, the remembrance and consideration of the mystery of baptism putteth us in mind of the duties of Christianity and[4] godliness; that is to say, all our life long to weigh diligently with ourselves, of whose body we be made members, to deny ourselves and this world, to mortify our flesh with the concupiscences of the same, and to be buried with Christ into his death, that we may rise again in newness of life, and live innocently; to love our brethren as our members, with whom by baptism we are knit together into one body; to remain in the bond of concord and in the unity of the church, not to follow strange religions; being mindful that we are baptized into Christ, to whom alone we are consecrated, and far separated and divided from all other gods, worships, or religions, and, to be short, from all heresies. Let us think also that we

[1 See quotation above, page 377, note 7.]

[2 — qui (parvuli) post gravissimos cruciatus sine sacramento christianæ societatis expirant, &c.—Aug. de Nat. et Orig. Anima. Epist. XXVIII. Hieronym. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 21. col. 2.]

[3 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, into the unity.]

[4 christianity and, not in Lat.]

must constantly and valiantly fight against Satan[5]. As often therefore as we remember we are baptized with Christ's baptism, so often are these things put into our minds, and we admonished of our duty. But the apostle handleth this matter more at large in the sixth chapter of his epistle to the Romans; where he expressly maketh mention, that we by baptism are made the grafts of Christ, that is to say, that we might grow out of him as branches out of the vine, and feel in our minds and bodies both the death and resurrection of Christ.

For since we are endued with the Spirit of Christ which worketh in us, our body verily dieth daily, but our spirit liveth and rejoiceth in Christ. To whom be glory for ever and ever.
Amen.

¶ OF THE LORD'S HOLY SUPPER; WHAT IT IS, BY WHOM, WHEN, AND FOR WHOM IT WAS INSTITUTED; AFTER WHAT SORT, WHEN, AND HOW OFT IT IS TO BE CELEBRATED, AND OF THE ENDS THEREOF. OF THE TRUE MEANING OF THE WORDS OF THE SUPPER, "THIS IS MY BODY." OF THE PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN THE SUPPER. OF THE TRUE EATING OF CHRIST'S BODY. OF THE WORTHY AND UNWORTHY EATERS THEREOF: AND HOW EVERY MAN OUGHT TO PREPARE HIMSELF UNTO THE LORD'S SUPPER.

THE NINTH SERMON.

Unto the holy baptism of our Lord Christ is coupled the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, which we call the Lord's supper: for those whom the Lord hath regenerated with the laver of regeneration, those doth he also feed with his spiritual food, and nourisheth them unto eternal life. Wherefore it followeth necessarily that we entreat next of the holy supper of the Lord.

[5 and the whole kingdom of Satan, ed. 1577: omitted also in ed. 1584: et universum Satanæ regnum, Lat.]

Sundry names of the Lord's supper.

This hath many names, even as hath the feast of passover, and is instituted in the place thereof. In old time it was called[1], The passing over, or, the Lord's passover; which was indeed a memorial of the passover, also a remembrance, sign, solemnity, a festival or holy day, a meeting together, or an holy assembly, an observation or worshipping[2], a ceremony and sacrifice of passover, a sacrifice or offering, of which we have spoken in place convenient[3]. This is called by St Paul the apostle "the Lord's supper[4]," because this ceremony was instituted by the Lord in his last supper, and because therein is offered unto us the spiritual banquet[5]. The same Paul termeth it "the Lord's table," and that doubtless for none other causes. By the same Paul it is also called the communion; not so much for that we have communion or fellowship with Christ, and he with us, as that we being many are one bread and one body, which do partake of the same bread. Luke calleth it "breaking of bread," naming the whole by a part. And it is evident, that our forefathers of old gave not unto the receivers of the Lord's supper a morsel, but that they brake the bread amongst themselves. In time past firm leagues were performed by breaking of bread. It is called also a memorial and remembrance of the Lord's passion; for the Lord said: "Do this in the remembrance of me." It is named a thanksgiving, because when we celebrate the Lord's supper, we thank him for all his benefits, and especially for his death, by the which we are redeemed. It is called also a token and a mystery, and a sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. Our forefathers did term it by this word, *synaxis*. *Synaxis* is a joining together, a knitting, a closing, or an agreement. For the church is joined and united unto Christ in the holy supper by a most strait league: and to conclude, the members themselves are therewith joined very fast together. Furthermore, it is called an assembly of saints, an holy company, and a gathering together; for in the old

The Lord's table.

Communion.

Breaking of bread.

A memorial of the Lord's passion.

A thanksgiving.

A sacrament.

Synaxis.

An assembly.

[1 More correctly; even as the feast of the passover, into the place whereof it is instituted, was called, &c.]

[2 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, of worshipping: cultus observatio, Lat.]

[3 See Vol. II. page 178, &c.]

[4 Rather, the Lord's supper is so called, &c.]

[5 Rather, because it is prepared for us as a spiritual banquet.]

time it was never customably celebrated but in the common assembly of the church; which is plainly to be proved by the words of the apostle, 1 Corinth. xi. To conclude, we shall offend nothing at all, if we call the supper of our Lord the testament and will of God and of our Lord; for herein shalt thou find all things belonging to a full and perfect testament: for Christ is the testator; all faithful Christians are appointed heirs; the legacy is the forgiveness of sins and life everlasting, obtained by the body of Christ (which was) given, and his blood (which was) shed. The letters or table of this testament or will be the words of the Lord's supper, witnessing as it were by a public writing, that Christ is the food and life of the faithful; the order and doing thereof is as it were the seal. Wherefore, even as we do call that a testament which hath letters sealed, containing a testament both by writing and sealing; so the Lord himself did call his supper a testament; for, "this cup," said he, "is the new testament in my blood." For otherwise the new testament is not the remission of sins[6]: which thing Jeremy the prophet doth plainly testify in the xxxi. chapter, and Paul to the Hebrews, in the viii. chapter. This holy mystery hath divers other names; but these for the most part are chiefest and most commonly used. Of the other names we will speak elsewhere.

A testament.

They do define (for the most part) the Lord's supper to be a spiritual banquet, wherewith the Lord doth both keep his death in remembrance, and also feedeth his people unto life (everlasting). But let me set down a more large description thereof unto you. The supper of the Lord is an holy action instituted unto the church from God, wherein the Lord, by the setting of bread and wine before us at the banquet, doth certify unto us his promise and communion, and sheweth unto us his gifts, and layeth them before our senses; gathereth them[7] together into one body visibly, and, to be short, will have his death kept of the faithful in remembrance; and admonisheth us of our duty, and especially of praise and thanksgiving.

What the Lord's supper is.

[6 A mistake in all the editions for, The new Testament is the remission of sins: alioqui enim testamentum novum est peccatorum remissio, Lat.]

[7 them, not in Lat.]

The supper of the Lord is an holy action.

First we say, that the supper of the Lord is an action or deed. For the Lord, when he made his supper, did give thanks unto God; he brake bread and gave the cup, and said, "Do this in the remembrance of me." Again, it cannot be every action. For at the table, where we eat meat, we also give thanks unto God, we break bread and give the cup: but it is an holy action, because it is from God and instituted unto the church. Wherefore it far differeth from our ordinary meat-suppers; as well for that it is specially instituted by the Son of God unto the church, as also because it hath the word of God and the peculiar example of Christ. Therefore St Paul, making a difference between this and common eating, saith: "If any man hunger, let him eat at home; lest that ye come together to your condemnation." And again: "Have ye not houses to eat and drink in?" As though he might say, This supper is mystical. Again, what manner of action it is, it doth forthwith appear by that which followeth; where the Lord, by the setting of bread and wine before us at the banquet, doth assure us of his promise and communion, &c. This supper therefore hath his peculiar limits; of the which although I spake when I entreated generally of the virtue of the sacraments, yet will I repeat certain of them that make most for this purpose, when I shall draw toward an end of this sermon.

[1 Cor xi. 34, 22.]

Who is the author of the supper.

But concerning the description[1] of this supper, these things are chiefly to be considered and declared. First, who did institute it, and who is the true author and maker[2] of the Lord's supper. Not any man, but the very Son of God himself, the wisdom of the Father, very God and man: so that we come not to the table of men, although a man being the minister be the chiefest there; neither do we receive holy signs at the hands of the minister only, but also at the hand of our Lord himself[3], whose guests we are if we be faithful. He hath consecrated the supper for us, and doth yet consecrate it by his holy word, his will, and his power: of which matter we spake before. And because the faithful understand and know these things, they sit down to the holy

[1 Rather, this description: hanc descriptionem, Lat.]

[2 hospes, Lat.: host.]

[3 accumbentes ad mensam Christi Domini nostri, Lat. omitted: seeing we sit down at the table of Christ our Lord.]

and heavenly banquet with Christ, being wholly occupied in heavenly things both in mind and soul.

When the supper was instituted.

He instituted the supper the same night that he was betrayed; and the next night by his death and blood-shedding he confirmed the new testament. For so soon as he had eaten the figurative lamb with his disciples, and had plainly told them that from that time forwards that ceremony should not be used, the supper was established in the place of that which was abolished; that, like as the bloody lamb did signify that Christ should suffer, even so the bread which is without blood witnesseth that Christ, who is the bread of life, is already baked upon the cross, and hath suffered, and made the food of all believers[4]. Wherefore that night was worthy to be observed and celebrated, and that last supper is full of mysteries. For we commonly most of all account of the words and deeds of our dearest friends, which they use a little before their death. Wherefore as all Christ's doings are beloved and precious unto us, so[5] ought this his last supper to be most dearly beloved and precious in our sight.

Whereof it consisteth.

The supper consisteth of the word and manner, promise and ceremony. The word is this; that Christ is preached to have been given up to death for our sins, and that he shed his blood for the remission of our sins. Promise is made unto all that believe, that their offences shall be forgiven. The same thing is also expressed by the manner. The manner is diligently set down in writing by St Matthew, Mark, and Luke; whom St Paul following hath nothing at all varied from them. The words therefore, dearly beloved, as they be gathered out of these four into one text, I will recite unto you: "The same night, in the evening wherein he was betrayed, the Lord came with the twelve; and when it was time, he sat down, and the twelve with him. And while they were eating, Jesus took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto his disciples, saying, Take, and eat; this is my body which is given for you (or broken). Do this in the remembrance of me. Likewise taking the cup (after he had supped), he gave thanks, and delivered it unto them saying: Take ye this, and divide it among you; drink ye all thereof. And they drank all thereof.

The words of the supper.

[4 So ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, for all believers.]

[5 merito, Lat. omitted: deservedly.]

And he said unto them, This is my blood, which is of the new Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of their sins. This cup is the new Testament in my blood (which is shed for you). This do, as oft as you shall drink it, in the remembrance of me. Verily I say unto you, that I will not drink henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until that day come that I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom." These are, word for word, the solemn and most holy words of the Lord spoken at his last supper.

After what manner the supper was celebrated and instituted.

The high bishop of the catholic church, Christ our Lord, celebrated his supper with his disciples in like sort, as we have now seen and heard, without all pomp, simply, plainly, and sparingly. He took away the over-busy ceremony of the law, appointing another, very easy to be gotten and nothing sumptuous. Most things appertaining to the law were troublesome, and all belonging to the gospel easy and nothing sumptuous. The Lord sitteth down with his twelve disciples: whereby we learn, that first of all there must a company be gathered together, which must celebrate the supper. In his assembly these things doth the Lord. First of all, he preacheth most diligently unto his disciples, of those things especially which concern the mystery of his passion and of our redemption. But wheresoever is the preaching and hearing of the word of God or of the gospel of Christ, there are also groanings and vows or prayers of the faithful: wherefore they that intend to celebrate the supper of the Lord, before all thing, according to the example and institution of the high bishop Christ our Lord, they do most diligently hear the preaching of the gospel, and also pray most earnestly. Afterward he took bread; and the Lord blessed it and brake it; moreover, he gave unto his disciples, and bade them eat. Anon he parted the cup among them, commanding them all to drink thereof. And thereupon he plainly and expressly commanded, saying, "Do this;" to wit, as you have seen me do. Wherefore the disciples did eat the bread, and drank all of the cup. Therefore they that celebrate the Lord's supper lawfully, do one unto another break, distribute, and eat the Lord's bread, which they receive at the hands of Christ's ministers; and likewise distribute and drink all of the Lord's cup, which they receive at the hands of Christ's ministers. And like as the high bishop Christ bade them do it in remem-

brance of him, so they that celebrate the Lord's supper remember the death of Christ and all his benefits. Moreover, as the Lord hath gone before us in his example, in giving thanks to God the Father; so likewise do the faithful make an end with this holy mystery with giving of thanks, praising his goodness and mercy, because he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever. This is the most simple and best manner of the Lord's supper, which the apostles receiving of Christ[1] delivered to be observed of all nations.

Whether it be lawful to add anything to the rite, &c.

Wherefore, when this question is asked, Whether it be lawful to sup after another rite or manner; whether it be lawful to add or diminish anything from the manner left and delivered, or to change anything therein; whether the supper of the Lord ought only to be celebrated after the manner already delivered, and not after any other;—there is no small folly and rashness, yea, rather great ungodliness, therein bewrayed. For to what end serveth the most simple, most plain, best, and perfectest form of the supper, delivered of the Lord himself and received of his apostles, if we devise another? Who, I pray you, shall deliver a better than the Son of God himself, the high priest of the catholic church, hath already delivered? Or who, I beseech you, that is well in his wits, shall either add or diminish anything to the ordinance[2] of God? Who dare be so bold as to change that which is delivered by the everlasting wisdom of God? All the sayings and doings of Christ are most perfect: therefore the form also of the Lord's supper is a most perfect form of a right singular and excellent ordinance or institution. The rites or ceremonies of celebrating the sacraments of the old Testament were most perfect; so delivered from the first institution of them, that nothing was added to them nor taken from them by such as were religious, no, not many years after. For Ezechias the king celebrated the passover; so likewise did Josias celebrate the same; but not after any other rite or manner than was delivered from Moses. The fathers circumcised their infants; but not after any other manner nor any other rite than was first instituted[3]. In times past whoso had not sacrificed in the same place and according to the same

Levit. xvii. Lev. x. 1 Sam. ix. Numb. v.

[1 a Domino Christo, Lat.]
[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, ordinances: institutis, Lat.]
[3 tradito, Lat.]

manner which God commanded by Moses, was by the law accused of murder. Nadab and Abihu are smitten with lightning from heaven for bringing strange fire into the tabernacle. Oza is smitten with sudden death, for that the ark of the Lord of hosts was not handled in such sort as was by the law commanded. And therefore that manner of celebrating the Lord's supper, as it was by the Lord instituted and delivered to the church by the apostles, is to be observed with great religion: unless we will believe, that the institutions and manners of celebrating our sacraments are more unperfect than theirs of old time; and that God the Father doth now-a-days less regard the profanation or the religious observation of his Son's institution, than these of Moses and the fathers[1] in old time. But Paul, the vessel of election, knowing Christ's institution to be most perfect, and that the same ought to be kept still in the church simply and without any addition, saith to the Corinthians: "I received that of the Lord, which I have also delivered unto you." For he thought it an heinous offence, to deliver any other thing to the church than that which he had received of the Lord. Let us therefore with great religion hold that fast which is delivered unto us by the Lord and the apostles. But the apostle delivered none other thing to the Corinthians, yea, many years after the Lord's ascension into heaven, than that which was faithfully set down unto us in writing by the holy apostles and evangelists, St Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

Cor. xi.

How in old time it hath been celebrated in the church.

Certainly it is well known, how that certain hundred years after the death of the apostles this simple manner of celebrating the Lord's supper was held in the church. For the pastor or minister of the church, after that he had preached the gospel, and given public thanks unto God in open[2] prayer, then came he forth into the midst of the holy assembly. Before the face of the people stood a table furnished with bread and wine, behind the which the minister standing blessed the people, saying, "The Lord be with you." The people answered, "And with thy spirit." Then replied the minister, "Lift up your hearts;" admonishing the congregation, that the holy mysteries shall be celebrated, and therefore that they must lift up their minds from visible things

[1] So also ed. 1584; but ed. 1577, forefathers.]

[2] prævia oratione, Lat.: in prayer going before.]

unto invisible. The people answered: "We lift them up unto the Lord." Afterwards, exhorting the whole company to give thanks, he cried aloud: "Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God." The congregation answered, "It is meet and right so to do." Then proceeded the minister, saying: "It is very meet and right, our bounden duty, and behooveful for us," (turning himself then to the Lord,) "that we give thanks always, and in all places unto thee, Lord, holy Father, almighty and everlasting God; through Christ our Lord; who the day before that he suffered his passion took bread, gave thanks, brake it, and gave it to his disciples;" with the residue, as followeth in the gospel. These things being repeated out of the gospel, the minister proceeded further, saying: "Let us pray: being admonished by wholesome precepts, and instructed by divine institution, we are emboldened to say, Our Father, which art in heaven, &c." After the rehearsal of the holy mysteries[3], the people received the holy mysteries and did communicate together; and after they had given thanks and praised God, they were dismissed. And of this form there remain certain footsteps in the writings of the ancient fathers to be seen, to wit, in St Cyprian, St Augustine, and others. But consequently in latter times the prayers, blessings, and the ceremonies, grew to be very great. Moreover Christ's institution was changed, and turned into a strange use; and in fine the mass was patched together, in which appeareth but small antiquity. But touching these matters I have entreated very largely in another place[4], and you yourselves are very well seen in this point. We, which defend and hold that the institution of our Lord Christ which is delivered unto us by the apostles is most pure and perfect, do nothing regard neither what any man, nor at what time any bishop, hath added this or that to the holy rite, or else hath taken away or changed; but rather what he, who is before and above all, did first himself, and commanded to be done. If the authority of him that did institute, if learning and holiness, if antiquity may be of force, then the victory is ours, who have Christ on our side with the best chosen company of the

The performing of the Lord's supper changed.

[3 So also ed. 1584; but 1577, of the Lord's prayer: orationem Dominicam, Lat.]

[4 De Origine Erroris circa Cœnam Domini Sacram et Missam Papisticam, cap. vii. Tigur. 1539.]

apostles; for from these we have what we celebrate; and that which we hold, that all godly men ought to celebrate.

Why it was instituted in the form of bread and wine.

But why the Lord instituted this mystery under the form of bread and wine, it is evident. For bread comforteth, and wine maketh glad, the heart of man; which I also touched, where I entreated of the proportion and agreement[1] of the sacraments. Moreover, our fathers in the figure of manna did eat bread, which rained down from heaven. Also in their sacrifices gratulatory and of thanksgiving, and in their drink-offerings, they used bread and wine. But there hath sprung a great contention concerning the substance of the Lord's supper; some holding opinion, that it ought to be celebrated with unleavened bread, and others, with such as is leavened.

Whether the bread ought to be leavened or unleavened.

But among our forefathers of old there was about these no such contention; for the church[2] used both indifferently as them pleased. It may seem, that at the first supper the Lord used unleavened bread at the table, according to the ancient manner of celebrating the passover; whereupon many churches used unleavened bread[3], who notwithstanding condemned not them of heresy which used leavened bread. The pope[4] and his adherents, conceiving no small displeasure hereat[5], hath deeply accursed the Greek church for so trifling a matter. But the Artotyrites were upon some just cause condemned by the ancient fathers; of whom Epiphanius[6] maketh mention between the Pepuzianes and the Priscillians, setting bread and cheese upon the table in their celebrating, contrary to Christ's institution.

Whether water is to be mingled with the wine.

It is furthermore disputed upon, whether unmingled wine, or delayed[7] with water, is by the faithful to be used at the supper. Cyprian the martyr holdeth opinion, that in this

[1 analogia, Bullinger's one word. See above, pp. 244. 280.]

[2 ecclesiæ, Lat.: the churches.]

[3 See Bingham. Antiq. Book xv. chap. 2. § 5.]

[4 Autem, Lat. omitted: But the pope.]

[5 Rather, not without much scandal; non levi scandalo, Lat.]

[6 Κυιντιλλιανοὶ δὲ πάλιν, οἱ καὶ Πεπουζιανοὶ καλούμενοι, Ἀρτοτυρῖται τε καὶ Πρισκιλλιανοὶ λεγόμενοι, &c. Ἀρτοτυρίτας δὲ αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν μυστηρίοις ἐπιτιθέντας ἄρτον καὶ τυρὸν, καὶ οὕτως ποιεῖν τὰ αὐτῶν μυστήρια.—Epiphan. adv. Hæres. Lib. II. XXIX. sive XLIX. Opp. Tom. I. p. 417. Par. 1622.]

[7 softened; dilutum, Lat.]

mystery[8] the wine ought not to be unmingled, but delayed with water, and so to be offered, that is to say, drunken by the faithful. For thus he hath written: "Because Christ hath borne us all, who also bare our sins, we may perceive that in the water the people is to be understood; in the wine, the blood of Christ is to be understood. For when water is mingled with the wine in the cup, the people is united unto Christ; and the multitude of the believers is coupled and joined unto him in whom they believed. And thus in blessing the Lord's cup, only water may not be offered, neither in like sort may wine only. For if any man offer only wine, the blood of Christ beginneth to be without us; but if it be water only, then doth the multitude begin to be without Christ. But when they are both mingled together, and are joined with a confused mixture betwixt them, then is there an heavenly and spiritual sacrament wrought[9]." By these words truly doth St Cyprian shew unto us a good mystery. But why do we seek to be wiser than Christ, and to mingle together[10] more mysteries than we have received of him? The holy scripture maketh mention of no water, but rather reporteth that the Lord used nought else but mere wine. For the Lord saith: "Verily I say unto you, that henceforth I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine." For he plainly[11] said not, the wine, but, "the fruit of the vine," that herein we should make no manner of mingling. But what if that holy martyr of God himself, St Cyprian, hath laboured by all the means he might to shew, that that only is to be followed of the faithful in celebrating of the Lord's supper, which they have received of our Lord Christ himself? And forasmuch as that testimony doth make much to all this our treatise

[8 propter mysterium, Lat.: by reason of a mystery.]

[9 Quia nos omnes portabat Christus, qui et peccata nostra portabat, videmus in aqua populum intelligi, in vino vero ostendi sanguinem Christi. Quando autem in calice vino aqua miscetur, Christo populus adunatur, et credentium plebs ei in quem credidit copulatur et conjungitur.... Sic autem in sanctificando calice Domini offerri aqua sola non potest, quomodo nec vinum solum potest. Nam si vinum tantum quis offerat, sanguis Christi incipit esse sine nobis: si vero aqua sit sola, plebs incipit esse sine Christo. Quando autem utrumque miscetur, et adunatione confusa sibi invicem copulatur, tunc sacramentum spiritale et cœleste perficitur.—Cyprian. Epist. LXIII. Opp. p. 154. Oxon.]

[10 comminisci, Lat: to devise.] [11 significanter, Lat.]

concerning Christ's supper, to be celebrated according to the words of the gospel, I will recite it word for word out of the second epistle of the 3rd book of his Epistles. "We must not," saith he, "depart in any respect from the doctrine of the gospel; and those things that our Master taught and did himself, the scholars also ought to observe and do. The blessed apostle in another place speaketh more constantly and stoutly, saying, 'I marvel that you are so soon changed from him that called you to grace unto another gospel: which is nothing else; but there be some that trouble you, and go about to overthrow the gospel of Christ. Howbeit, if we ourselves, or an angel from heaven, do preach unto you any other thing than that we have taught, let him be accursed. As I have said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other thing unto you than that which you have received, let him be accursed.' Since, therefore, neither the apostle himself, neither an angel from heaven, can preach or teach otherwise than Christ himself once hath taught and his apostles have preached; I much marvel from whence this custom hath grown, that, contrary to the doctrine of the gospel and the apostles, in some places water is offered in the Lord's cup, which being taken alone cannot express the Lord's blood." And again: "There is no cause, dearly beloved brother, that any man should think that the custom of certain men is to be followed, if there be any that heretofore have supposed that water alone is to be offered in the Lord's cup. For it must be demanded of them, whom they have followed herein. For if in the sacrifice, which is Christ, none is to be followed but Christ; doubtless then ought we to hearken unto and to do after that which Christ hath done and commanded to be done, since he himself saith in his gospel: 'If you do that which I command you to do, I will call you no longer servants, but friends.' And that Christ alone should be heard, the Father himself also witnesseth from heaven, saying, 'This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I have delight: hear him.' Wherefore if only Christ is to be heard, we ought not to regard what any other before us hath thought meet for us to do, but what Christ did first who is before all other. Neither ought we in any case to follow the custom of men, but the truth of God; considering what the Lord speaketh by the prophet Esay, saying, 'They worship me in vain, teach-

In celebrating the supper nothing to be followed but that which we have received of Christ.

ing the commandments and doctrine of men.' And again the Lord repeating the selfsame words in the gospel saith: 'Ye set God's commandments aside, to establish your own traditions.' And in another place he saith: 'He that shall break any one of the least of these commandments, and shall on this sort teach men, shall be accounted least in the kingdom of heaven.' But if it be not lawful to break the least of the commandments of God, how much more heinous is it to break things so great, so weighty, and so much belonging to the Lord's passion and the sacrament of our redemption; or else to change it into any other order by man's traditions, than is instituted by God[1]?" And so forth as followeth.

[1 Ab evangelicis præceptis omnino recedendum non esse, et eadem quæ magister docuit et fecit discipulos quoque observare et facere debere, constantius et fortius alio in loco beatus apostolus docet, dicens: Miror quod sic tam cito demutamini ab eo, qui vos vocavit ad gratiam, ad aliud evangelium; quod non est aliud, nisi sunt aliqui qui vos turbant et volunt convertere evangelium Christi. Sed licet nos aut angelus de cœlo aliter annunciet præterquam quod annunciavimus vobis, anathema sit. Sicut prædiximus, et nunc iterum dico, Si quis vobis annunciaverit præterquam quod accepistis, anathema sit. Cum ergo neque ipse apostolus, neque angelus de cœlo annunciare possit aliter aut docere præterquam quod semel Christus docuit et apostoli ejus annunciaverunt, miror satis unde hoc usurpatum sit, ut contra evangelicam et apostolicam disciplinam quibusdam in locis aqua offeratur in dominico calice, quæ sola Christi sanguinem non possit exprimere.... Non est, frater carissime, quod aliquis existimet sequendam esse quorundam consuetudinem, si qui in præteritum in calice Dominico aquam solam offerendam putaverint. Quærendum est enim, ipsi quem sint secuti; nam si in sacrificio quod Christus obtulerit (Bullinger read, est) non nisi Christus sequendus est, utique id nos obaudire et facere oportet quod Christus fecit et quod faciendum esse mandavit; quando ipse in evangelio dicat, Si feceritis quod mando vobis, jam non dico vos servos, sed amicos. Et quod Christus debeat solus audiri, Pater etiam de cœlo contestatur, dicens, Hic est Filius dilectissimus, in quo bene sensi: ipsum audite. Quare si solus Christus audiendus est, non debemus attendere quid alius ante nos faciendum putaverit; sed quid qui ante omnes est Christus prior fecerit. Neque enim hominis consuetudinem sequi oportet, sed Dei veritatem, cum per Isaiam prophetam Deus loquatur et dicat, Sine causa autem colunt me, mandata et doctrinas hominum docentes; et iterum Dominus in evangelio hoc idem repetat, dicens, Rejicitis mandatum Dei ut traditionem vestram statuatis. Sed et alio in loco ponit et dicit, Qui solverit unum ex mandatis istis minimis, et sic docuerit homines, minimus vocabitur in regno cœlorum. Quod si nec minima de man-

There is no man can deny but that these things are of authority, even against the author himself. For neither by the scriptures, nor by the example of Christ, can it be proved that water was mingled with the wine at the supper. As for the authorities and testimonies which the author allegeth, every man may perceive how little they make to the purpose, yea, that they be wrested from their natural meaning. The gospel plainly pronounceth, that the Lord drank of the fruit of the vine unto his disciples. And as often as Paul maketh mention of the cup, yet teacheth he in no place that water was mingled with the wine, or that it ought to be mingled with it. Wherefore these water-men, that is to say, they that use water only in celebrating the Lord's supper, are justly condemned: such as the Marcionites and Tatians[1] were. Howbeit it is an indifferent matter, whether you use red wine or white in the supper.

Of both kinds to be given and received in the supper.

Again, why did not the Lord deliver the sacrament of the supper unto us under one form of bread or wine only, but rather under both kinds? The doctors of the church by one consent suppose this to be the cause; for that he would signify, or rather testify, unto us that he took both soul and flesh upon him, and gave the same for us, and also hath delivered our souls and flesh from everlasting destruction. For although there be two kinds, yet do they make but one sacrament, and they may not be separated.'" Neither is their opinion of judgment to be allowed of, who of their own private or rather sacrilegious authority do corrupt the institution of Christ; offering to the lay people which do communicate the one kind only of bread, and granting to priests both kinds, and so challenging both kinds to themselves only[2]. But Paul the apostle received the authority from the Lord himself, to admit all the faithful people of Christ unto the Lord's cup: and therefore let these bold fellows consider, from whom they have received commandment to put back the laity, and to forbid them the cup, which by the Lord our God is granted unto

datis Dominicis licet solvere, quanto magis tam magna, tam grandia, tam ad ipsum Dominicæ passionis et nostræ redemptionis sacramentum pertinentia fas non est infringere, aut in aliud, quam quod divinitus institutum sit, humana traditione mutare!—Cyprian. Epist. LXIII. Opp. pp. 152, 155. Oxon.]

[1 See Mosheim. E. H. Book I. cent. 2. part 2. chap. 5. § 7 and 9.]

[2 solis his, Lat.: to these (i. e. the priests) only.]

them. For Christ in plain words, and as it were by the spirit of prophecy, foreseeing what should come to pass in the church, said not of the bread, "Eat ye all of this;" but when he took the cup he added, "Drink ye all of this." St Mark also adjoineth hereunto, not without deep judgment[3], "And they drank all thereof." Hereunto also appertaineth that which the Lord speaketh in St Luke: "Take this, and divide it among you." St Paul the apostle, having a special regard unto this excellent and plain institution of Christ, three or four times joineth the cup to the bread, saying: "As often as you shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, you shall express the Lord's death." Again: "Whosoever eateth of this bread, or drinketh of the Lord's cup unworthily, he shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." And again he saith: "Let a man examine himself, and then let him eat of the bread, and drink of the cup." Again: "Whoso eateth and drinketh unworthily," &c. These testimonies are manifold, and worthy absolutely to be believed; and unto which all traditions of all men whatsoever should give place. The Lord hath instituted the cup of the supper unto all the faithful; wherefore the apostles exhibited the same unto all the faithful. For if the sacrament of the blood of Christ were given to the apostles only, surely then the thing itself, to wit, the remission of sins, which is obtained through Christ's blood, belongeth only to the apostles. Howbeit the Lord saith plainly: "This is the blood of the new Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." It is also in other places of the scripture manifestly set down, that Christ's blood was shed for the remission of the sins of all the faithful. Wherefore if the laity be capable of the thing, how much more of the sign? Now if our adversaries proceed further and say, that the apostles only sat at the supper, (who represented the figure of the priests,) and that the use of the cup was granted unto them only, and not to be granted unto other, but to such only as were present at the first supper; then do we demand of them, by what authority they give the Lord's bread to the laity, or by what right they do admit simple women unto the Lord's supper? since it is manifest that neither the one nor the other (according unto their speaking in this matter) sat at the Lord's table. And in this point

[3 non sine gravi causa, Lat.]

they, being taken tardy, can go no further. But they object the danger of the cup; which if it be given unto all without exception, it would come to pass, through the folly and negligence of men, there might some great offence be committed in letting it fall, or pouring it on the floor: as who should say, The eternal providence hath not foreseen so great an offence, which these wise men do well perceive now at length in the end of the world, and do amend that wherein the Son of God did amiss. For they cry out, that one kind is enough for the lay people, forasmuch as by a necessary coherence it followeth, that where the body of Christ is, there is his blood also; and thus must it then follow, that the one kind is instituted in vain. But the Lord distinctly first offered the bread, and afterward the cup; and the Lord instituted nothing in vain: therefore both kinds, since the Lord hath so commanded, ought to be parted among all the faithful; which as many as have read the writings of the ancient fathers will report was observed ever before, even almost unto the time of the council of Constance[1]: of whom many[2] have not been afraid to say, that the dividing of this sacrament after this manner could not be done without sacrilege.

Of the consecration of the bread and wine.

The matter and substance of the supper being declared, there is lightly some question moved concerning the form, or of the consecration of the bread and wine. But forasmuch as I have entreated hereof in the general consideration of the sacraments[3], there is no cause why I should, with loathsomeness to the hearers, repeat the self-same thing again. We do not acknowledge any transubstantiation to be made by force of words or characters; but we affirm, that the bread and wine remain as they are in their own substances, but that there is added unto them the institution, will, and word of Christ, and so become a sacrament, and so differ much from common bread and wine, as we have said in place convenient.

Whether there must be one chief dealer in the action of the supper.

Consequently ensueth the question touching this point: Who should administer the supper: that is to say, whether

[1 A. D. 1414.]

[2 nonnulli, Lat. Gelasius. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars De Consecr. Dist. II. Can. 12. col. 1918. See also Cyprian, Serm. de Lapsis.]

[3 See above, page 267.]

any one of the congregation ought to be chief in the celebrating of the supper: then, who the same should be? Surely, the thing itself requireth, and nature also commandeth, that everything be done decently and in good order: and religion requireth that all things appertaining to the supper be done according to Christ's example. But he was the chief dealer in the supper: and he likewise hath appointed ministers of the church, by whom he will have the sacraments to be administered. Wherefore, like as every man doth not baptize, but the lawful minister of the church; so appertaineth it not unto every man to prepare and minister the holy supper, but to the minister which is ordained by God. Herein now we disprove the papistical doctrine, which alloweth of private masses, and teacheth that the priest offereth up the body and blood of our Lord for the standers by; and that by the mass he applieth the merit of redemption unto them that with devotion come to that sacrifice. For as there is no one word of the Lord extant, that commandeth the priests to sacrifice, or privately to apply the supper for others, or that promiseth anything unto them that stand by and look on it; (for he saith, "Do this; eat ye and drink ye all in the remembrance of me;" he saith not, Look upon the priests only while they be eating and drinking for you;) so Christ is not bodily present in the bread and wine; he is joined unto our hearts and minds by his Spirit; for it were of none effect[4] that he remained in the bread. And if he were present there indeed, yet could he not be sacrificed, both for that he hath offered up himself once upon the cross, neither can the most worthy and only-begotten Son of God be offered up again to God the Father by a sinful man: as also for that there is no need for him to offer again. For St Paul saith: "Christ, being one only sacrifice offered up for sin, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God, looking for that which is yet to come, until his enemies be made his footstool. For by one oblation he hath made them for ever perfect that are sanctified." And again he saith: "Where as is full remission of sins, there is no more oblation for sin." But we have full remission of sin by the death which Christ once suffered: therefore there is no sacrifice in the church for sin[5]. Indeed, the church doth Heb. x.

[4 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, to none effect.]
[5 amplius, Lat. omitted: any more.]

celebrate the memorial of the sacrifice which was once perfectly finished upon the cross; but the church doth not offer up sacrifice any more, either with blood or without blood. Praise and thanksgiving are a most acceptable sacrifice to the Lord: the same the minister offereth not for others, but with others. Here now therefore we ascribe none other thing to the minister but the ministry; that he be the president or chief dealer to recite the prayers in the celebration of the supper; and after the holy prelection and the pronouncing of the solemn words let him, after the example of Christ, begin to break the Lord's bread and distribute his cup, and let him receive also the sacrament for himself, as the other faithful people do, as companion of the faith; and when the communion is done, let him end the holy action with thanksgiving and some holy exhortation.

Of the place where the supper is to be celebrated.

Concerning the place where the supper is to be celebrated, I find no contention hath been amongst the most ancient ministers of the church. It is read how that our Lord Jesus used the hall of a certain private man's house. Acts xx. And also the apostle Paul both preached and brake bread at Troas in a certain dining-place. The ancient church, which ensued immediately after the death of the apostles, almost unto the time of Constantine the great, had none or very few large and public churches; for it was scarce lawful or safe in so troublesome a time for the Christians to creep abroad. In the meantime they used very honest places, in the which they met together in holy assemblies, having places of prayer. At this present there seemeth no place to be more worthy or more commodious to celebrate the holy supper in, than that which is appointed for doctrine and prayer. For so have we learned of St Paul, 1 Cor. chap. xi. Howbeit, if tyrannical power will not suffer us to have a church, what shall let us but that we may reverently celebrate the supper in honest private houses?

Of the Lord's altar or table.

Touching the holy instruments belonging to the supper, the matter also requireth to speak something in this place. In the time that the apostles lived, they supped at tables set forth and furnished for the purpose; they knew no fixed altars builded of stone, which are more fit to make fire upon and to burn beasts on for a sacrifice[1]. A removing table

[1 for a sacrifice, not in Lat.]

agreeth better with the example of Christ. Notwithstanding, we condemn not standing altars, so that they serve only to the lawful use of the supper. St Paul, in the first to the Corinthians, calleth the altars of ethnicks tables; so that we need not to marvel that the ancient fathers termed our tables altars. For it is an easy matter to fall from the one to the other; and it should seem, that they alluded unto the only altar of the tabernacle of God. In old time the tables were covered with some fair cloth, with some linen table-cloth, or towel; from whence perhaps were borrowed those things which are called corporals[2]. As for that outward bravery and worldly trimming, it was not then used on the altars of Christians. We read how it is forbidden by the law, that there must no altar be builded of hewn stone; by which proviso all cost and bravery in religion is forbidden.

Of vessels belonging to the Lord's supper.

Thus it is manifest, that in the ancient times there were no precious nor costly vessels used at the supper. For like as Christ and the apostles taught, that frugality should be used in all places, condemning superfluity, and beating into us the contempt of gold and silver; so in those holy mysteries they have not overthrown that doctrine of theirs, or given occasion of excess. After long persecution, when peace was restored to the church, then began the custom to celebrate in the church with vessels of gold and silver. But then also there were some, that brought the same again to his old frugality and simplicity. Chrysostom cried out (as I have also declared in another place[3]), that in receiving the Lord's supper we ought to have golden minds, not golden vessels[4]. And St Ambrose saith: "The sacraments require not gold, neither are those things pleasant in gold which are not bought with gold. The ornaments[5] of the sacraments is the redemption of captives[6]." St Hierome commends St Exuperius, bishop of

[2 Fine linen cloths, on which the host is laid in the Romish churches.]

[3 De Origine Erroris circa Cœnam Domini Sacram et Missam Papisticam, cap. VI. fol. 207. Tigur. 1539.]

[4 — μηδὲ νομίζωμεν ἀρκεῖν ἡμῖν εἰς σωτηρίαν, εἰ... ποτήριον χρυσοῦν καὶ λιθοκόλλητον προσενέγκωμεν τῇ τραπέζῃ... τὴν ψυχὴν προσένεγκε... ταύτην χρυσῆν ποίησον.—Chrysost. in Matth. Hom. L. Opp. Tom. VII. p. 518.]

[5 So also ed. 1584; but ed. 1577, ornament.]

[6 Aurum sacramenta non quærunt, nec in auro placent, quæ auro

Toledo[1], who carried the Lord's body in a basket of wicker and the blood in a glass, and had expelled covetousness out of the church[2]. And truly that canon of the Triburean council, which is yet extant in the pope's decrees, forbidding that no priest should minister this holy mystery in wooden vessels, doth prove sufficiently, that certain churches, more than eight hundred years since Christ's passion, used to drink the blood of Christ in wooden vessels: wherefore wooden cups in the supper be of all most ancient. Bonifacius the archbishop, (which example although I have alleged elsewhere, yet am I enforced to repeat it here again, for that it agreeth so fitly with this present matter,) being asked long since, Whether it were lawful to minister the sacraments in vessels of wood, answered: "In old times," saith he, "golden priests used wooden cups; but now contrariwise, wooden priests use golden cups[3]." But if any man bring vessels made of any other stuff, without excess and superstition, I would not greatly strive with him, so that he will also acknowledge that they do not offend which use the wooden. For as touching the form and matter of the cups, all are free and lawful for the faithful church to use.

What garment is to be worn at the supper. Look more of this matter in epist. added at the end of this book[4].

Moreover, it is evident that the Lord in the first supper, yea, and the apostles also in celebrating the same supper, used their own usual and decent apparel. And therefore it is not disagreeable from the first institution, if the minister come unto the Lord's table covered with his own garment, so that it be

non emuntur. Ornatus sacramentorum redemptio captivorum est.—Ambros. de Officiis, Lib. I. cap. 28. Opp. Tom. IV. col. 61. Par. 1615.]

[1 Rather, Toulouse; Tolosanum, Lat.]

[2 Sanctus Exuperius Tolosæ episcopus . . . corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat in vitro. Qui avaritiam ejecit e templo.—Hieron. Epist. ad Rustic. XCV. Opp. Tom. IV. par. 2. col. 778. Par. 1693—1706.]

[3 Vasa, in quibus sacrosancta conficiuntur mysteria, calices sunt et pateræ: de quibus Bonifacius, martyr et episcopus, interrogatus, si liceret in vasculis ligneis sacramenta conficere, respondit: Quondam sacerdotes aurei ligneis calicibus utebantur: nunc e contrario, lignei sacerdotes aureis utuntur calicibus.—Gratian. Decret. par. III. de Consecrat. Dist. I. can. 44. col. 1900. Taurin. 1620. Labb. et Coss. Concil. Triburiens. can. 18. Tom. IX. col. 450.]

[4 This reference, which was introduced into ed. 1587, is to the joint letter of Bullinger and Gualther (Zurich Letters, 1st Series. Append. Let. III.) which was added to that edition of the translated Decades.—See title-page, Vol. I.—A similar reference is inserted in

comely and honest. Surely the communicants do wear on them their own usual apparel. We must take heed then that there creep in no superstition[5]. Our forefathers, as it seemed, did wear a cloke cast over their common garments; which they did not after the example of Christ or the apostles, but according to man's tradition. At the length that stuff, which is used at this day, was taken up according to the imitation of the priest's garments of the old law, and appointed to be worn by the ministers that would celebrate the supper. Neither doth Innocentius, the 3d of that name, dissemble this matter in the iv. chap. and 4 book of his work, *De Sac. Altar. Mysterio*[6]. As for us, we have learned of late[7], that all Levitical matters are not only put away, but not to be brought again into the church by any. Forasmuch therefore as we remain in the light of the gospel, and not in the shadow of the law, we do upon good cause reject that Levitical massing apparel.

What tongue is to be used.

I have also declared in another place[8], that it hath been the manner in old time[9], that every nation hath used their own native and vulgar tongue[10] in ministering the sacraments.

What gestures.

Of the gestures which the ministers do use in celebrating the Lord's supper, we can say none other thing out of the gospel than what we have learned: "The Lord took the bread, blessed it, brake it, distributed it," &c. If the minister do follow these things, he needs not to be careful of other gestures. Those which at this day are by the invention of men received into the celebration of the mass, are so far off from giving any majesty to the mysteries, that they bring them rather the more into contempt. I will say nothing else that may seem more grievous.

the margin of the *London* edition of the Latin Decades by Henry Middleton.]

[5 hic, Lat. omitted: in this matter.]

[6 Sciendum quod non omnes antiquæ legis consuetudines abjecit ecclesia, sed quasdam provida consideratione retinuit.... Adhuc habet .... vestes, et vasa, et pontifices, et Levitas.—Innocent. Pap. III. Myster. Miss. Lib. IV. cap. 4. Opp. Tom. I. p. 376. col. 1575. Cf. Zurich Letters, p. 158. A.]

[7 See Vol. II. page 255.]

[8 De Origine Erroris circa Cœnam, &c. cap. VI. fol. 208.]

[9 ab antiquo, Lat.]

[10 et omnibus intelligibili, Lat. omitted: and that which all could understand.]

Of taking it in the hands.

The matter is indifferent, whether the church take the supper sitting down, or going to the table; whether a man take the holy mysteries in his own hand, or receive it into his mouth at the hands of him that ministereth. It is most agreeable with the first simplicity and institution of the supper, to sit, and to receive the sacraments in a man's own hands of him that ministereth; and afterwards to break it, eat it, and to divide it unto others. For as the Lord sat at table with his disciples, so he reached forth the mysteries, saying: "Take, and divide it among you." Moreover, as there is more quietness and less stir in sitting at the supper, while the ministers carry the holy mysteries about the congregation; so it is well known by histories of antiquity, that the sacrament hath been delivered into the hands of the communicants. It is mere superstition and repugnant to the doctrine of the apostles, to scrape the hands of the lay people that have touched the holy sacrament of the supper. Why do they not also by the same law scrape the lips, tongue, and jaws of the communicants?

The remnants of the supper.

Of these things before handled springeth another question: What is to be thought of the remnants and leavings of the Lord's supper; and whether there ought any part of it to be reserved; and whether that which is reserved or shut up ought to be adored? This question seemeth to have no godliness at all in it, but to be altogether superstitious and very hurtful. For who knoweth not, that bread and wine, out of the holy and lawful use appointed, are not a sacrament? Shall we proceed to demand with these sophisters, what that is which the mouse gnaweth when he gnaweth the Lord's bread?

Whether to be shut up and adored.

These questions are most unworthy to be demanded, and to be raked up in holy oblivion. Touching the shutting up of the sacrament, the Lord teacheth us not one word in the gospel, much less of worshipping it. "Take," saith he, "eat, and divide it among you." He saith not, Lay it up, and worship it; for the true worshippers worship the Father in spirit and truth. Moreover, we read how the Lord hath plainly said in the gospel: "If they say unto you, Behold, where he is in the desert, go not forth; behold, where he is in the innermost parts of the house, do not believe." He setteth down the cause of this his commandment: "For like as the lightning goeth forth of the east, and appeareth in the west,

so shall the coming of the Son of man be." The coming again of the Son of man[1], saith he, shall be glorious and not obscure; neither shall he come again but to judge both the quick and the dead. And therefore St Paul the apostle, Col. iii. teaching us true religion, willeth us to worship Christ, not upon the earth, but with our minds lifted unto heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of his Father. And who will be so frantic, I beseech you, to worship the holy sign for the holy thing itself? It appeareth by the decrees made of late, that these things were invented by man's device: for it is certain, that the feast of Christ's body, commonly called *Corpus Christi*, was instituted but of late years under pope Urban, in the year of our Lord, 1264; as it may appear in Clement, the iii. book, title 16, the chapter beginning, *Si Dominum*[2].

What time to be celebrated.

It remaineth, that we discuss the question concerning the time of celebrating the Lord's supper, and what season is meetest for the same, the morning or evening; whether we ought to sup together; whether we must receive it fasting, or when we have dined; also, how often we must celebrate the supper, once, or often, or seldom. It is evidently enough known, that Christ sat down at the table with his disciples in the evening; but it followeth not hereof, that the supper cannot be rightly celebrated at any other time but at evening. The Lord, upon occasion of the feast of the passover, and because he should be betrayed that night, did both eat the supper that evening with his disciples, and instituted also the supper for us. Notwithstanding, he left the liberty to remove this mystery unto the morning; for that when we be sober, then are we most meet to deal in all matters, specially in religion, for which we be then fitter than when our bellies be full of good cheer. Wherefore this banquet requireth fasting and empty guests; but yet not so fasting, that a man may not taste of somewhat aforehand for his health's sake; for St Paul saith: "If any man be hungry, let him eat at home." The same apostle also will not have any other feast to be received together with the Lord's mystical supper. And therefore we say, that we ought not to receive that with other meat. Tertullian writeth, that Christians have used oftentimes to eat

[1 in mundum, Lat, omitted: into the world.]

[2 Corpus Jur. Can. Clement. Lib. III. tit. 16. coll. 240, &c. Lugd. 1624. See Jewel's Works, ed. Park. Soc. Vol. I. p. 516.]

other meat with it; which kind of supper, as he writeth, was called ἀγάπη, that is to say, mutual love or charity, borrowing the name from love[1]: for that there the poor were refreshed with the feasting of the richer sort. Howbeit, provision of meat, drink, and other necessaries, might well enough be made for them without the church. Paul will not permit, that in one place both public feasts should be made, and also the mystical supper of the Lord celebrated.

How often to be celebrated.

Furthermore, how many times in a year the faithful ought to receive this sacrament of the Lord's supper, the apostles have given forth no commandment, but have left it indifferent unto every church's discretion. For what is more plain than that which St Paul hath said: "As often as you shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, you shall declare the Lord's death until he come?" For the Lord (as the same apostle setteth it down), first commanding, said: "Do this, as oft as you shall drink it, in remembrance of me." Howbeit, let no man think, that the celebration of the Lord's supper is left so freely unto him, that he need never to receive it; for that were no lawful liberty, but most unlawful licentiousness. They that celebrate the supper of the Lord upon certain and ordinary times of the year, would not have it brought into contempt or loathed by reason of the daily frequenting. For they have some consideration of their own people; and they would have the supper to be celebrated worthily, and that the people may have a desire unto it. But they that celebrate it very oft, they suppose it an unmeet thing, that good things, by often frequenting them, should be despised: for the better the thing is, the oftener, say they, it is to be used. Both these sorts desire to serve the Lord, and would have that to be done to great and good effect, which the Lord hath left free. Between these, if St Augustine be made umpire[2] and judge, doubtless he would pronounce none other judgment, than that which he hath already pronounced of the same cause, writing unto Januarius, and saying: "He shall best decide this strife between them, who so advised them especially to abide in the peace of Christ; and that every man do that which according to his faith he is persuaded to be good and godly. For neither

[1 Tertull. Apolog. cap. 39. Opp. Tom. v. p 75. ed. Semler. Hal. Mag. 1828.]

[2 hodie, Lat. omitted: at this day.]

of them dishonoureth the body and blood of our Lord. Only that meat must not be contemned[3]."

Now for whom this holy supper is instituted, and to whom it is to be ministered, we have also to consider. It seemeth, that it is instituted and to be given unto all faithful christian people, of what sex soever, men and women, high and low. Wherefore so great a mystery is not to be cast unto swine and dogs, to be contemned and trodden under foot. Before it be ministered, all men are earnestly and effectually to be admonished unto whom this meat appertaineth, namely, to them that acknowledge their sins, that are sorry for their faults, and believe in Christ; all are to be admonished, that every man descending into himself do prove himself, and afterward so eat of this holy bread and drink of this holy drink, that he eat not and drink not thereof unworthily unto his condemnation. But after this severe admonition, if any approach unto the table and sit down, and by their sitting down do as it were openly profess, both that they are, and also desire to remain, true worshippers of Christ, by whom they trust to have remission of their sins; surely such are not to be put back by the ministers, neither are the holy mysteries to be denied them. For the Lord himself, who is the searcher of hearts, severely, diligently, plainly, and in many words in his last supper, before he distributed the mysteries, admonished Judas, being an hypocrite, a thief, a traitor, a murderer, yea, a parricide, a blasphemer, and a forsaker of his master; but being admonished, when notwithstanding he departed not from the table, but tarried among the saints, the Lord did not violently put him away, nor bade him openly to depart, neither withheld he the Lord's bread from him, but gave it unto him as he did unto others, although he knew assuredly what he was: which thing the ministers of the church do not always so certainly know of them that sit down at the table. Neither did the Lord offend any whit at all in so doing, neither did he cast that which was holy to the dogs. For the Lord warned him diligently of all matters, whereof he

For whom the supper is instituted.

[3 Rectius inter eos fortasse quisquam dirimit litem qui moneat præcipue in Christi pace permaneant; faciat autem unusquisque quod secundum fidem suam pie credat esse faciendum. Neuter enim eorum exhonorat corpus et sanguinem Domini.....Contemptum solum non vult cibus ille.—Aug. Ep. CXVIII. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 108. col. 3.]

was to be warned; and he, hearing and understanding them all, remaineth notwithstanding among the saints, vaunteth himself for one of the faithful, not for an hog, and as one of the faithful taketh part of the bread and of the cup. By which hypocrisy, notwithstanding, he provoked the heavy judgment of God against him; even as also at this day this holy meat and this holy drink turneth to the destruction both of the body and soul of all hypocrites. Neither did the presence of the hypocrite at the Lord's supper defile the other faithful disciples of Christ which sat at the table: like as neither at this day are the faithful polluted, although they see many hypocrites sit down at the table with them; for they sup not with them as with hypocrites, but as it were with the faithful. In the meanwhile, the hypocrite hurteth himself, and not others; he falleth and perisheth to his own destruction, he eateth and drinketh his own damnation; but the faithful liveth by his own faith: of which thing we have entreated in other sermons[1].

The supper was not instituted for infants.

And although that infants are reputed to be of the church and in the number of the faithful, yet are they not capable of the supper. In this point the ancient fathers shamefully erred: which I have also noted in the sermon of Baptism[2]. Infants are not deprived of everlasting life, although they depart out of this world without receiving this mystical meat. This was instituted for them that are of lawful years, and not for infants. "Let a man examine himself," saith the apostle, "and let him so eat of the bread, and drink of the cup." And the Lord saith: "Do this in the remembrance of me." And again: "Shew forth the Lord's death until he come." All which sayings take place in people of lawful years, not in infants. Our children must be diligently instructed from their infancy, that they may rightly understand those mysteries, and frequent them; which thing the Lord commanded the children of Israel, saying: "If your children shall say unto you, What manner of worshipping is this? you shall answer, It is the sacrifice of the Lord's passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel, when he stroke the Egyptians and delivered our houses." Surely we must not shew ourselves to be more slack in informing our children than they were, since we have received a more noble benefit than they have.

[1 See Vol. I. page 103; and above, page 13.]
[2 See above, page 379.]

Whether it be to be celebrated against imminent dangers.

Of like nature unto this question are these other: Whether the supper be to be celebrated privately for every cause or necessity? whether it be to be carried unto the sick and those that keep their beds? whether it be to be applied to the dead, that is to say, to be offered for the dead, to obtain rest for them? Touching these matters, I know what is commonly said and done. There happeneth some pestilence, famine, war, or tempest, and by and by the supper is commanded to be celebrated, that as it were by this sacrifice[3] the present calamity may be taken away. Again, there is one sick; another perisheth with hunger, and afflicted for want of all manner of necessaries; the same requireth of the priest to have the Lord's supper ministered unto him, that thereby the disease may be cured as by a most present and approved remedy, and his hunger and poverty released. But this is not the due celebration of the supper, but a filthy profanation thereof. For the Lord hath not instituted it to be a cleansing sacrifice against all calamities, whereby he would be pleased; but to be a memorial of his death, and a dutiful thanksgiving. For when we be at the supper, we offer nothing unto him for which he should be favourable unto us, and turn away such an evil from us, and give us such a good thing as we desire of him; but we give thanks for the benefits which we have received. It is lawful otherwise for them that are oppressed with troubles, to offer up their vows (that is to say, their prayers) to the Lord; but it is not lawful to convert his holy mysteries to any other purpose than he hath appointed. Neither have we any examples to prove, that any holy man[4] did ever use the Lord's supper to any such end as these men do. The children of Israel received the feast of the Paschal Lamb in remembrance of their deliverance out of Egypt, and that they should continue thankful unto so beneficial a Lord: how great an offence had they committed, if they had so oftentimes eaten their banquet as, being oppressed with calamities, they desired to be delivered, and desired it by doing that deed! They received the ark of the covenant from the Lord in token of his divine presence and assured help; but when, contrary to the end whereunto it was appointed, they bare it into the camp,

[3 expiatione, Lat.]

[4 So also ed. 1584; but ed. 1577, men: viros, Lat.]

to the intent they might obtain the victory thereby, they themselves were put to flight and slain, and the ark carried away by the Philistines into captivity.

The supper not to be celebrated at home or privately, for the sick nor whole.

Again; if the Lord's supper be a public holy feast of the whole church gathered together in one, in the which there ought to be breaking, distributing, eating and drinking, and thereby the communion of the body and blood of Christ be declared and sealed; it followeth, that the Lord's supper ought not to be ordained neither for any in health or sickness, neither for any lying sick in his bed or at the point of death, be it either[1] privately at home, or openly[2] at church: neither can the godly require the Lord's supper unto any such private uses. For the institution of Christ our Lord must not be altered by any human authority or custom. Verily, St Paul requireth a public assembly of the church and a general meeting for the due celebrating of the supper. "When you meet together therefore in one place, this is not to take the supper of the Lord," that is to say, "ye do not eat the Lord's supper." The reason is, "For every one, when they should eat, taketh his own supper, &c." Wherefore he will not that anything be done therein privately. Likewise in the same place he saith, that they meet together and eat the Lord's supper to their own damnation, which make haste to the supper, not tarrying for the congregation until they do all meet, and they eat and drink together. For he saith: "Wherefore, my brethren, when you meet to eat and drink, tarry one for another (if any man be hungry, let him eat at home, to wit, that he be not constrained[3] to eat before the residue), that ye meet not together to your condemnation." Wherefore the Lord's supper is not a private, but a public supper, to be given to no man privately. And forasmuch as that assembly is not public or general, when four or five do communicate with the sick; their saying is nothing which say, that the supper may be ordained for the sick, if so be that others do sup with them[4]. Moreover, who will deny that the example of Christ and the apostles is perpetually to be

[1 Rather, privately, be it either, &c.]

[2 openly, not in Lat.]

[3 propter famem, Lat. omitted: because of hunger.]

[4 See Original Letters, ed. Park. Soc. p. 123. See also Zurich Letters, 2nd Series, p. 358.]

followed[5]? But it is evident enough, that Christ celebrated his supper in a common dining place, having gathered the church unto him, as well as it might at that time be gathered. St Paul saith, that in that point he followed the example of the Lord, and that he hath delivered no other thing to the church than that which he received of the Lord. Neither read we in any place of the scriptures, that the other apostles of Christ carried the sacrament to the sick, and that they ordained the holy supper privately for every one to appease his tentation. But all the apostles command us in every place to confirm and strengthen the sick and afflicted conscience[6] with the Lord's word: they teach us also to succour the distressed with diligent prayer. St James hath diligently set James v. down in writing, how the faithful shall behave themselves towards the sick and them that are departing out of this world: but as touching the celebrating or carrying the sacrament unto them, he speaketh not one word. Neither is it likely, that the apostles, the most faithful doctors of the church, would dissemble the matter, if so be they had thought that it had appertained chiefly to our salvation. They have warned us often of things of far less importance. And certain it is, that they have taught the church all things that belong to true godliness and salvation: but as for this matter, they have not mentioned one word of it.

They object out of the Acts of the Apostles this authority: "And breaking bread from house to house, they ate meat Acts ii. together with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God." But that place is to be understood of the bodily and nourishing meat, not of the mystical food; for it followeth: "They received meat or sustenance together." And therefore, as it is read in the lviii. chapter of Esay, to break bread is as much to say as to feed, and so it signifieth here also. For the richer sort gave food to the poorer, which they did with a cheerful, not with a sorrowful heart; and they that received the benefit praised God. But if any man do stubbornly contend, that the apostles did sup in private houses, we answer, that it maketh nothing to the present matter of the sick, and of private communion; for, as I have said before, at that time they used private houses instead of churches.

[5 hic, Lat. omitted: in this matter.]

[6 Rather, and the troubled in conscience.]

And therefore they supped in private houses, not to feed the sick with the bread of the sacrament, but because the universal church of that place was gathered together in them: as it appeareth in the xx. chapter of the Acts; as the manner is in persecutions.

They object, moreover, that the ancient fathers sent the sacrament unto them that were bound in prison, and to them that were departing, to feed on upon the way. But I have declared in place elsewhere[1], wherefore the ancient fathers did so. Hereunto also we add, that man's custom cannot prejudice the word of God. The blessed martyr Irenæus writeth, that the bishops of Rome were wont to send the sacrament to other bishops which came to Rome from other places, in token of concord and agreement[2]. But that custom was not used by all bishops, neither is it used in the church at this present. Hereof it followeth, that many things were used by the ancient fathers (as that whereof we spake before, which was, in giving the sacraments to infants), which notwithstanding are no law unto us. Good men also at this day may suffer a private supper, for a time, for them that do not yet understand the full use of the supper. But who will gather hereof, that every man ought of duty to do that which is permitted unto some upon sufferance? But if we continue contentiously to affirm it to be a relief for us in our travel[3], it will grow to this, (which we have seen received already certain hundred years ago,) that there shall be hope and confidence put in the receiving of the sacrament, as though that in respect thereof we were acceptable unto God, and when we depart out of this life we should fly straightways up into heaven, but without receiving the sacrament be thrown directly down to hell. There must also needs arise sundry other errors. Neither is there any necessity to constrain us to minister the sacrament to the sick. For as prisoners are absent from receiving the Lord's supper without danger of salvation, so likewise are the sick and those that are ready to die. For being nevertheless by perfect faith gathered to the body of Christ, and although they be absent in body yet being in mind present with the congregation, they be also made partakers of all spi-

[1 De Origine Erroris circa Cœnam, &c. cap. IV. fol. 198.]
[2 Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. cap. 24.]
[3 asserere viaticum illud, Lat.]

ritual good things[4]. And it is sufficient for them, that as long as they have been in health they have been always present at the holy mysteries. The feast of passover was not celebrated everywhere, but at Hierusalem only, in one place. But how many were there, think we, that by reason of their bodily health impaired with sickness, and for old age, could not travel to Hierusalem from so large and wide a kingdom? And although no man brought them home a piece of the paschal lamb in their pockets, notwithstanding they did communicate with the whole church of Israel. And who doubteth but that by the coming of Christ the condition of the Christians is not impaired[5]? Deut. xvi.

Our Lord Christ did not institute his mystical supper for the dead, but for the living only: wherefore it is not to be celebrated for the dead, and to be applied to their redemption. They that die without faith immediately fall under the judgment of damnation; but they that are dead in Christ are already joined unto the company of the elders, and stand before the Lamb, singing Hallelujah for evermore. For I have declared in my sermon of the soul[6], that the salvation of the faithful souls, which are departed by corporal death, is most undoubted. And where some object, that the ancient fathers have made mention of offering for the dead, we suppose that it appertaineth not unto us. For we believe the canonical scriptures without contradiction: we believe not the fathers further than they can prove their own sayings by the canonical scriptures; neither would they have themselves otherwise believed. And therefore if the fathers think, that the supper is a sacrifice, and that it is to be offered to procure rest to the souls departed; we do not receive that opinion, as not agreeing with the canonical scriptures, which teach that the Lord instituted not his supper for that purpose, and therefore by such abuse of the supper God is rather displeased than pleased: yea, that there is no work of man, be it never so good, much less if it be against God's word, that can sanctify, since that prerogative belongeth only to the merit of the Son of God: and moreover, that the souls departed are not in any such state in that other world, that The sacrament not to be offered for the dead.

[4 ecclesiæ, Lat. omitted: of the church.]

[5 So also ed. 1584; but ed. 1577, is made better? Minime factam esse deteriorem? Lat.]

[6 See Vol. III. page 404, &c.]

they can or ought to be holpen by any works in this world. But if the ancient fathers by oblation or offering do understand the sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving; we will not strive against them but that there may be made oblations for the dead, that is to say, that thanks be given to God and his goodness praised, who hath called out of this miserable world such as were endued with true faith, and hath joined them unto the companies of angels and all the blessed saints in that everlasting kingdom of all joy and felicity. But surely there is no truth nor godliness that willeth us to celebrate the supper for the dead.

Sacrifices of two sorts, of expiation and confession.

And we make a distinction in sacrifice or oblation. For there is a sacrifice of expiation, and there is a sacrifice of confession or praise. The sacrifice of expiation is offered to cleanse or purge sins, and also for satisfaction for sins. This cannot be accomplished without death and blood: as St Paul the apostle sheweth plainly in the ix. chapter to the Hebrews. The sacrifice of Christ was such a one (the figures of which were all the sacrifices of all the holy fathers of the old Testament); who, being both priest and sacrifice, offered up himself once to God the Father, while he suffered upon the cross, and, shedding his most innocent blood, there gave up the ghost. The supper at this day is no such sacrifice, but a commemoration of the death or of the sacrifice once offered upon the cross. For neither ought or can Christ be sacrificed again, who, being once offered, is sufficient to cleanse all the sins of all ages. Why then should he be sacrificed again? Neither can the Son of God be sacrificed by any man, since that for the same cause he offered up himself once to God, as being a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech. Therefore the minister of the church doth not in the church sacrifice the body and blood of Christ in the supper for the living; but together with the whole church doth celebrate the remembrance of the sacrifice which was once offered upon the cross. Of which, as I have said elsewhere[1], the supper may also be called a sacrifice, because it is a sacrament or sign of the sacrifice which was once offered by Christ, as Augustine also hath left written[2].

[1 De origine Erroris circa Cœnam, &c. Lib. IV. fol. 199.]

[2 Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso? Et tamen in sacramento ... populis immolatur. ... Si enim sacramenta, &c.—See quotation above, p. 284. note 2.]

The sacrifice of confession is of praise and thanksgiving, which we offer to God for the redemption and benefits of God freely bestowed upon his church. And since we offer the same always unto God in prayer, but chiefly when we are joined in the sacrament of the eucharist or celebrating the supper, therefore the ancient fathers called it a sacrifice, because in the same we give thanks unto God for our deliverance from death, and for the inheritance of everlasting life which is given unto us. And that this sacrifice is generally offered by the universal church in celebrating the supper, and not by the minister of the church alone, for those that live in the church, we told you before.

Of the ends of the Lord's supper.

Now forasmuch as we have hitherto discussed certain circumstances or questions, which are wont to be moved about the Lord's supper, so far forth as the necessity of the matter seemed to require, and as much as our small ability was able to perform; it remaineth, that we descend further to declare for what cause the Lord's supper was by the Lord instituted: which place truly is not rashly reckoned among the chiefest. For we made mention of the same immediately upon the beginning of this sermon. For the Lord, by setting bread and wine before us in the holy banquet, would have his promise and communion testified unto us, and his gifts represented unto us, and made manifest to our senses; and would also gather us visibly into one body, and retain the memory of his death in the hearts of the faithful; and finally, put us in mind of our duty, chiefly of praise and thanksgiving. All these things have we severally expounded, having discoursed upon them at large in the general consideration and treatise of the sacraments: and therefore at this present we will do no more but touch them briefly for memory's sake, meaning to handle those things somewhat more largely which shall by occasion arise as they are entreated upon.

The Lord witnesseth unto us his promise and communion.

But [by] this word communion I mean, the society, conjunction, or partaking of the Lord Christ, by the which through his Spirit he doth wholly knit and join himself to us, and we are made partakers of him by faith, and are coupled unto him: so that, being by him delivered from sin and death, we may live in him, being made heirs of everlasting life; and that he may live in us and be wholly ours, as we be wholly his. Neither do we say that the communion of the Lord's body

and blood is anything else. For by his body which was delivered over to death for us, and by his blood which was shed for the remission of our sins, it is come to pass, that we, being purged from our sins, are made his members; and he now quickeneth us and sustaineth us, as food which giveth life: whereupon we are also said to eat and drink him as the meat and drink of life. The promise therefore, whereof we made mention even now, is none other than the word of God, which declareth unto us that life is in Christ only: for Christ delivered his body to the death, and shed his blood, for the remission of sins, that we, believing in him, may have life everlasting. But this promise and communion of Christ is not now first of all given in the supper, or by the supper. For the Lord our God, immediately after the creation of the world, promised life and remission of sins unto Adam and his seed through Christ; and afterward reneweth[1] the same promise with Noe, Abraham, Moses, and David, and the other fathers. And that the fathers did communicate with Christ and were partakers of his goodness, Paul the apostle, with the whole scripture, is a witness. But this so great goodness happened not to the fathers only. For the promise was made unto us also, and the communion of Christ was conveyed unto us, and is conveyed particularly unto every one of us in holy baptism, and also in the manifest preaching of the gospel. Moreover, we receive the same by faith, by which we are joined to Christ, and are made his members. Therefore, as we are not void and without Christ before the supper, but are quickened by him and made his members or partners; so in the very action or celebration of the supper the promise is renewed unto us, and we renew and continue that fellowship which we have in Christ[2] by the body and blood of Christ spiritually, truly participating his life and all his good gifts through faith. And by this means we eat the Lord's body, and drink his blood. Moreover, the Lord doth visibly declare and seal unto us that spiritual communion and promise of life, made through Christ, by visible signs, to wit, the banquet of bread and wine, joined to his word or promise; namely, that it is a[3] quickening bread and drink; and that we (having

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, renewed: renovavit, Lat.]

[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, with Christ: communionem Christi in qua sumus, Lat.]

[3 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, that *he* is the: se esse, Lat.]

received the signs by faith and obedience) being thereto sealed, do take upon us the promise and communion of Christ[4], by imprinting or transferring into our bodies the seal or sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Of which thing the apostle hath also entreated in the first Corinthians, cap. x.; and also to the Romans, cap. iv.: and we also have said more thereof in the general treatise of the sacraments.

But before I entreat further of the other ends[5] of the supper, consisting in the description thereof; I will recite what other some allege of the promise and communion of Christ. They condemn our doctrine as heretical. For they contend, that the Lord promised that he would give unto the faithful his very body and blood, to be eaten and drunken under the form of bread and wine; therefore it must by all means, and without all contradiction, be believed, that the bread is the Lord's natural body, and the wine his blood; and that these ought to be eaten and drunken, not only spiritually, but also corporally, unto life everlasting. And that Christ is bodily present in the supper, and that the bread is his body and the wine his blood, thus they prove: That which the Lord speaketh cannot be false, for he is the truth itself; but he saith, that the bread is his body, and the wine his blood; therefore the bread and wine of the sacrament are verily, really, and essentially the body and blood of Christ. Which truth, they say, must simply be believed, although reason itself, the whole world, all senses, and nature itself, be against it. We answer: That indeed all things are very true which the Lord hath spoken, who is truth itself; but in that sense which he himself said and understood, not in that meaning which we will enforce upon his words. Wherefore before all things we must search out the true sense of the Lord's words in the supper, "This is my body," "This is my blood, &c."

Opinion of bodily presence confuted.

Of the true understanding of the Lord's words "This is my body."

These men cry out, saying, that the Lord's words ought to be expounded simply, and according to the letter; for they are the words of a testament; and that permitteth not his words to be expounded[6] by a trope or figure. But we

[4 Rather: And we, having received, &c., bear the promise and communion of Christ sealed upon us, &c.]

[5 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, of other ends.]

[6 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, and the same would not have his words to be taken &c.: hoc non admittere, Lat.]

say, that all the evangelical and apostolical books are numbered under the title[1] of the testament; and therefore throughout all and every place of the scripture nothing must be corrupted, nothing added, nothing diminished[2], unless we will be subject to the curse of God[3]. And yet we are also constrained to confess, that there be infinite sentences in the holy scriptures, which if we will proceed to expound simply according to the letter, we shall overthrow the whole scripture and the true faith, or we shall seem to charge the scriptures with lies and contradiction[4]. I will bring forth one or two examples of this sort. The evangelist St John writeth: "The Word became flesh." Now if we will cleave to the very words, then must we say that God was changed into man. But forasmuch as this sense is contrary to the faith and the scriptures; for God is immutable: and Christ is true God and man, and therefore without all mixture or conversion of natures[5], but remaining still in their own properties: and so do[6] we admit that[7] exposition which declareth that the Word took flesh, and that God was made man. And this sense is not against scripture; for Paul saith, that the Son of God in no sort[8] took upon him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham. Moreover[9], the catholic fathers, together with the apostle, do expound this word *est*, by this word *assumpsit*, took upon him; whereof Theodoret hath entreated at large in his *Polymorphus*, *Dialog.* i.[10] Again, the Lord saith in the same John: "The Father is greater than I." We should enforce an inequality upon the holy Trinity[11], if we

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, the name.]

[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, taken away: detrahendum, Lat.]

[3 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, omits *of God:* maledictioni Dei, Lat.]

[4 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, to go about to reprove the scriptures of lies or contradiction: vidēbimur arguere, Lat.]

[5 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, perfect God and man, without all mingling or converting of natures.]

[6 and so do, should be omitted.]

[7 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, this.]

[8 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, never: nuspiam, Lat.]

[9 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, And therefore: Proinde, Lat.]

[10 Theodoret. Eranist. seu Polymorph. Dial. I. Opp. Tom. IV. p. 13. Par. 1642—84.]

[11 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, make an inequality in adoring the Trinity: inæqualitatem adorandæ Trinitati obtrudemus, Lat.]

should contend that the Lord's words are simply to be understood, without interpretation. But by conference of other places and[12] taking advice of faith, we say that the Son is equal with the Father touching his divinity, but inferior unto him in respect of his humanity; according to that saying of the prophet, which is alleged by the apostle to that purpose: "Thou hast made him little inferior to the angels." We read in the gospel, that Christ our Lord had brethren, and that St John the apostle was called the son of Mary, and Mary called the mother of John. But who, unless he were infected with the heresy of Helvidius[13], will stand herein, that these places are to be expounded according to the letter?—specially since other places of the scripture do manifestly prove, that they were called brethren which indeed were brothers' and sisters' children, cousin germans, kinsmen, or near of blood. Also the circumstances of the place in the xix. cap. of St John prove, that Mary was committed to John as a mother to her son. Wherefore if they have a desire still to wrangle, as hitherto at their own pleasures we have by proof found them to do, crying out, and reiterating in their cries[14], "This is my body, This is my blood; This is, This is, This is, This is; Is, Is, Is;" we will also repeat: "The word was made, was made, was made flesh: The Father is, is, is greater than I: Christ hath brethren; I say, he hath brethren, he hath brethren. The scripture hath so. The truth saith so." But tell me now, what commodity shall there redound to the church by these troublesome and odious outcries and most froward contentions? How shall the hearers be edified? How shall the glory of God be enlarged? How shall the truth be set forth? Necessity therefore constraineth us to confess, that in some places we must forsake the letter, but not the sense; and that sense is to be allowed which faith itself, with other places of scripture conferred with it, and finally, the circumstances of the place, the first being compared with the last, do yield as it were of their own accord. How- When to depart from the letter.
beit, we also cry out and repeat again and again, that we

[12 So also ed. 1584: but ed 1577, omits *and:* et, Lat.]

[13 Helvid ianioxorti ab Helvidio ita virginitati Mariæ contradicunt, ut eam post Christum alios etiam filios de utero suo Joseph peperisse contendant.—August. de Hæres. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 7. Par. 1531.]

[14 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, and in crying to repeat.]

ought not without great cause to go from the simplicity of the word. But when as the absurdity, not of reason, but of piety, and the repugnancy of the scriptures, and contrariety to the articles of our faith, do enforce us; then we say, affirm, and contend, that it is godly, yea, necessary, to depart from the letter and from the simplicity of the words. And that these places[1], which we alleged even now, do constrain us to depart from the letter in these words of the Lord, "This is my body, This is my blood," we will prove by most sound arguments taken out of the scriptures, when I have first briefly declared the true and ancient sense and meaning of those usual and solemn words.

The ancient exposition of the words of the supper: "This is my body."

The Lord, sitting at the self-same table with his disciples, reached the bread unto them with his own hand. And he, having only one true, human, and natural body, with the very same body of his delivered bread unto his disciples, and not a body either of any other man's, or that of his own. Neither doth that trouble us, which St Augustine reciteth of David, in expounding the xxxiii. Psalm, "And he was borne in his own hands;" whereunto he addeth immediately: "Who is borne in his own hands? A man may be borne in the hands of other men, but none can be borne in his own. This is therefore meant of David, not of Christ. For Christ was borne in his own hands, when as, commending his very body unto them, he said, 'This is my body:' for that body was borne in his own hands[2]." For by these words St Augustine doth not feign, that Christ hath two human bodies; but he meaneth, that the human body bare in his hands the sacramental body, that is to say, the bread which is the sacrament of the true body; for he speaketh plainly, saying: "He, commending his body, bare that body in his own hands." For in the second sermon, almost in the same words being but a little changed, he saith: "How was he borne in his own hands? For when he had commended his body

[1 illa ipsa, Lat.: those considerations.]

[2 Et ferebatur in manibus suis... Quis enim portatur in manibus suis? Manibus aliorum potest portari homo; manibus suis nemo portatur. Quomodo intelligatur in ipso David secundum literam non invenimus, in Christo autem invenimus. Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis, quando commendans ipsum corpus suum ait, Hoc est corpus meum. Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis.—Aug. Enarrat. in Psal. xxxiii. Opp. Tom. VIII. fol. 49. col. 1. Par. 1531.]

and blood, he took that in his hands which the faithful know; and after a sort he bare himself, when he said, This is my body[3]." By which words he manifestly declared, that he meant not that Christ in his natural body delivered his natural body to his disciples; but that which the faithful do know, to wit, the sacrament or mystery. For it followeth: "And he bare himself after a sort (I pray you, mark this saying, after a sort), when he said, This is my body." Wherefore those solemn words, "This is my body, which is broken for you;" and likewise, "This is my blood, which is shed for you;" can have none other sense than this: This is a commemoration, memorial, or remembrance, sign or sacrament, of my body which is given for you; This cup, or rather the wine in the cup, signifieth or representeth unto you my blood which was once shed for you. For there followeth in the Lord's solemn words that which notably confirmeth this meaning: "Do this in the remembrance of me." As if he should say: Now am I present with you, before your eyes; I shall die and ascend up into heaven, and then shall this holy bread and wine be a memorial or token of my body and blood given and shed[4] for you. Then break the bread and eat it, distribute the cup and drink it; and do this in the remembrance of me, praising my benefits bestowed on you in redeeming you and giving you life.

Although this interpretation be most slanderously reviled and become abominable in the sight of many, yet is it manifest to be the true, proper, and most ancient interpretation of all other. Tertullian, Lib. IV. contra Mart., saith: "Christ, taking the bread, and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body, in saying, 'This is my body,' that is to say, the figure of my body[5]." Hierome upon St Matthew's gospel saith: "That, like as in the prefiguring of Christ Melchisedech the priest of Almighty God had done, in bringing forth bread and

[3 Quomodo ferebatur in manibus suis? Quia cum commendaret ipsum corpus suum et sanguinem suum, accepit in manus suas quod norunt fideles; et ipse se portabat quodammodo cum diceret, Hoc est corpus meum.—Id. ibid. fol. 49. col. 2.]

[4 Rather, of my body given, and of my blood shed.]

[5 Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit (Christus), Hoc est corpus meum dicendo; id est, figura corporis mei.—Tertull. adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. cap. 40. Opp. Tom. I, p. 305. Hal. Mag. 1827. ed. Semler.]

wine, so he might represent the truth of his body[1]." Chrysostom also in his 83. homily upon Matthew: "If Jesus be not dead (saith he), whose token and sign is this sacrifice[2]?" Ambrose upon the first to the Corinthians, cap. xi.: "Because we be delivered by the Lord's death," saith he, "being mindful thereof, in eating and drinking we do signify the flesh and the blood which were offered for us[3]." Au. Augustine also in many places heapeth up many speeches like to this same kind of speech: "The blood is the soul, The rock was Christ," and, "This is my body." Let us hear then what he saith of these speeches, that we may understand what he thinketh of the true interpretation of this text, "This is my body." In the 3rd book of Questions, in the 57. question upon Leviticus, he saith: "It remaineth that that be called the soul, which signifieth the soul; for the thing that signifieth is wont to be called by the name of that thing which it signifieth; as it is written, 'The seven ears of wheat are seven years;' he said not, Do signify seven years; and, 'Seven oxen are seven years;' and many such like. In like sort it is said: 'The rock was Christ.' He said not, The rock signifieth Christ; but as though it were so indeed, which is not the same in substance, but by signification. So likewise the blood, because through a certain vital substance it signifieth the soul, in the sacraments is called the soul[4]." Thus far he. The same Augustine also against Adimantus, cap. 12, saith:

[1 — assumit (Christus) panem . . . ut, quomodo in præfiguratione ejus Melchisedec, summi Dei sacerdos, panem et vinum afferens, fecerat, ipse quoque veritatem sui corporis et sanguinis repræsentaret. —Hieron. Comment. in Matth. cap. XXVI. Lib. IV. Opp. Tom. IV. par. 1. col. 128. Par. 1693—1706.]

[2 See quotation above, page 317, note 4.]

[3 Quia morte Domini liberati sumus, hujus rei memores in edendo et potando carnem et sanguinem, quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, significamus.—Ambros. in 1 Cor. xi. p. 183. Opp. Tom. III. col. 1616. But these commentaries are not genuine.]

[4 Restat itaque . . . ut illud appelletur anima, quod significat animam. Solet autem res quæ significat ejus rei nomine quam significat nuncupari: sicut scriptum est, Septem spicæ septem anni sunt. Non enim dixit, Septem annos significant. Et, Septem boves septem anni sunt. Et multa hujusmodi. Hinc est quod dictum est, Petra erat Christus. Non enim dixit, Petra significat Christum; sed tanquam hoc esset quod utique per substantiam non hoc erat, sed per significationem. Sic et sanguis, quoniam propter vitalem quandam corpu-

"So is blood the soul, like as the rock was Christ." And again in the same place he saith: "I may also expound, that that precept of the blood and soul of the beast &c. consisteth in the sign. For the Lord doubted not to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave the sign of his body[5]." Thus much Augustine. There is no fool so doltish that will say[6], that these words of Augustine are dark or doubtful. Who so list may add hereunto that which the same author hath plainly written concerning figurative speech, *Libro* II. *Contra Advers. Legis. cap.* 2.[7]

A demonstration of the figurative words of the supper: "This is my body."

But let us leave off to cite men's testimonies concerning the proper and most ancient exposition of Christ's words, "This is my body." Let us rather proceed to allege sound arguments out of the scriptures, as we promised to do, thereby to prove that we must sometime of necessity depart from the letter, and that Christ's words are accordingly, as I have said, to be expounded by a figure.

First, it is evident that the Lord at this present instituted a sacrament: whereby it is manifest, that the Lord spake after the same manner as he is wont to speak[8] in other places of the scripture concerning sacraments; as when he saith, that circumcision is the Lord's covenant; the lamb, the Lord's passover; that sacrifices are sins and sanctifications; baptism, the water of regeneration. But we declared in the sixth sermon of this decade, that all these kinds of speeches remain to be expounded. This saying or speech therefore is to be expounded: "This is my body," "This is my blood:" because it is sacramental. For it received[9] the common interpretation,

lentiam animam significat, in sacramentis anima dictus est.—Aug. Quæst. sup. Levit. LVII. Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 47. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

[5 Sic est sanguis anima, quomodo petra erat Christus.... Possum etiam interpretari præceptum illud in signo esse positum. Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui.—Id. con. Adimant. cap. 12. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 39. col. 2.]

[6 Ne Chorœbus dixerit.—See Erasmi Adag. Chil. p. 404. Hanov. 1617. in *stupidos*.]

[7 Atque in omnibus sanctis scripturis secundum sanæ fidei regulam figurate dictum vel factum si quid exponitur, de quibuslibet rebus et verbis quæ sacris paginis continentur, expositio illa ducatur, non aspernanter, sed sapienter audiamus.—Aug. contr. Adv. Leg. et Proph. Lib. II. cap. 9. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 130. col. 4.]

[8 Rather, as the scripture is wont to speak.]

[9 Admittit autem, Lat.]

which most truly and for certainty was used and received by the catholic church ever since the time of the apostles; yea, and ever since the time of the patriarchs until this day: to wit, that signs do receive the terms and names of those things that are signified; so that thereby they receive no part of their substance, but do still continue and remain in their own proper nature.

For this cause it cometh to pass[1], that our Lord Christ, in the gospel written by St Luke, did join the banquet of the passover with this our Lord's supper, in such sort that he substituted this in the place of the other; that it should not seem strange if he had said in this our supper, "This is my body;" for in the solemnising of the feast of passover it is thus said, "The lamb is the Lord's passover." Which kind of speech was not dark to be understood by the apostles, who understood that this lamb was a remembrance of the passage once past. By that means also they understood, that the Lord's bread, given unto them by the Lord, is a remembrance of his body. For in other matters of much less weight they diligently questioned and inquired of the Lord touching the proper sense and signification of the words; but of these words they never once doubted or asked any question: for all sacramental speeches were to the holy fathers very well known.

Moreover, if we continue to understand the words of the supper simply, according to the letter; it followeth, that the Lord hath delivered unto us his body and blood corporally to be received. And, I pray you, to what end should he deliver them, but that we, receiving them corporally, might live? But the universal canonical scripture teacheth, that our life or salvation, and our justification, consisteth in faith only, which we repose in the body which was given and the blood shed for us (which is the spiritual eating), not in any work of ours, much less in the bodily eating of Christ's body; which he sheweth in another place to be nothing available. Then, since there is but one means, and that most simple, whereby to obtain life and justification, to wit, by faith only, not by the work of our eating; neither is the scripture repugnant to itself; surely the Lord hath not instituted any such work of eating: and therefore the solemn words of the supper do admit some other exposition.

[1 Huc accedit, Lat.: Add to this.]

If the bread were the Lord's true and natural body, it must needs follow, that even the wicked, being partakers of this bread, should eat Christ's body, and that verily his flesh should be meat to feed the belly; since they that eat it[2] lack both minds[3] and faith. But all holy men abhor that thought as absurd and most unworthy; of which matter I will entreat more hereafter. Therefore the saying of Christ, "This is my body," admitteth an exposition.

The whole universal canonical scripture witnesseth, that our Lord Jesus Christ took a body of the undefiled virgin, consubstantial in all points unto our bodies, that is to say, an human body; yea, that he was made like unto us in all respects, except sin. Now it is manifest, that he spake of his true sensible body when he saith, "This is my body;" for he addeth, "Which is broken or given for you." But the true, natural, sensible, or human body was delivered and died for us. But this appeareth not in the bread, or under the bread. Wherefore the Lord's words must be expounded.

Surely, if it had been the Lord's will to make his body of bread and his blood of wine, according to the power whereby he made all things with his word; as soon as ever he had said, "This is my body," the bread had been the body of Christ, and that very body whereof he spake, mortal, passible, to be felt and seen. For "he spake the word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created." He said, "Let there be light," and light was made; and such kind of light as might be perceived and did shine. But in the supper we see nothing in Christ's hands but bread, no body. And therefore it was not our Saviour's meaning by these words, "This is my body," to create or make his body of the bread: for if he had meant so to do, surely it had been done.

Neither is there any cause why they should here, as it were, casting their mists before our eyes[4], and apply their coloured interpretation unto a rotten construction, using words, "unspeakably, supernaturally, invisibly, not qualitively, not quantively, not as in a place[5]." For by these terms they, intending in the meanwhile to bring some other thing to pass, do

[2 that eat it, not in Lat.] [3 mente, Lat.]

[4 Rather, scattering mists abroad, throw them before us.]

[5 Aquinas, Sum. Tot. Theol. par. III. quæst. 57. Tom. VIII. p. 218. Col. Agrip. 1639. Lomb. Sentent. Lib. IV. dist. 10. p. 310. Lugd. 1570.]

by the wonderful judgment of God quite subvert and overthrow all that is their own. For if this their mystery be unspeakable, why then do they use these terms, "essentially, substantially, really, corporally?" For they that speak so, do utter truly and set down the manner of his presence. If the bread be supernaturally the body of Christ, why then do they add "naturally?" And if the bread be Christ's body invisibly, then can it not be corporally, neither can it be a true body, whose property is to be visible. Who would not laugh, if he should hear that fire burnt and gave no heat, and that light did shine and gave no light? If he be not present in quality, quantity, and as in a place, then is he not corporally present. For, I pray you, are not qualities, quantities, and place, belonging to the body? Hearken what Augustine saith unto Dardanus touching the presence of God: "Take," saith he, "space of place from bodies, and they shall be nowhere; and because they shall be nowhere, they shall not be at all. Take the bodies themselves from the qualities of bodies, and they shall be nowhere; and therefore it must needs be they cannot be at all[1]." Let not us therefore rob or spoil the Lord's body of the properties thereof, and so deny the truth of his body. Again, that we bring not so many contraries[2] and absurd things into one and the same opinion, we interpret the words of the Lord, "This is my body," This is a memorial or remembrance of my body; or else, This signifieth my body.

Moreover, if this word *est*, "is," be to be understood substantively in the Lord's words, "This is my body," it followeth then, that the bread is changed into Christ's body. But that this is not so, all our senses do witness; the very substance remaining, not only the accidents of the bread. It is necessary therefore that our adversaries do understand, that in this, with this, or under this, is Christ's body. But so are they gone from the simplicity of the Lord's words, who said, "This is my body;" and not, Under this is my body.

Again, if we be so tied to the words above recited, that upon pain of sacrilege we may not start from them an hair's breadth; I beseech you then, how durst Luke and Paul recite the words which belong to the cup far otherwise than Matthew and Mark? For these two do set down the words be-

[1 See the quotation, Vol. III. page 265, note 2.]

[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, contrary.]

longing to the cup in this sort: "This is my blood which is of the new Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of their sins." But they two recite them thus: "This cup being the new Testament through my blood, which is shed for you;" and, "This cup is the new Testament in my blood." But shall we think, that there is no difference between the blood of Christ and the new Testament? St Paul defineth the new Testament, after Jeremy, to be a full remission of all sins; and the self-same saith, that this remission of sins is obtained through the blood of Christ. But who will so impudently contend as will dare to affirm, that the very cup, or the wine in the cup, is really and substantially the remission of sins? What cause is there, if we hold on and stick precisely to the letter, why we should be forced to confess that the cup, not the wine, nor the drink, is either the blood of Christ, either the new Testament, or the remission of sins? For the Lord saith not, This wine, but, "This cup." Howbeit in this place, to avoid absurdity, we willingly admit a trope: wherefore then are we not indifferent[3] in a matter of equal importance? Therefore, like as the cup, or the wine, is the testament, or remission of sins; so likewise the cup, or the wine, is Christ's blood, and in like manner also the bread is Christ's body. But the cup is not substantially the remission of sins or blood, but the sacrament of Christ's blood, whereby the new testament was dedicated, and full remission of sins obtained for us: therefore the bread is the body of Christ, because it is the sacrament of the body of Christ.

Surely it is a strong and firm argument that we have brought forth: and of no less force and strength, we hope, is that behind, which we will now bring forth. The Lord at the celebrating of the holy supper saith: "Do ye this in remembrance of me." These words do not import, that we would[4] determine them to be really present whom we ought to remember; for who shall be said to remember those things which he beholdeth before him in presence? But we must go[5] from the simple signification of remembrance or

[3 sumus iniquiores, Lat.: are we more rigid.]

[4 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, should.]

[5 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1777, not go: Non debemus recedere, Lat.]

memory, specially since Paul saith: "Declare the Lord's death until he come." For thus we gather thereby: He whose remembrance is repeated until he come or return, he surely is not counted to be present, but is looked for to come: therefore the Lord's body which was given for us, the remembrance whereof is celebrated in the mystical supper, is not present, but is looked for to come.

John xvi. Now those places, touching Christ's leaving the world and departing hence, do not simply admit the interpretation of the words of the supper. "It is expedient for you," saith he, "that I depart: for if I go not away, the Comforter shall not come unto you; but if I depart from you, then will I send him unto you." Also: "I went from the Father, and came into the world: again, I leave the world and go to the Father." And again: "And henceforth I am not in the world; but these are in the world, and I come unto thee." These sayings truly are repugnant: That he went hence; That he is no longer in the world; That he left the world; and, That his natural body is in the world, and that verily it is given and received really and substantially in the supper. Neither is it lawful figuratively to interpret the testimonies which are brought forth of St John's gospel concerning Christ's departure; for the apostles do confess, that the Lord spake plainly or simply, without any parable. Insomuch therefore as the apostles do testify, that this speech of the Lord was simple and simply pronounced, it is needful that those other words which are contrary unto these, "This is my body," be expounded by a figure, that the scripture be not repugnant to itself.

Moreover, those places, which bear record that Christ's body after the resurrection was circumscribed by place, seen and felt, which also do make a difference between Christ's body clarified and the angelical spirits (where, by the way, we may see that here is no place left for the device of the definitive mean[1]), do not admit the bare interpretation of the

Mark xvi. solemn words of the Lord. The angels say: "He is risen, he is not here. Behold the place where they laid him." Also: "He shall go before you into Galilee; there shall you see

Luke xxiv. him." And again he himself saith to his disciples: "Feel me, and see: a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see me

[1 modi definitivi, Lat.]

have." These sayings of[2] the clarified body (which is that which ascended, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father) repugn wholly with ubiquity or being in every place, and the insensibility of Christ's body: which notwithstanding must needs be granted, if we proceed to enforce the real presence of Christ's body out of the words of the supper simply understood. Wherefore[3] belongeth that which the apostle, disputing of the resurrection of the dead, saith: "If the dead do not rise, neither is Christ risen;" but, "Christ is risen, being the firstfruits of them that sleep;" and therefore shall we rise also. Wherefore, by our own bodies being raised again it appeareth, what manner of body Christ's glorious body was, or is, whereunto our bodies are made like. But our bodies shall be true bodies, consisting of sinews, veins, flesh, skin, and bones, visible, not invisible, and remaining in some certain place in heaven, not everywhere: whereupon it followeth, that the Lord's body is not invisible and everywhere. But if any man think that to be no good argument, which is fet[4] from our raised bodies to the Lord's raised body, or contrariwise, let him accuse St Paul, who hath taught us this by his example. Therefore the catholic and right ancient faith constraineth[5] to expound the words of the supper by a trope or figure.

1 Cor. xv.

1 Cor. xv.

Finally, when as the Capernaites had heard the Lord dispute touching the eating of his body and drinking of his blood, and did think and imagine of a carnal eating and drinking, he said that he would ascend into heaven: to wit, that they should not think on the eating of his natural body, since in the selfsame body he would ascend into heaven. Neither is there left here any place for the new and frivolous device of certain men[6], which feign that to ascend into heaven is nothing else than to lay down the weak state and condition thereof, and to receive a supernatural. For St Luke, whom altogether we must rather believe than such subtle devices or

To ascend into heaven.

[2] de, Lat.: concerning.]

[3] So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, Whereunto: Quibus accedit, Lat.]

[4] Fet: fetched.]

[5] So ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, constraineth us.]

[6] Bullinger refers to the interpretation of Brentius and his followers.]

rather follies, saith that the Lord was lifted up on high, and
Acts i. carried up into heaven from the sight of his disciples: moreover, that his body was received by a cloud; and that his disciples looked up into heaven after him, until they heard the angels say unto them, that he would return again in the very same manner altogether as they saw him depart away. But who knoweth not, that he shall come again in the clouds of heaven? Therefore heaven, into which the Lord ascended, is the name of a place, not of a state or condition. Also in
John xiv. the gospel he promiseth us a place with himself, saying: "If I go to prepare you a place, I will come again, and take you unto me; that where I am, there you may be also." Yea, he laid down all the conditions and infirmities of a mortal body in his resurrection; so that he had no need to lay them down at his ascension.

I suppose that there is none of the faithful that will deny, that the Lord instituted nothing to us in vain, or without some singular and special commodity to us. But when the Lord said in the gospel, that his flesh being corporally eaten availed nothing; where he speaketh of none other body than of that very same, whereof he spake in the words of the supper, to wit, which he gave for us; it followeth without all contradiction, that the Lord delivered nothing unto us in the supper but that would profit us. But he should have delivered that which would not have profited us, if he had given us his body to be eaten corporally. It is evident therefore, that it is very necessary the words of the supper should be expounded.

Matt. xxiv. Hereunto belongeth the notable prophecy and manifest commandment of our Lord Jesus Christ, saying in the gospel: "Then if they shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there is Christ, do not believe. For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and they shall work great signs and wonders, so that if it were possible, the very elect shall be brought into error. Behold, I have told you before. If therefore they shall say unto you, Behold, where he is in the wilderness; go not forth. Behold, where he is in the innermost parts of the house," (in the closets or coffers, I say; for this word, ἐν ταμείοις, signifieth the most secret and innermost parts of all the house, wherein we use to lay up those things which we would have safest kept, which in Dutch we

call *Schryn, schloss, und ghalt,*) "do not believe. For like as the lightning goeth out of the east, and appeareth even unto the west, so shall the coming of the Son of man be." But although this place is used to be expounded by many of the calamities of the Jews, yet that cannot be denied, which St Hierome also himself confesseth, that in the same likewise the destiny of all the world is prophesied of, even unto the end thereof[1]. Wherefore this place, which we have alleged, is concluded with the saying concerning Christ's last coming into the world at the day of judgment. And moreover it cannot be denied, that the Lord doth absolutely condemn that doctrine that defendeth, that Christ remaineth or is present, in divers places of the world, in boxes or close places: which not only the books of the teachers of transubstantiation are seen to do, but also tabernacles which are erected unto Christ's body[2] (which they call meat-tents[3]), also chapels with famous temples and monasteries. In all and every one of these places, I say, they shew us Christ, saying, "Lo, here is Christ, and there is Christ; behold the bread of angels. Christ is wholly in all these sacrifices, and he is fully and wholly in every part of them, even in such sort as he was when he was born of the virgin Mary, and hung upon the cross." Which thing they by and by confirm by miracles and wonders; they also set it forth with circumstance of words, saying, that so great mysteries are not to be inquired of, but simply to be believed; and that these things were wrought unspeakably and invisibly by the omnipotency of God. Neither did the Lord dissemble how much this error should increase. There shall be such plenty, such great numbers of people that receive this error, and running after Christ into the deserts and innermost places of the houses, that the very elect shall be in danger. But in the mean while, in so great

[1 —discipuli interrogant tria: quo tempore Jerusalem destruenda sit; quo venturus Christus; quo consummatio seculi futura sit.—Hieron. Comment. in Matth. xxiv. Lib. IV. Opp. Tom. IV. par. 1. col. 114. Par. 1704.]

[2 quæ ubique locorum cernuntur, Lat. omitted: which are to be seen in all places.]

[3 ciboria, Lat. The tabernacle (called by modern writers the *ciborium*) was a sort of turret or cabinet on the upper surface of the altar, containing the *pyx* in which the consecrated hosts were reserved. —Hart's Eccles. Records, p. 230.]

peril and danger of things what doth Christ teach his elect to do? Immediately he addeth: "Do not believe." What, do not believe that Christ is here or there upon earth, in the wilderness, or in the innermost parts of the house, or even in the midst of the cities, or in the fields? He addeth moreover: "Go not forth." Follow not the multitude, which by distance of place seeketh for Christ, as if he were yet conversant upon the earth. Therefore now, if so be the whole world, and all the councils in the world, all the kings and princes, yea, if all the angels and saints, should command us to believe that Christ is here or there corporally, yet the commandment of our only Redeemer Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Father of wisdom[1], by whom all things were made, who forbiddeth us to believe the same, ought to be of that authority among all the godly, that they may know that they must not believe as creatures command them, but as the Creator hath commanded them. Yea moreover, the Lord vouchsafeth in this very same place of the gospel to give us a reason of his doctrine. For why must we not believe that Christ is conversant or bodily present upon the earth, but invisibly? Because, like as the lightning goeth forth of the east and appeareth in the west, so shall the coming of the Son of man be. Which is as much as if he had said: The Son of God came once humbly into the earth, to redeem us through his humility and death on the cross; which thing being finished, he forsook the earth, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father: from thence he shall not return into these our regions but to judgment. But then shall he appear glorious, noble, to be seen of all men, as it were the most clear sun, yea, rather like a lightning, right terrible to all the wicked. And therefore there is no cause why, from the time of his ascension until his coming to judgment, we should look for him to come invisibly, and to remain with us corporally present. St Hierome, expounding the same place, saith: "This also must be said, that the second coming of our Saviour shall not be shewed in humility as before, but in glory. It were a foolish part therefore to seek him in a little corner, or in some secret place, who is the light of the whole world[2]."

[1 Rather, the wisdom of the Father.]

[2 Hoc quoque dicendum, quod secundus Salvatoris adventus non in humilitate, ut prius, sed in gloria demonstrandus est. Stultum est

Thus far he. But lest I may seem to stay myself upon some human authority, I will rehearse that which St Paul teacheth us in his epistle to the Hebrews, saying: "Christ Heb. ix. appeared once before the end of the world, to put away sin by offering up of himself. And forasmuch as it is appointed to men once to die, and after this cometh the judgment: even so Christ, being once offered up to take away the sins of many, shall the second time be seen of them without sin, who look for him to their salvation." Because therefore our Lord came once into the world he was once offered up, but he shall come again, or the second time, at the end of the world, truly he cometh not again every day into the world. And because he hath forbidden us to believe, if any man should shew him present here or there unto us in this world; [3]it must needs follow, that he may be shewed present here or there, yea, in all places where the sacrament of thanksgiving is celebrated, if we will understand the words of the supper according to the letter; therefore it followeth without all contradiction, by conference of places, that the words of the Lord's supper ought not to be expounded according to the letter.

I think herewith I have satisfied such as be not of contentious disposition; for undoubtedly their meaning is[4], that we should speak of the sacraments sacramentally, and that sacramental speeches ought to be expounded sacramentally. Besides that, we ought to believe nothing that is repugnant to the rule of belief. But by[5] the miracles and omnipotency of God, brought forth and alleged in this place for the setting out and persuading of an evil matter, they do no good at all after so many and manifest arguments of truth. Miracles are joined unto the word, as it were seals; which thing the Lord God himself testifieth in St Mark. If then they be repugnant to the word, and affirm that which the word altogether denieth, who will not perceive them to be of that

Miracles and the omnipotency of God.

itaque eum in parvo loco vel abscondito quærere, qui totius mundi lumen sit.—Hieron. Comment. in Matth. Lib. IV. Opp. Tom. IV. par. 1. col. 116.]

[3 autem, Lat. omitted: but.]

[4 intelligunt, Lat.: they understand.]

[5 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, omits *by*: miracula &c. nihil probant, Lat.]

kind of miracles, whereof the apostle speaketh in the second chapter of the second epistle to the Thessalonians, and whereof we have heard now that the Lord gave us warning in the gospel, that we should in no case believe them? The Lord can do all things, but therefore he doth not all things[1]. The prophet saith: "Whatsoever the Lord would do, that he did, both in heaven and in earth." Moreover, he will not do such things as are contrary to his word and his faith; therefore he cannot do that he will not do. Theodoretus, in his third dialogue intituled *Polymorphus*, saith: "The Lord God will do nothing that is not in him of his own nature; but he can do whatever he will; but he will do such things as are fit and agreeing to his nature. Therefore sith God of his own nature is true, he cannot do that which is contrary to his word[2]." Other sound writers do add: Not that he cannot do all things, but that he will not do that which is contrary to his nature, and because it doth not become him to do against himself.

Of Christ's presence in the supper.

In the mean season I do expressly profess, that I condemn not or flatly am against all manner of Christ's presence in the church, and in the action also of the supper; for I am flat against that bodily presence of Christ in the bread, which the papists defend and enforce upon the church of God. But I confess and acknowledge with open mouth and sincere heart that spiritual, divine, and quickening presence of our Lord Christ, both in the supper and also out of the supper, whereby he continueth to pour himself into us, not by signs lacking life, but by his Holy Spirit, to make us partakers of all his good graces, to justify, quicken, nourish, sustain, and satisfy us: which presence we do also feel in ourselves through faith, by the which we are both sustained, nourished, and satisfied. For Christ is the head of his church, and we have fellowship with him. But how should a living body be without his head? How should we be partakers of Christ, if we should not feel him present, yea, living and working in us?

[1 See Vol. I. page 91.]

[2 Ἔραν. Οὐδὲν ἀδύνατον τῷ παντοδυνάμῳ Θεῷ. Ὀρθ. Διὰ τί; Ἔραν. Ἐπειδήπερ οὐ βούλεται. Ὀρθ. Τοῦ δὴ χάριν οὐ βούλεται; Ἔραν. Ἐπειδὴ τῆς φύσεως ἐκείνης τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ἀλλότριον, &c.—Theodoret. Dial. III. Impatibilis. Opp. Tom. IV. p. 122. Par. 1642.]

But of these matters we have also entreated more at large in place convenient[3].

Some there are, I know well enough, who otherwise are not injurious to the truth, which gainsay these things, crying out, that by this reason the manner of Christ's presence in the supper is not fully enough expressed, especially since he himself also hath said elsewhere, "Behold, I am with you continually unto the world's end." I, saith he, wholly, not my power or divinity, not my spirit, nor my strength. Moreover, it is a hazard lest we should seem to tear Christ in pieces, seeing that he cannot be wholly with us, unless he be present with us as well in body as in divinity. But we wonder what is in their heads. Do they not understand, that the Lord in that divine talk, spoken both in the very supper and also immediately after the supper, did beat upon nothing so much as that very same thing against which they set shoulder[4]; to wit, that Christ would be absent in body, but present in spirit; and that this presence would be more profitable to the church than his bodily presence? Do they not also understand, wherefore he took flesh, and was nailed on the cross; that is to say, what the effect and use is of Christ's body, to wit, that the sacrifice of his body being once offered for us upon the earth, he might carry the same up into heaven, in token that both our bodies and souls after our death shall through his merit be also carried thither? Therefore, after that the Lord's body had fulfilled on earth that which it came to fulfil, there is no cause why it should do anything else upon earth. He now sitteth, and ought to sit, at the right hand of the Father, that he may draw all us thither unto him. If there be any that doth not yet fully believe that which we say, let him read the doctrine of St Paul the apostle in the ninth and tenth chapters of his epistle to the Hebrews. Let him also read the fourteenth and sixteenth chapters of St John's gospel. But if it be a pleasure to them to hale at the gable of contention[5], and to stick precisely as well to these words of the Lord, "I am with you unto the world's end," as to these, "This is my body, This is my blood," let them then expound to me these holy testimonies of the holy scripture. Paul saith that Christ dwelleth in our

Matt. xxviii.

[3 See Decade IV. Serm. 8.]

[4 impugnant, Lat.]

[5 contentionis funem trahere, Lat.]

hearts, and that Christ liveth in him, and he in Christ. The Lord saith to the thief: "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise." And the evangelist saith of the Lord being dead: "They laid him into the sepulchre." The scripture saith not, they laid flesh and bones into the sepulchre; but, they laid him into the sepulchre. The Lord said not to the thief, Thy soul shall be with my spirit, or soul, in paradise; but, "Verily I say unto thee, this day shalt thou be with me in paradise." Neither doth St Paul say, that Christ's Spirit and life doth live in him, or dwell in our hearts; but he saith simply, that Christ doth dwell in our hearts. But who is so foolish and given to contention, that for these words and places of the scripture will contend, that Christ's divinity was buried with his body; that Christ's body was with his soul that same day in paradise in which either of them departed this life, that Christ's body together with his Spirit dwelleth in the hearts of the faithful, and liveth in Paul, and that Paul liveth in Christ's flesh? All men do willingly admit the catholic sense of the catholic church, gathered out of the word of God, namely, that Christ in his Spirit is present in his church even to the world's end, but absent in body; and that the thief's soul was that day present in paradise with Christ's soul, not with his body. So judgeth it also of the residue. But if any man mistrust mine interpretation, let him hear St Augustine in his treatise upon John, saying thus: "He speaketh of the presence of his body, when he saith, 'The poor you shall always have with you, but me shall you not have always.' For in respect of his majesty, of his providence, and of his unspeakable grace, is that fulfilled which he spake, 'Behold, I am with you always, even to the world's end.' But in respect of the flesh which the Word took upon it, in respect that he was born of the virgin, that he was taken by the Jews, that he was nailed to the cross, that he was taken down from the cross, that he was wound in a sheet, that he was laid into the sepulchre, that he was manifested in the resurrection, 'you shall not have me with you always.' And why so? Because he was conversant, as touching his bodily presence, forty days with his disciples; and they accompanying him, but not following him, he ascended into heaven, and is not here; for there he 'sitteth at the right hand of the Father:' and he is here; for he is not gone hence in

respect of the presence of his majesty[1]." Thus far St Augustine.

But if they yet proceed, not regarding all this that we have said, to urge that saying of the Lord out of Matthew, "Behold, I, even I, I say, am, μεθ' ὑμῶν, with you;" we will also object against them this saying of the Lord, and the same out of the gospel: "It is expedient for you that I (lo, here they have also this word 'I') do depart:" we object also against them this testimony of the angels out of Luke: "This Jesus, which is taken up, ἀφ' ὑμῶν, from you into heaven, &c." They shall be at length constrained, whether they will or no, to reconcile such places as seem to be repugnant, and to admit the general understanding which we have alleged and defended hitherto.

Christ is not divided.

Neither is there here any danger of dividing Christ; neither divide we Christ's person with Nestorius, since we defend the propriety of both natures in Christ against the Eutychians. While Christ our Lord in body was yet conversant upon the earth, he himself witnesseth in the gospel, that nevertheless he was[2] also in the heavens. And indeed Christ, who was both God and man all at one time, was then in heaven, when he was crucified and conversant upon earth, although his body was not crucified in the heavens. But as Christ divided not himself, although, being in heaven, he was notwithstanding conversant and crucified in body upon earth, not in heaven; so neither do we divide Christ, who is both God and man,

[1 Pauperes semper habebitis vobiscum, me autem non semper habebitis. Accipiant et hoc boni, sed non sint solliciti: loquebatur enim de præsentia corporis sui. Nam secundum majestatem suam, secundum providentiam, secundum ineffabilem... gratiam impletur quod ab eo dictum est, Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem seculi. Secundum carnem vero quam Verbum assumpsit, secundum id quod de virgine natus est, secundum id quod a Judæis comprehensus est, quod ligno confixus, (Bullinger read, affixus) quod de cruce depositus, quod linteis involutus, quod in sepulchro conditus, quod in resurrectione manifestatus, non semper habebitis me vobiscum. Quare? Quoniam conversatus est secundum corporis præsentiam quadraginta diebus cum discipulis suis, et eis deducentibus videndo, non sequendo, ascendit in cœlum; et non est hic, ibi enim sedet ad dexteram Patris: et hic est, non enim recessit præsentia majestatis.—Aug. in Evan. Joan. Tract. L. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 76. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

[2 fuisse aut esse, Lat.: was or is. See John iii. 13.]

although we say he is present with us when we celebrate the supper, and that we communicate with him; yet nevertheless we affirm, that in his body he remaineth in heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and so let us keep ourselves within the compass of the scripture. Of this matter I have reasoned at large, where I have entreated of one person and of both natures in Christ unpermixed[1].

Hitherto have I spoken of the natural meaning of the words of the Lord's supper as briefly and plainly as possibly I could. Touching the place of Paul in the first to the Corinthians, chap. x. "The cup of blessing which we bless, &c.," with such other texts which are alleged to prove bodily presence, I shall not need to use many words; for we have handled that place already once or twice.

Of the true eating of Christ's body.

It remaineth therefore that we examine and weigh what they deliver unto us touching the eating of Christ's body, and also what the canonical scriptures do teach to be thought of that eating. What, say they, the Lord hath promised, the same most surely and fully he performeth. They add: But he promised that he would give us his true body and very blood to be eaten and drunken in the form of bread and wine unto everlasting life. They gather, Therefore he hath given his very body and blood to the faithful, under the form of bread and wine, for meat and drink to everlasting life: whereupon it must be eaten[2] corporally, as it is corporal. To the confirmation whereof they allege the Lord's words, as they are written in the vi. chapter of John's gospel. We answer: God most perfectly and fully performeth that which he hath promised. But we add, that he performeth not according to that meaning that we devise, but as his word truly importeth. We must therefore see first of all in what sense the Lord promised to give his flesh for bread, and his blood for drink to the faithful; and next, how we ought to eat[3] his flesh, and how to drink his blood. These things truly, which the Lord promiseth here, are well nigh[4] allegories and parables. The Lord promiseth that he will give us his flesh for bread or meat, and his blood for drink. But because meat and drink are ordained

How Christ hath given his flesh unto us for bread, that is to say, to be meat for us.

[1 See Decade IV. Serm. 6.]

[2 talem omnino qualis est, Lat. omitted: every way so as it is.]

[3 Rather, how we eat: quomodo edamus, Lat.]

[4 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, all: prope omnia, Lat.]

and given unto men to preserve their bodily life, and the Lord in the vi. chapter of John speaketh not of the life of the body but of the soul, there is a passage made from bodily things to spiritual things. When therefore the Lord promised, that he would give us his flesh for bread or meat and his blood for drink, what other thing did he promise us, than that he would give his body to the death, and shed his blood for the remission of sins? For by the death of Christ we are, as it were by meat, preserved and delivered from death. By Christ's blood we are washed from sin, and our souls are as it were with drink spiritually drunken. Therefore the Lord speaketh nothing here of the bread of the Lord's supper, neither doth he promise that at the supper he will make of bread his flesh, or that he would give his body in form of bread. Then let this mine exposition of Christ's words, concerning the giving of Christ's body or flesh in the form of bread, &c. be false and feigned, unless I confirm the same by the words of Christ.

The Lord said in the gospel: "Seek for the meat that perisheth not, but remaineth to life everlasting, which the Son of man shall give unto you." A little after by interpretation he addeth: "And the bread which I will give unto you is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." I said that I would give you bread or meat, (for this word "bread" is, after the Hebrew manner, used by the Lord for meat and all manner of sustenance;) but saith he: This bread or this meat is my flesh, and therefore I promise to give you my flesh, when I promise to give you the bread of life. Here hast thou expressly to understand, that the Lord by bread did not mean bodily bread, or the bread of the supper. But how doth he promise to give his flesh for bread, that is to say, to be meat for us, or to quicken us? The Lord repeateth this word, "I will give;" and saith, "Which I will give for the life of the world." I will give it, that is to say, even to the death, that through my death I may quicken you. By dying therefore my flesh shall feed, that is to say, shall quicken. Thus much concerning the promise of his flesh for bread. Hereafter followeth of the eating thereof.

How Christ's body is eaten and his blood drunken.

Like as the holy scripture setteth down in every place, without trope or allegory, that we are made partakers of Christ's death, or of his body which was given for the world

unto life, through faith; so also in this present place, by a trope or allegory, he biddeth us to eat and drink the flesh and blood of Christ unto everlasting life. Therefore to eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood is nothing else but to believe that Christ's body was given for us, and his blood shed for us to the remission of sins; and consequently, that we remain in Christ, and have Christ remaining in us. For the faith, whereof we spake, is not only an imagination or thought concerning things past and exceeding our capacity; but a most certain assurance, and a feeling of heavenly things received within us, to our great commodity. For therefore not only faith, but also the virtue and force of faith, is by the Lord signified in John by the allegory both of eating and drinking. Meat passeth not into the substance of our body without delight: so also by faith, through a great desire of the spirit, we are joined with Christ, that he may live in us, and we may live in Christ, and be partakers of all his good gifts. This is the spiritual eating of Christ, who never thought, no, not so much as once dreamed in this place, of the gross and bodily eating, which is indeed unprofitable. But forasmuch as the whole point of the controversy consisteth in these words of eating and drinking the flesh and blood of the Lord, they interpreting the same words bodily and we spiritually, it seemeth good to be shewed, that by the words of eating and drinking the Lord meant no other thing than to believe, and consequently to abide in Christ, and to have Christ abiding in us. We will therefore, by conference of places of the scripture, bring forth six evident testimonies in confirmation of our assertion.

1. "I am," saith the Lord, "that bread of life: whoso cometh to me shall not hunger, and whoso believeth in me shall not thirst for ever." But who will deny, that there is relation between to eat and not to hunger, to drink and not to thirst? Because therefore the Lord said, "He shall not hunger," he should first have said, "Whoso eateth me:" but he rather used the word of coming, and said, "Whoso cometh to me shall not hunger." To eat therefore is to come, and to come is to eat. And what it is to come to him, he expoundeth immediately, saying: "Whosoever hath heard from the Father, and hath learned, he it is that cometh to me;" that is to say, receiveth me, and believeth in me. For Paul also saith: Heb. xi. "Whosoever will come to God must believe." These testi-

monics without contradiction do prove, that to eat is nothing else but to believe. Yet that followeth which is more manifest: "And whoso believeth in me shall never thirst." And whoso drinketh shall not thirst[1]. Therefore "to drink," he hath put for "to believe[2]." Therefore to drink is to believe; for faith satisfieth and pacifieth our minds. Here they have an answer that make this objection, Whether the Lord himself had not words whereby he might declare his mind, if so be by eating and drinking he had meant believing? They have, I say, an open testimony whereby he useth the one for the other.

Again, in the same treatise the Lord saith: "Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life; and I will raise him at the latter day." And again in the same treatise he saith: "This is the will of him that sent me, that whosoever shall see the Son, and believe in him, may have everlasting life; and I will raise him at the latter day." Lo, here thou hast again these words, to eat Christ's flesh, to drink his blood, and to believe in Christ, all in one sense. 2.

Again, the Lord saith: "I am the lively bread which came down from heaven." And again he saith: "Verily I say unto you, he that believeth in me hath life everlasting. Whosoever shall eat of this bread shall live for ever." Then to eat Christ, and to believe in Christ, are all one. 3.

And again he saith: "Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him." Moreover, John in his canonical epistle saith: "Whosoever shall confess," that is to say, shall believe, "that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him, and he in God." 4. [1] John iv.

Again: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you can have no life in you." And the same Lord saith also in the viii. chapter of John: "If you do not believe that I am he, ye shall die in your sins." And again: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whoso keepeth my sayings, he shall never see death." 5.

Again the Lord saith: "Like as the living Father hath sent me, and I live by means of the Father; so likewise, who- 6.

[1 Rather, Whoso drinketh does not thirst: Qui bibit non sitit, Lat.]

[2 Rather, therefore for, to drink, he has put, to believe: pro bibere ergo reposuit credere, Lat.]

so eateth me shall also live by means of me." And John in the v. chapter saith: "Like as the Father hath light[1] in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself." And likewise in his canonical epistle he saith: "Whoso believeth in the Son of God hath a testimony in himself." And, "Whoso hath the Son hath life."

Unto these most evident testimonies of God we will now join the testimonies of men, which do say the very same, that to eat Christ is nothing else but to believe in Christ and to abide in Christ. St Augustine in his 25th treatise upon John, expounding these words of the Lord, saith: "This is the work of God, that you should believe in him whom he sent:" as he left written: "This is therefore to eat the meat that perisheth not, but which remaineth unto everlasting life. Why then dost thou prepare thy teeth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten[2]." The same again, in his 26th treatise, saith: "To believe in him, this is to eat the bread of life. Whoso believeth in him eateth invisibly and is filled, because he is born invisible." And again in the same treatise he saith: "This is to eat that meat and drink that drink, to abide in Christ and to have Christ abiding in him; and by this means whoso abideth not in Christ, and in whom Christ doth not abide, doubtless, he neither eateth spiritually his flesh," &c.[3] The same Augustine, *Lib. de Doctrina Christiana, cap.* 16, shewing when a figurative speech is to be

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, life.]

[2 Hoc est opus Dei, ut credatis in eum quem misit ille. Hoc est ergo manducare cibum, non qui perit, sed qui permanet in vitam æternam. Ut quid paras dentes et ventrem? Credo, et manducasti. —Aug. in Evang. Joan. Tract. XXV. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 45. col. 2. Par. 1531.]

[3 Credere in eum hoc est manducare panem vivum. Qui credit in eum, manducat, invisibiliter saginatur, quia invisibiliter renascitur. . . .Hoc est manducare illam escam, et illum bibere potum, in Christo manere et illum manentem in se habere. Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio nec manducat spiritaliter carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi: sed magis tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducat et bibit, quia immundus præsumpsit ad Christi accedere sacramenta, quæ aliquis non digne sumit, nisi qui mundus est. De quibus dicitur, Beati mundi corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.—Id. in Evang. Joan. Tract. XXVI. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 46. col. 3. et fol. 47. col. 4.]

admitted and when not, saith: "If it be an enjoining speech, or forbidding some heinous offence or trespass, or commanding some profit or good deed to be done, it is not figurative. But if it seem to command some heinous offence or trespass, or to forbid some profit or good deed, then is it figurative. 'Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you can have no life in you;' this seemeth to command an heinous offence and trespass: therefore it is figurative, willing us to be partakers of the Lord's passion, and sweetly and profitably to keep in memory, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us[4]." Thus said Augustine, who doubtless set down not only his own meaning herein, but also the meaning of the whole catholic church which was at that time. Let our adversaries therefore take heed what they do, who will drive all the faithful to this wickedness and offence, to wit, that we should corporally eat Christ's body.

The flesh profiteth nothing.

Furthermore, hereunto is to be added that which by reason of the perspicuity and plainness thereof doth almost surpass all that we have alleged before, which the Lord himself answered to those that wondered or rather murmured, saying: "How can he give us that his flesh to eat?" after that he had declared the sum of the true faith. "Doth this offend you, saith he, that I said I would give you bread which came from heaven, even my flesh, to be meat to all believers?" I suppose that offence shall take no just place, when you shall see me ascend into heaven, from whence I came down unto you, and where I was with my Father before all beginning. Then shall ye perceive by my divine ascension that I am the heavenly bread, the natural Son of God, and the life of the world: ye shall perceive, moreover, that my flesh is not to be eaten bodily, and to be consumed and torn in morsels, but is carried up into heaven for a pledge of the salvation of mankind. And shortly after this he saith further: "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh availeth nothing." And yet more manifestly he speaketh: "The words which I speak unto you are spirit and life." Certain it is that Christ's flesh availeth very much, and is more profitable to the world than any tongue, yea, the most eloquent, can express. Yea, the Lord hath warned us beforehand, that we shall have no life unless we eat his flesh. Then

[4 See quotation above, page 289, note 2.]

doth the Lord deny that his flesh availeth us anything at all, if so be it be eaten as the Capernaites understood, that is to say, bodily. For being bodily eaten it availeth nothing, but being spiritually eaten it quickeneth: and the Lord hath plainly professed, that he spake of the spiritual eating, in which consisteth life.

These things being declared and confirmed after this manner, we gather such things into a short summary, wherein we think sufficient answer is made unto our adversaries' objection. The proposition is true, which holdeth, that the Lord doth certainly perform that which he hath promised. But the second proposition is false, which saith, that the Lord by his words in the sixth chapter of John by bread meant the material bread of the sacrament, and that he promised that he would convert the same into his flesh. For by bread he meant not the material bread of the sacrament, but meat to live withal, according to the propriety of the Hebrew tongue; yea, his very flesh, which was delivered to the death, to be meat, I say, that we might live through Christ's death. Thus therefore should the argument have been framed: That which God promiseth he performeth: but he promiseth that he will give us his flesh for bread, that is to say, to be meat and life for us: therefore hath he given his flesh to be meat, that is to say, he hath given over himself to the death, that by his death we might live. Which being so, surely the meat whereof the Lord speaketh is no bodily meat, although the Lord himself have a true, human, and natural body, of like substance to ours, but spiritual: not that the flesh is converted into the spirit, but for that it ought to be received spiritually, not bodily. But it is eaten spiritually, by faith, not with the bodily mouth. For as chewing or eating maketh us partakers of the meat, so are we made partakers of the body and the blood of Christ through faith.

The Lord's words in John vi. are fitly to be applied to the matter of the supper.

But thou wilt say: How cometh it to pass, that seeing bread, whereof mention is made in the vi. chapter of John, doth not signify the bread of the supper, that almost all the doctors, interpreters, and ministers of the church, do apply these words to the Lord's supper? I answer, That these words of the Lord may be applied to the matter of the Lord's supper for other causes, although the bread signify not the bread of the sacrament. Yea, I confess that these words of the Lord, of the

eating his flesh and drinking his blood, do bring great light to the matter of the Lord's supper. St Augustine, *Lib. de Consensu Evangelistarum tertio, capite primo*, saith: "John said nothing in this place (John the xiii.) of the body and blood of the Lord, but plainly witnesseth, that the Lord hath spoken more at large thereof in another place[1]." This much saith he, speaking undoubtedly of the vi. of John. Since therefore it is one and the self-same[2] body of our Lord, whereof he speaketh in both places, in the vi. of St John and the xxvi. of Matthew; and the self-same is said in both places to have been delivered to the death for us, or for our life; and likewise, because there is but one means to be partaker of Christ, which is, by faith in his body which was delivered and his blood shed; and finally, because it is the catholic or universal and undoubted doctrine, that Christ's flesh being bodily eaten availeth nothing: surely the things before written in the vi. chapter of John are agreeable and do fully open the matter of the Lord's supper. And to the intent that this yet may be the better understood, I will recite what testimonies have been always alleged in the church out of the holy scriptures concerning the two kinds of eating of Christ. Christ's body is eaten and his blood drunken spiritually; it is also eaten and drunken sacramentally. The spiritual manner [is] accomplished by faith, whereby being united to Christ, we be made partakers of all his goodness. The sacramental manner is only performed in celebrating the Lord's supper. The spiritual eating is perpetual unto the godly, because faith is to them perpetual. They communicate with Christ both without the supper and in the supper; and by it they do more increase and continue their new beginnings, as we have also shewed before: and now, by adjoining of the holy action, all things are done more manifestly and plainly. As for the unbelievers and hypocrites, with their captain Judas, they never communicate with Christ, neither before the supper, nor in the supper, nor after the supper, inasmuch as they continue

Of two kinds of eating the Lord's supper.

[1 Joannes de corpore et sanguine Domini hoc loco nihil dixit, sed plane alibi multo uberius hinc Dominum locutum esse testatur.—Aug. de Cons. Evang. Lib. III. cap. 1. Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 100. col. 3. Par, 1531.]

[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, flesh and the same, &c.: una atque eadem caro et idem corpus, &c., Lat.]

in their unbelief; but they [partake[1]] of the Lord's sacraments to their own judgment and condemnation.

The third kind of eating.

I know here what some do teach, and how they devise a certain third kind of eating Christ, which is neither spiritual nor yet sacramental, but altogether compounded of sacramental and corporal. For they hold opinion also, that the true and natural body of Christ is received bodily by the unbelievers in the forms of the sacrament. Howbeit, it shall easily appear by certain sound arguments of the scripture, that this is but a device of man; which arguments we will apply to the traitor Judas, that by this one example all the godly[2] may learn what they eat and drink at the Lord's supper; for that, the judgment which is made of the head being revealed unto us, it shall be easier for us to pronounce of the members.

That Judas was present at the Lord's supper.

Some truly do make a doubt, whether Judas were present at the supper, when the Lord distributed the holy mysteries; among whom is St Hilary[3]. Howbeit, the evangelical history saith plainly, that the Lord sat down to meat with the twelve; yea, Luke so handled his narration, that we cannot doubt but that Judas did communicate of the mysteries with the rest of the apostles; which St Augustine also avoucheth, *Libro de Consensu Evangelistarum tertio, capitulo primo*[4]; and likewise in the 62. treatise upon John[5], and upon the x. Psalm[6], and in his 163. epistle[7]. Yea, moreover, Aquinas also, answering in this point to St Hilary, approveth the same with us, *Parte tertia Quæsti.* 81. *Art.* 2.[8] Now therefore [it] being manifest, that Judas was at supper with the rest of the apostles, it seemeth needful that it were known, what he received of the Lord. He received the sacrament of Christ's body, as the other disciples did; but because he had not faith,

What Judas received of the Lord at the supper.

[1 All the editions omit this word: participant, Lat.]

[2 An error in all the editions for, "the ungodly:" impii, Lat.]

[3 Post quæ Judas proditor indicatur, sine quo pascha conficitur: dignus enim æternorum sacramentorum communione non fuerat.—Hilar. Comment. in Matth. cap. 30. Opp. col. 740. Par. 1693.]

[4 Aug. Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 100. col. 4. Par. 1531.]

[5 Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 84. col. 1.]

[6 Opp. Tom. VIII. fol. 16. col. 1.]

[7 Opp. Tom. II. fol. 143. col. 3.]

[8 Aquinas, Summa Theol. par. III. quæst. 81. art. 2. p. 186. Col. Agrip. 1622.]

as the other had, he partaked not of Christ, neither did he eat and drink the Lord's body and blood. For as many as eat the Lord's body and drink his blood, do not hunger nor thirst; for they dwell in Christ, and Christ in them; they are Christ's members; and they never die. The contrary altogether appeareth in Judas and all his fellows. Wherefore the unbelievers do neither eat the Lord's body nor drink his blood. Moreover, it is out of all doubt, that there is no agreement between Christ and Belial; for this hath the apostle pronounced out of the general consent of the scriptures. But Judas is by Christ himself called Satan; therefore Judas did not communicate with Christ. Now if we will contend absolutely, that Judas did eat the Lord's body; truly we shall be constrained wickedly to affirm, that it is not only an unprofitable, but also an hurtful meat; howbeit, godliness teacheth us, that Christ is a wholesome meat always to all them that eat him truly. St Augustine also denieth that Judas did eat the Lord's body or drink his blood. In the 59th Treatise upon St John, "The apostles," saith he, "did eat the bread which was the Lord, but Judas did eat the Lord's bread against the Lord. They did eat life, but he punishment[9]." Again in the 26th treatise: "Whoso dwelleth not in Christ nor Christ in him, doubtless he neither eateth his flesh spiritually, nor drinketh his blood: although carnally and visibly he break in his teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; but he rather eateth and drinketh the sacrament of so great a matter to his condemnation, &c.[10]" The like also, and almost plainer, doth he write in the 21st book and 25th chapter, *De Civitate Dei*[11]. 2 Cor. vi.

Against these they object the authority of Paul, saying, That they which eat unworthily are not guilty of the bread and cup which they have eaten and drunken of, but of the Lord's body and blood; and also, that they do eat and drink their own damnation, for that they make no difference of the Lord's body: whereby it followeth necessarily, that they have

[9 Illi manducabant panem Dominum; ille panem Domini contra Dominum. Illi vitam, ille pœnam.—Aug. in Evang. Joan. LIX. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 82. col. 4.]

[10 See quotation above, page 460, note 3.]

[11 Non dicendum eum manducare corpus Christi, qui in corpore Christi non est.—Aug. de Civit. Dei, Lib. XXI. cap. 25. Opp. Tom. V. fol. 292. col. 4.]

eaten and drunken the Lord's body unworthily, and not only the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ. We answer, that Paul saith thus in plain words: "Whosoever eateth of this bread and drinketh of the Lord's cup, &c." Mark this: he saith, "Whoso eateth this bread and drinketh of this cup unworthily;" he saith not, Whoso eateth the flesh and drinketh the blood unworthily. For they which eat the Lord are not without faith, and Christ dwelleth in them and they in him. If thou yet marvel, how the unbelievers can be guilty of the Lord's body and blood, being eaten but sacramentally; learn this out of other places of the scripture. The Lord saith in John: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that receiveth whomsoever I shall send, receiveth me; and whoso receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me." Wherefore, whoso receiveth not an apostle, trespasseth not against the apostle, but against God himself, although in the meanwhile he hath not seen God, nor will not seem to have repelled him. We read, how the Judge will say to them that are on his left hand: "Depart from me, you wicked, into everlasting fire: for I was hungry, and you gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and you gave me no drink, &c." But hearken now, how the reprobate will make exceptions against this sentence of the Judge. "Lord, when did we see thee hungry or thirsty, and ministered not unto thee?" Then hear again what the Judge will answer: "Verily I say unto you, in that ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me." Wherefore, like as he that sinneth against a minister or a beggar, sinneth against Christ himself, although in the meanwhile he hath not hurt Christ's person in any point; so is he also guilty of the body and blood of Christ, whosoever receiveth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ unworthily, although in the mean season he have not received the very body and blood of the Lord. Paul saith in another place, that revolters do crucify again unto themselves the Son of God. He also denieth in another place by all manner of means, that it is possible for Christ to be crucified or to die any more. Therefore Christ cannot be crucified again by the apostates or revolters; howbeit their shameful falling away from him is so esteemed of, as if they had crucified the Son of God. Although, therefore, the wicked do not eat the Lord's very body nor drink his blood, nevertheless they are

How the unbelievers are made guilty of Christ's body and blood.
John xiii.
Matt. xxv.

Heb. vi.

guilty of betraying the Lord's body and blood as far as in them lieth. If a rebel tread under his foot the seal or letters of the prince or magistrate, although he touch not the magistrate himself nor tread him under his foot, yet is he said to have trodden the magistrate under his foot; and is accused not for hurting the seal or defiling the letters, but he is charged of treason, and accused for treading the prince under his feet. What marvel, then, if we hear it said, that they which do eat the Lord's bread unworthily, are guilty of the body and blood of Christ? For the bread and the mystical cup are a sacrament and seal of it.

Hitherto have we disputed of the eating of the body of Christ, and of drinking of his blood, handling every one point thereof with as much brevity as we could. Now we go to knit up the other ends of the Lord's supper, being placed in the description of the supper. We said, that the supper was instituted by the Lord, that it might represent visibly the gifts of God unto the church, and lay them forth before the eyes of all men. But we have learned by the whole discourse of this matter, that Christ himself is a most full and rich treasure of all the gifts of God; as namely from whom, being delivered for us unto death, we have all things belonging to life, remission of sins and life everlasting. Since these things be invisible and gotten by faith, they be also visibly, that is to say, by sacraments, represented almost unto all the senses, to the sight, to hearing, to tasting, and to feeling; to the intent, that man, being wholly therewith moved both in body and soul, may celebrate this most comfortable mystery with great rejoicing in heart. Hereunto now appertaineth that analogy, whereof I have spoken before in the seventh sermon of this decade[1], whereby I would have these things to be better learned.

Of the other ends of the Lord's supper.

Furthermore, we have said, that the supper was instituted of the Lord, that he might visibly gather together into one body all his members, which were in a manner[2] dispersed throughout all parts of the world. Whereupon we have said, that the holy men somewhere else did call the supper a league or confederacy. We are knit invisibly with Christ and all his members by unity of faith and participation of one Spirit; but in the supper we are joined together even by a visible

[1 See above, page 328.] [2 Rather, otherwise: alioqui, Lat.]

conjunction. For now not by words, but by deeds also, but by mystery, but by sacrament, we are very nearly knit and joined together, opening and declaring to all men, by celebrating the supper, that we are also of the number of them that believe that they are redeemed by Christ, and that they are Christ's members and people. But we bind ourselves together unto Christ and the church, both that we will keep the sincere faith, and promising that we will use good deeds and charity towards all men. Look for more touching this matter in the seventh sermon of this decade[1]. Hereupon truly did St Paul prove, that it was not lawful for them which receive together at the Lord's table to eat of meat offered to idols, and to take part of profane sacrifices. Which thing if at this day many would rightly weigh and consider, they would not seem to be seen so busy in strange and foreign sacrifices.

We said also, that the Lord instituted the supper, that thereby he might keep his death in memory, so that it should never be blotted out with oblivion. For Christ's death is the summary of all God's benefits. He would have us therefore to keep in memory the benefit of his incarnation, passion, redemption, and of his love. And although the remembrance of a thing that is past be celebrated, to wit, of his death, yet the same belongeth greatly unto us, and quickeneth us. Neither must we think that this is the least end; for there is none so diligently expressed as this is. For the Lord repeateth this saying: "Do this in remembrance of me." But that holy rite or holy action, being joined with the word or with the preaching of Christ's death and the redemption of mankind, how marvellously doth it renew from time to time that benefit, and suffereth it not to be forgotten!

Last of all we said, that the supper was ordained of the Lord, that thereby we might be admonished of our duty, praise and thanksgiving. It is our duty to be sincere in the faith of Christ, and to embrace all our brethren with christian charity for the Lord's sake, and to beware that we defile not our bodies with the filth of the world, since we be cleansed with the blood of Christ. Paul the apostle saith: "So often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of the Lord's cup, declare the Lord's death until he come." But to declare the Lord's death is to praise the goodness of God, and to give

[1 See above, page 333.]

thanks for our redemption obtained through his death; for the apostle Peter saith: "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a people set at liberty[2], that ye should shew forth virtues of him that hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light." But hereof we have spoken also in another place[3]. 1 Pet. II.

Thus much I thought good in few words to repeat touching the ends of the supper, which every godly man being instructed by the Holy Ghost doth diligently consider. I would now let you go, dearly beloved brethren, but that I see it will be a common commodity to teach in few words, how every one should prepare himself to the Lord's supper, that he come not to it unworthily. But it were not lost labour first of all to search out, who do worthily or unworthily eat and drink of the Lord's bread and cup. There is no man that can deny, that there are degrees in our worthiness and unworthiness, if he rightly examine the judgments of God, and, looking narrowly into the nature of our religion, is able to give judgment thereof. The chiefest degree of unworthiness is, to come to the holy mysteries of faith without faith. He cometh worthily, that cometh with faith; unworthily, he that cometh without faith. Such are said to be works worthy of repentance in the gospel, as are penitent works, or seemly for such as profess repentance[4]. But what is more beseeming, more meet and just, than that he who is to celebrate the Lord's supper do believe that he is redeemed by Christ's death, who was offered up as a price for the whole world, and that for that cause is desirous to give thanks to Christ his Redeemer? Contrariwise, what is more unseemly and unjust, than to receive that pledge of Christ's body, and in the meanwhile to have no communion or fellowship with Christ; to come to thanksgiving, and yet not to give thanks from the bottom of his heart? For what uniteth us to Christ, or what maketh us partakers of all his benefits, and therewith also to be thankful, but faith? What doth separate us from Christ, and spoileth us of all his gifts, and maketh us most loathsome, but unbelief? Therefore faith or unbelief maketh us partakers of the Lord's table worthily or unworthily. Paul the apostle, in the

Of worthily and unworthily eating and drinking the Lord's supper.

[2 populus acquisitionis, Lat.] [3 See Vol. III. p. 288.]

[4 Rather, for such as are penitent, or for the profession of repentance: pœnitentes vel pœnitentiam professam decentia, Lat.]

Acts, saith to the Jews, who through unbelief did reject or set
Acts xiii. at nought the preaching of the gospel: "The word of God ought first to be preached unto you; but because you reject it, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, behold, we turn unto the Gentiles." How did the Jews pronounce against themselves, that they were unworthy of everlasting life, and like judges gave sentence against themselves? In setting themselves against God's word through unbelief, neither apprehending Christ by faith, who is the life and righteousness of the world. Wherefore the chief and greatest portion of our worthiness and unworthiness is and consisteth in faith or unbe-
Acts xv. lief. St Peter witnesseth, that our hearts are purified by faith: true faith therefore is the cleanness of Christians. Whereupon St Augustine saith: "The unbeliever eateth not the flesh of Christ spiritually, but rather eateth and drinketh the sacrament of so great a thing to his own condemnation; because being unclean he hath presumed to come to Christ's sacraments; which no man receiveth worthily but he that is clean: of whom it is said, 'Blessed be the clean in heart; for they shall see God,' &c.[1]"

Moreover, they eat and drink of the Lord's supper unworthily, who, although they be not destitute of faith, yet by their abusing of it do pervert the right institution of the Lord. Such seemeth to have been the error of the church of Corinth, which mingled the private and profane with the ecclesiastical and mystical banquet, and did put no difference between the Lord's bread, which is called Christ's body, and common meat. For Paul saith: "Whoso eateth and drinketh unworthily, he eateth and drinketh his own damnation, making
To make difference of the Lord's body. no difference of the Lord's body." Therefore, to make no difference of the Lord's body, is unworthily to eat the Lord's bread and to drink of his cup. For this word διακρίνειν, to judge or to make a difference, is to weigh and consider of a matter exactly with judgment to the uttermost of a man's power, to judge of it, and make a difference[2] between that and all other things. Furthermore, the Lord's body is not only that spiritual body of the Lord, to wit, the church of the faithful, but that very body which the Lord took of the virgin, and offered up for our redemption, and that now sitteth at the

[1 See quotation above, page 460, note 3.]

[2 ita ut decet, Lat. omitted: as is proper.]

right hand of the Father. To be short, the bread of the sacrament in the supper is the Lord's body; it is, I say, the sacrament of the true body which was given for us. Whosoever, therefore, putteth no difference between this, the Lord's mystical bread, and profane meat, but cometh to Christ's table as he would to a table of common and gross meat, and acknowledgeth not that this heavenly meat differeth far from other human meat, neither cometh after that sort as the Lord hath instituted, but followeth his own reason; surely he maketh no difference of the Lord's body, but eateth and drinketh his own damnation. Paul again expoundeth himself, saying: "Therefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, tarry one for another, that ye meet not to condemnation." Whoso therefore preventeth[3] the public supper by eating his own private supper, that is to say, whoso suppeth not as the Lord hath appointed, the same eateth and drinketh unworthily. For before, unworthy eaters and drinkers are said to eat and drink their own damnation; and here, they are said to meet together to their condemnation that make haste to the supper, not tarrying for their brethren; and they make no difference of the Lord's body. St Augustine in his 62nd treatise upon John saith: "The apostle speaketh of those which received the Lord's body without difference and carelessly, as if it had been any other kind of meat whatsoever. Here therefore, if he be reproved which maketh no difference of the Lord's body, that is to say, doth not discern the Lord's body from other meats, how then should not Judas be damned, who came to the Lord's table feigning that he was a friend, but was an enemy[4]," &c.? How much more grievously do they seem to sin at this day, who, perverting the lawful and first use that was instituted by the Lord, do stablish their own abuse with great contention, yea, and grievously persecute them that cry out against it and will not receive it!

Furthermore, since by experience we find every day

[3 præoccupat, Lat.]

[4 De his erat sermo, cum hoc apostolus diceret, qui Domini corpus velut alium cibum quemlibet indiscrete negligenterque sumebant. Hic ergo si corripitur, qui non dijudicat, id est, non discernit a ceteris cibis Dominicum corpus, quomodo non damnatur, qui ad ejus mensam fingens amicum accedit inimicus?—Aug. in Evang. Joan. Tract. LXII. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 83. col. 4. Par. 1531.]

that there are many things wanting unto our faith, by means whereof divers vices spring up among us, whereof our unworthiness is the lightest or least of all[1], which the Lord of his grace may easily wash away, and almost wipeth away by sending his cross upon us, not imputing such infirmities to us to our condemnation. For the apostle in another place saith, that "there is no condemnation for them which are graffed into Christ Jesus, and walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit."

The punishment of those that eat unworthily.

Neither with equal punishment doth our most just Lord punish these sundry sorts of unworthiness. Let us therefore see what the blessed apostle teacheth us concerning the punishment of those that eat unworthily. Therefore he saith: "Whoso eateth this bread, or drinketh of the Lord's cup unworthily, the same shall be guilty of the Lord's body and blood." By which words verily he meaneth that chief and most foul unworthiness of all other, to wit, unbelief. For he is guilty of the Lord's body and blood, to whom the fault of the Lord's death is imputed, that is to say, to whom Christ's death becometh death, and not life; as it also happened unto them, who through unbelief and wickedness did crucify Christ; for unto them Christ's blood seemed profane, as it had been the blood of some beast, murderer, or wicked person, as being worthily shed for his offences. And, I pray you, what else doth he think than "that Christ's blood is profane, who believeth not that the same was shed for the sins of the world? And yet he dareth take part of the Lord's supper, that he may worthily be said to be guilty of the Lord's body and blood. It is a very great offence, to eat the Lord's bread and to drink of his cup unworthily, through unbelief: which thing by the example of Judas is laid before our eyes. He believed not in the Lord Jesus, yea, he invented how to deliver him into the hands of thieves and murderers; yet nevertheless he sat down to meat and took part of the Lord's supper: therefore in the end the devil worthily challenged him wholly unto him. For St John witnesseth, that about

John xiii.

[1 Rather, whence proceeds our unworthiness, yet it is the lightest of all; (—that is, of all kinds of unworthiness) being such as the Lord of his grace easily washes away, &c. The Latin original is obscure; but this is evidently Bullinger's meaning. Haller in his German version understands the sentence in the same manner.]

the end of the supper the devil entered into Judas: not that he was not in him before that he came to the supper, (for he had begun before to dwell in him, and to stir him forward;) but for that, after so many admonitions of our Lord Christ, and after that, he had profaned the mysteries of Christ, and as it were trodden them under foot, he wholly entered into him, and fully possessed him. Luke xxii.

The same apostle Paul threateneth damnation to them that make no difference of the Lord's body, who are placed, as it were, in another degree of unworthiness, saying: "For whoso eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation." The reason hereof he setteth down in this sentence, to wit, why we ought not rashly and carelessly to come to the Lord's table, for that we approach then to our condemnation. But condemnation or judgment is the pain or punishment which the Lord layeth upon his faithful people when they sin, not in another world truly, as he doth upon the unbelievers, but in this world. For it followeth in the words of the apostle, which ministereth unto us the same sense: "For this cause many are weak and feeble among you, and many sleep. For if we had judged ourselves, we should not have been judged. But when we are judged, we are corrected by the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world." The apostle plainly distinguisheth between the unworthy eaters that are subject to God's correction, and worldly men, that is to say, unbelievers, whose punishment the Lord deferreth to that other world. But upon his faithful people, who yet offend through negligence, and come to the supper not sufficiently instructed, he layeth divers and sundry afflictions, as pestilence, famine, sickness, and such like, to shake off their drowsiness. For it followeth: "If we had judged ourselves," that is, if we ourselves had restrained our vices, and separated ourselves from evil, "we had not been judged," that is to say, punished and corrected. For immediately he addeth: "But when we are judged, we are chastised of the Lord." To be judged therefore is to be chastised. But hereby we learn, from whence there do flow so many mischiefs into the church, to wit, by the unworthy use of the Lord's supper.

But some man will answer here, If the matter be so, it were better wholly to abstain from the Lord's supper. But How we should prepare our-

selves to the Lord's supper.

if any abstain wholly, he also thereby sinneth against the Lord, and that grievously. For he setteth at nought the Lord's commandment, who saith, "Do this;" yea, he setteth at nought both the Lord's death and all the gifts of God. Wherefore he hath not escaped danger, who hath omitted to celebrate the supper: which thing also we have said before. Thou must go another way to work, if thou desire to avoid both danger and sin. Hear the counsel of Paul, very compendiously saying: "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup." And we must mark, that in this examination he sendeth no man to another, but every man to himself. The papists bid thee, "Go to an auricular confessor," there to confess thyself, to receive absolution, and to make satisfaction for thy sins according to the form that is commanded thee; and so they bid thee, as sufficiently cleansed, to go to the Lord's table. But Paul, the doctor of the Gentiles and the vessel of election, speaketh not a word of those things, but saith simply: "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup." For like as God is the searcher of the hearts, and requireth the affection of the mind, and hateth hypocrisy; so none knoweth what is in the heart of man, or what affections we bear to God-ward, but we ourselves do. Therefore he willeth us ourselves to examine everything in ourselves; that is to say, he willeth every man to descend into himself, and to examine himself. This examination cannot be made without faith and the light of God's word. But the faithful man, having the light of God's word shining before him, and faith extending[1] her force and power, inquireth of himself, whether he doth acknowledge all his sins which he hath manifoldly committed against God, and whether he be sorry for them being committed; and whether with sincere faith of heart he believe that Christ hath washed away and forgiven all his sins; and whether he confess freely with his mouth, as he believeth in his heart, that life and salvation consisteth in Jesus Christ only, and in none other; and whether he have determined with himself to die in this confession; and whether he mean diligently and earnestly to apply himself to innocency and holiness of life; and whether he be ready to love and help all the members of Christ's body, of whom he is also a

[1 exerente, Lat.: putting forth.]

member, and be ready to spend his life for them, according to the example of Christ; and whether he have remitted or pardoned all anger and enmity; and whether he be desirous to call to mind Christ's passion and the whole mystery of our redemption, and to give thanks to God for our redemption, and for all other gifts of God already received and to be received. This is the right examining, which agreeth with the receiving of the mystical supper; and when we have done so, we may, in humbleness and fear of the Lord and with gladness[2], approach to the supper of our Lord Christ.

A comfort for afflicted consciences.

But here the faithful do tremble, who are as it were privy to their own imperfection and infirmity; for they do not find these things to be so perfect in their minds, as otherwise they know a just perfection requireth. Satan cometh, and he casteth in many and great stays, to the intent he may draw us back from the celebration of the supper. Therefore we say, if any man suppose that none is to be admitted to the supper but he that is purged from all sin and infirmity, surely he shall drive away and exclude all men, how many soever live in this world; nay, he shall altogether deprive them of the Lord's supper, as not to be any longer for sinful men but for angels. We must remember, that this examination resteth within his own bounds, and that God here also, as everywhere else, doth use this[3] clemency and mercy towards us. He knoweth our weakness and corruption, and with us can bear our infirmities. The Israelites under king Ezechias, being not fully cleansed, took part of the paschal lamb; but the king prayed, and said: "The Lord, who is good, will have mercy upon all men that with all their heart seek after the God of the fathers, and will not impute it unto them that they are not sanctified." And hereunto is added in the holy history, in 2 Chron. xxx. chap.: "And the Lord heard Ezechias, and he was pleased with the people." The worthiness, which is inquired for by exact examination, is no absolute perfection, but a will and mind instructed by God, which humbly acknowledgeth its own unworthiness, and therefore humbly prayeth for increase of faith and charity, and[4] all perfection in Christ only. At that first supper the apostles were Christ's guests,

[2 Rather, although in humbleness, &c. yet with gladness.]

[3 An error in all the editions for *his*: sua, Lat.]

[4 requirit, Lat. omitted: seeks.]

and among these was Judas; but because he lacked faith and was a traitor, yea, a murderer, he was made guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. The other apostles were also sinners themselves, but not wicked; they believed in Christ; they loved Christ, and one of them loved another like brethren: therefore they did not eat of the Lord's supper unworthily, as Judas did; although in the meantime at the same table they shewed tokens of great imperfection. For Peter, not without great contempt and reproach of his brethren, preferreth himself before them all. Moreover, they contend among themselves for honour, which of them should seem to be greater than another. I will not now recite, that, straightway after they arose from the table, they shamefully forsook their master and ran away, and many ways behaved themselves unworthily: but all these things were easily washed away, for that faith had taken very deep root within them.

Matt. xxvi. Luke xxii.

Neither will I here stick to recite word for word the comfort of Master John Calvin, a godly and learned man, who with great commendation teacheth in the church at this day, my fellow-minister and most well-beloved and dear brother, which he hath set down for the afflicted in this case. "Let us call to remembrance," saith he, "that this holy banquet is a medicine for the sick, a comfort for the sinful, a largess to the poor; which to the whole, righteous, and rich, if there could any such be found, would bring small vantage. For seeing that in this banquet Christ is given unto us to be eaten, we understand that without him we faint, fail, and are forsaken. Moreover, seeing he is given to us to be our life, we understand that without him we are but dead. Wherefore this is the greatest and only worthiness which we can give unto God, if we lay before him our own vileness and unworthiness, that through his mercy he may make us worthy of himself; if we despair in ourselves, that we may be comforted in him; if we humble ourselves, that we may be lifted up by him; if we accuse ourselves, that we may be justified by him. Moreover, if we attain unto that unity which he commendeth unto us in the supper; and, like as he maketh us all to dwell in him, so that we may wish likewise that there were one soul, one heart, and one tongue in us all; if we well weigh and meditate these things, then shall these thoughts never trouble us: We that are naked and destitute of all goodness, we that

are stained with spots of sin, we that are half dead, how should we worthily eat the Lord's body? Let us rather think, that we being poor do come to a plentiful giver, we that are sick come to a physician, we that are sinful come to a Saviour; that the worthiness, which is commanded by God, consisteth in faith chiefly, which reposeth all in God and nothing in ourselves: secondly, in charity; and such charity, as it is, sufficient if we offer it unto God unperfect, that he may increase it to the better, seeing we cannot perform it absolute as it ought to be[1]." Thus far he.

Thus much have I said hitherto of the most holy supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, the most excellent and wholesome sacrament of Christians; for which even from the very beginning, and while the apostles were yet living, Satan, the most deadly enemy to our salvation, lying in wait, hath gone about to overthrow by many corruptions and defilings; from which being now for a time faithfully cleansed, yet doth he not so leave it, but intermingles and throws an heap of contentions into it, being made unto the church the token of a covenant

[1 Meminerimus has sacras epulas ægrotis esse pharmacum, peccatoribus solatium, pauperibus largitionem: quæ sanis, justis, et divitibus, si qui reperiri possent, nullum afferrent operæ pretium. Nam cum in illis Christus nobis in cibum detur, intelligimus nos sine ipso tabescere, liqui, deficere. Deinde cum in vitam detur, intelligimus nos sine ipso in nobis plane mortuos esse. Quare ea est dignitas, quam unam et optimam afferre Deo possumus, si nostram ei vilitatem et (ut ita loquar) indignitatem offeramus, ut sua misericordia nos se dignos faciat; si animos in nobis despondeamus, ut nos in ipso consolemur; si nos humiliemus, ut ab ipso erigamur; si nos accusemus, ut ab ipso justificemur. Præterea, si ad eam, quam in sua cœna nobis commendat, unitatem adspiremus; et quemadmodum nos omnes unum in seipso esse facit, ita unam omnium animam, cor unum, linguam unam nobis omnibus optemus; hæc si perpensa et meditata habuerimus, nunquam nos illæ cogitationes perturbabunt: Nos bonorum omnium egeni et nudi, nos peccatorum sordibus inquinati, nos semimortui, quomodo corpus Domini digne manducaremus? Magis cogitabimus, nos pauperes venire ad benignum largitorem; ægros, ad medicum; peccatores, ad salvatorem: dignitatem illam, quæ a Deo mandatur, fide præcipue constare; quæ omnia in Deo, nihil in nobis reponit; deinde caritate, et ea quidem ipsa, quam Deo imperfectam offerre satis est, ut ipsam in melius augeat, quando præstari solida non potest.—Calvin. Instit. Christ. Rel. cap. XI. p. 341. Argent. 1539. *Second Edition.*]

never to be broken[1]. Whereupon the thing itself and our salvation requireth, that we be circumspect, and give no place to the tempter; but agreeing altogether in Christ, and being joined into one body by faithful celebrating of the supper, we may love one another, and give everlasting thanks to our Redeemer and Lord Christ; to whom be praise and glory now and for ever. Amen. Amen.

¶ OF CERTAIN INSTITUTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF GOD. OF SCHOOLS. OF ECCLESIASTICAL GOODS, AND THE USE AND ABUSE OF THE SAME. OF CHURCHES AND HOLY INSTRUMENTS OF CHRISTIANS. OF THE ADMONITION AND CORRECTION OF THE MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH, AND OF THE WHOLE CHURCH. OF MATRIMONY. OF WIDOWS. OF VIRGINS. OF MONKS. WHAT THE CHURCH OF CHRIST DETERMINETH CONCERNING THE SICK; AND OF FUNERALS AND BURIALS.

THE TENTH SERMON.

THERE remain certain things, but a few truly, which are to be expounded unto you, dearly beloved; the which partly appertain to the institution of the ecclesiastical ministry and preservation thereof; there are partly certain peculiar ordinances of the church, which the church cannot want. Whereof in this last sermon of this Decade, so far as the Lord shall give me grace to speak, I intend as briefly as I can to entreat.

The Lord hath not burdened his church with infinite laws.

First of all, we must know that the Lord our God hath not burdened his church with over many laws and institutions; but hath set down a few easily to be numbered, and those not costly, nor intricate, nor long, but profitable, simple, plain, and short. In time past, when as under the law the Lord appointed unto the people a costly and sumptuous worshipping of him, notwithstanding all things therein were certain, numerable, and moderate; neither would he have anything added to, or taken from it, at the pleasure of men, or to be otherwise used than he had appointed. Who then will

[1 Rather, he ceases not to cast it in the way and to bring it in, as a kind of ball of contentions, though it is to the church a token of a covenant never to be broken.]

think, that, after the abrogating of the law, the Lord would deliver unto the church of his new people a sumptuous and an infinite discipline? Wherefore it is partly the covetousness of the pastors and estates of the church, and partly the monstrous superstition of the common people, that hath made everything so sumptuous and infinite in the church. Let us stick unto this, that the Lord our God hath instituted in his church but very few things, and such as are necessary; and therefore we ought all to endeavour, that the church be not over-burdened with traditions and institutions which proceeded not from God himself. The church of God is gorgeously enough decked and furnished, if she retain and keep the institutions of her God and Lord.

The chief and principal points of the godliness of the church of God are, the sincere teaching of the law and the prophets, of Christ and the apostles; faithful prayer offered unto her only God through Christ alone; a religious and lawful administration and receiving of Christ's sacraments; whereof we have entreated hitherto through five decades. Hereunto belongeth charity also, which is a communicating of riches, or well-doing; whereof we have said somewhat already in the first decade[2], and will say somewhat else in this sermon. Neither doth Luke in the Acts make mention of any other things, describing what manner of church the faithful primitive church of Christ was, being founded by the apostles, and what were the principal points thereof. "They were continuing," saith he, "in the doctrine of the apostles, and in communicating, and in breaking of bread, and in prayer." Under these few points all godliness is comprised.

The chiefest points of true godliness in the church.

Acts ii.

Unto the ecclesiastical ministry are joined these that follow. Christian schools have the first place, which bring forth a plentiful increase of prophets or ministers of the church. All nations, unless they were altogether barbarous, have understood, that without schools no kingdoms or commonweals can happily be maintained. And therefore not only Moses in the book of Genesis[3], but also Strabo in the xvii. book of his Geography, reporteth how that among the Egyptians were instituted most famous colleges for priests and philosophers.

Of schools.

[2 Sermon 10.]

[3 Bullinger seems to refer to Gen. xlvii. 22. See his treatise De Episcop. Instit. et Funct. cap. III. fol. 74. Tigur. 1538.]

Histories also make mention, that the most noble men of all the world travelled into Egypt to obtain wisdom; in which number Plato also is said to be the first of the chief and principal among the philosophers[1]. Neither is it unadvisedly written in the book of the Kings, that Salomon excelled the wise men of the Egyptians in wisdom. And not only the Egyptians, but also the Palestines, a nation more famous for wars than for learning, are said to have had their priests, of whom they asked counsel in matters of doubt, as writeth [1 Sam. vi. 2.] Samuel in his holy history. And Daniel also witnesseth, that the Babylonians had most famous schools; as also had the Medes and Persians, from whence sprang forth their Magi, I would say, wise men, notable in all parts of philosophy. I need not to speak anything of the Greeks and Romans; since there is no man but knoweth their most famous city of Athens, which is so much spoken of by all learned men, and also the goodly colleges of their priests and soothsayers. But, omitting foreign examples, let us allege our own, or such as are ecclesiastical.

God, who gave unto his people a most absolute form of an happy commonweal and kingdom, distributed schools through forty and eight towns of the realm. Those towns, by reason of the philosophing Levites, were called Levitical. For he had consecrated all the Levitical tribe unto the priesthood and to studies; not for that it was not also lawful for gentlemen of other tribes to study philosophy or wisdom; but because the Levites were peculiarly appointed unto holy studies[2]: for it is evident that Esay and Daniel, two of the most bright lights of them that prophesied, were of the tribe of Juda. Other tribes also have brought forth men right singular in all kind of knowledge. And those towns likewise were called Levitical and priestly, not that priests only dwelt in them, but because they had synagogues in them. But at the tabernacle in Silo, and specially in the city of Jerusalem, there was a school surpassing all other, and in manner of an university, as they call them now-a-days. And the same holy history witnesseth, that most famous men had the government of those schools. For we read in Rama that Samuel,

Governors of schools. 1 Sam. x. 2 Kings ii. and iv. cap.

[1 philosophorum Alpha, Lat.—Erasm. Adag. Chili. *Dignitatis.* p. 188. Hanov. 1617.]

[2 See Vol. I. pp. 334, &c. and Vol. II. pp. 133, 143.]

who was the very chiefest in all wisdom, godliness, and learning, was governor and principal of Naioth, that is to say, the burse[3] (as they term it) or college of prophets. Helias and Heliseus, the most clear lights of the church of Israel, were rulers over the school of Hierico and Gilgal. That naughty Jeroboam did pull down the schools, and trod under foot the order of the priests, and placed without all choice some that were of the refuse of the people in their places. But the men of God, Helias and Heliseus, knew well, that without schools the sound doctrine could not flourish or be preserved; and therefore they applied themselves wholly to the renewing of schools. And when lawful tributes were denied them, being by wicked princes bestowed upon flatterers and bellies, that is to say, priests of the idols of calves and of Baal; yet it came to pass by the goodness of the Lord, that some good men bestowed somewhat upon such as were desirous of learning, who, holding themselves contented with a mean living, behaved themselves valiantly in that most corrupt age. But those notable men, those wise men and prophets, who had the government over schools, were called fathers; whereupon also their disciples and scholars were termed the sons of the prophets. Amos and Jeremy call them Nazarites[4]. For saith Amos: "I am no prophet, neither the son of a prophet;" to wit, not brought up in the knowledge of liberal arts. And the same man saith again: "I have raised up of your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazarites." But Jeremy commendeth also the manner of them that studied, which in his Lamentations he bewaileth to be altogether perished in the captivity. Furthermore, they are called the sons of the prophets, for the affection which they bare towards their schoolmasters, as if they had been their parents, and for their obedience and daily study towards them. But how much the more noble and wise the princes were, so much the more diligence they employed in repairing schools, and restoring ecclesiastical order[5]: which a man may see, not in David and Salomon only, but also in Josaphat and Ezechias and Josias, who were most virtuous and most happy princes. In the captivity and after the captivity of Babylon the Lord's people was dispersed and scattered into many kingdoms far

Amos vii.

Amos ii.

[Lam. iv. 8.]

[3 bursæ, Lat.] [4 See Vol. II. p. 207.]

[5 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, orders: ordinibus, Lat.]

and wide; but whithersoever they were carried, they erected schools or synagogues; and when the city of Jerusalem was restored, then they often came unto the same. For therefore the Acts of the Apostles make mention, that at what time St Paul preached the word of God among the Gentiles, he went into the synagogues and taught. And St James the apostle saith: "Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him in the synagogues;" where he speaketh not of the cities of Judea and Galilee, but of the cities of the Gentiles, in Syria, Cilicia, and Asia. But that which we read in the Acts doth shew, that they, being dispersed and scattered abroad, did sometime come unto the holy city of Jerusalem. "There were dwelling at Jerusalem certain Jews, religious men, of all nations that are under heaven." And that also, which St Paul reciteth of himself, confirmeth the same; that, being born free in the city of Tharsus, he travelled to Jerusalem unto Gamaliel's feet, that is to say, to the intent to hear the instruction and to be a scholar under Gamaliel. So likewise we read, that at Jerusalem there were colleges or synagogues of the Libertines, Cyrenians, Alexandrines, Cilicians, and Asians. This use of schools continued until Christ's time, yea, and after his ascension into the heavens, almost until the destruction of the city; although in the meantime it may appear to have been sundry times depraved.

Acts xv.

Acts ii.

Acts xxii.

Acts vi.

Christ and his apostles do institute schools.

Christ also, the Son of God, our king and high bishop, he himself instituted the most famous school of all other, calling thereunto the twelve apostles and the seventy disciples; chosen men, I say, to the number of fourscore and two. Yea, the apostles themselves drew unto them very many disciples; and first of all[1] St Paul, the most chosen instrument of God to convert the Gentiles, is read to have had in his company Sopater of Berrhœ, Luke of Antioch, Mark of Jerusalem, Barnabas, Sylva or Sylvanus, Caius and Timothy, Aristarchus and Secundus, Tychicus and Trophimus, Titus and Linus, Crescens and Epaphras, Archippus and Philemon, Epaphroditus and Artemas, and many other. He hath also commended most diligently unto good men the studious and the ministers of the churches, exhorting all men unto liberality, that they may want nothing. And writing unto Titus: "Bring diligently," saith he, "Zenas the lawyer and Apollo upon

Titus iii.

[1 imprimis, Lat.: more especially.]

their way, that they may want nothing." Moreover, it may be gathered by plain and manifest proofs out of the thirteenth chapter of the Acts, that there was a very famous, and that an apostolic, school at Antioch in Syria. Eusebius also of Cesarea abundantly witnesseth, what noble schools were at Alexandria in Egypt, and in other renowned churches[2]; and we have also declared the same more at large, when time served, in a book which we have written of the institution of bishops[3]. But in process of time, when all things appertaining to the church began to decline to the worse, ecclesiastical schools also degenerated into abbeys or into colleges of canons and monks.

Schools appertain to the preservation of the ministry.

But of all these things, whereof we have spoken, I think it not unknown unto any man, that schools do principally belong to the preservation of the church, and the maintenance of the holy ministry; in which schools good arts might be exercised, very profitable for the furtherance of the study of the holy scriptures: of which sort chiefest of all are the studies and knowledge of holy tongues, of logic, natural philosophy, and the mathematics; and these moderately known, and directed unto the certain scope and end of godliness. For a man may sometime find wits worn and waxed old in divers arts and disciplines, howbeit not once meddling or inured with holy exercises and studies. But I would to God that the wicked, being too much glutted with profane study, would also leave to contemn holy scriptures as things plain barbarous. A man also may find some wits so busied in the study of the mathematics, that they are more meet to be masters of buildings, than governors or pastors of churches. Yea, they are so far crept into the study of astronomy and the astronomer's heaven, that they quite forget the blessed[4] heaven, which is the seat of the blessed saints, anything to pertain unto them; and that they should be[5] sufficiently happy, if they can but once attain unto the knowledge of the motion of the visible heaven, and to the course of the stars. As for those that meddle overmuch with the study of philosophy, and the trifles of logic,

[2 Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. cap. 10; and Lib. vi. cap. 30; and Lib. vii. cap. 32.]

[3 De Episcop. Instit. &c. cap. viii. p. 102. Tigur. 1538.]

[4 verum cœlum, Lat.: the true heaven.]

[5 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, shall be.]

and the rules of rhetoric, [and that] never attain unto any end, nor earnestly think upon the bestowing of their travails to the edifying of the church; commonly they become contentious and brawling disputers for the most part, and arrogant controllers: unto whom nothing seemeth to be neatly and aptly enough either spoken or done of others, but that which is tempered, and as it were tuned, to their great conceiving heads, and so agreeing with prescript rules, that they swerve not therefrom, no, not so much as a hair's breadth. These men snarl[1] and entangle all things with their doltish disputations, puffing out nothing else but quarrelling controversies, taking upon them most arrogantly to judge all men's doings and sayings whatsoever; yea, though they be good and tolerable, they snap at them, and maliciously cavil against them, being rather vain babblers than philosophers, yea, the very plagues of schools and churches; who spit out the poison of debates, contentions, variances, strifes, and divisions, at and into the church. Against these St Paul the apostle to Timothy seemeth to speak: for, after he had briefly set down the sum of sound doctrine, he addeth thereupon: "This teach and exhort. Whosoever teacheth otherwise, and holdeth not himself contented with the healthful word of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the doctrine which is according unto godliness, he is puffed up, knowing nothing, but spending his time about questions and contention in words; whereof groweth hatred, strife, slander, evil suspicions, vain conflicts of men corrupt in heart and destitute of the truth, which suppose gain to be godliness. Avoid the company of such."

1 Tim. vi.

The corruption of schools.

Truly, it never went well with the church, when learned and studious men, forsaking the plainness and pureness of the word of God, turned their eyes another way, and aimed not at the word of God alone. They in ancient time[2] did not contemn the word of God: but in the meanwhile they attributed more to traditions than was convenient. But by that means they both gave occasion unto errors, and confirmed such abuses as were already brought in. Certain years past and gone, Gratian and Lombard[3], with other ecclesiastical

[1 snarl, embarrass, twist.—Johnson.]

[2 Rather, Of the ancients some: ex veteribus quidam, Lat.]

[3 Gratian completed his *Decretum* A. D. 1151. Peter Lombard, author of *The Sentences*, died A. D. 1164.]

writers, went about to make an agreement of opinions, and to gather together a perfect and certain sum of divinity. But thereby they did not only carry the schools away from the scriptures, but also intruded strange doctrines into the church. After these there followed Alexander, Albertus, and Thomas[4], who not only depended upon those Sentences and commended them unto others, but also endeavoured to mingle philosophy with divinity, and to couch[5] them together into one body. And hereof it came to pass, that we had so many ways and sects, so many puddles crawling full of frogs, so many schools, so many abbeys, so many sophisters. And if at this day likewise we continue unhappily to couple philosophy with the holy scriptures, and superstitiously call them into disputation, and to call them unto examination by human rules, or to the handling by arts; then shall we also corrupt them in the schools, perverting the integrity[6] of the apostolic doctrine, to the great detriment of the church. In the meanwhile, certain it is, that good arts and learning do make much unto perspicuity and plainness, but moderately and religiously applied with judgment, so that the scriptures may have the upper hand, and all other arts obey the same.

The true end of schools.

Wherefore let pure godliness be taught in ecclesiastical schools, yea, let godliness be the end of all our studies. At the first let the studious be diligently taught the catechism, and let them never rest until such time as they have learned it perfectly, and made it familiar unto themselves: then let this young-begun godliness be daily increased with lectures and holy sermons: let the writings of the holy evangelists and apostles be always read unto them, that they may become perfect in them in due season: let them also commodiously learn the tongues and good arts, and let them be exercised in writing and reasoning. But above all, let dissoluteness and wantonness be banished out of the godly-instituted and christian schools. Let discipline, yea, though it be somewhat sharp, flourish. For if youth be corrupted in the schools

Discipline in schools.

[4 Alexander Hales, called *The Irrefragable Doctor*, died A.D. 1245. Albertus Magnus, died A. D. 1280. Thomas Aquinas, called *The Angelic Doctor*, died A.D. 1274.]

[5 to couch, to include, to lay close to another. Johnson: redigere, Lat.]

[6 Rather, we also shall corrupt in schools the integrity, &c.]

and grow up in that corruption, what, I pray you, shall we look for at their hands, when they be set in authority over the church? Let us not believe that they will be the salt of the church, who as they are most dissolute and blockish, so can they not abide sharpness in other. Shall we think that they will become lights of the church, who do themselves hate the light, and are delighted in darkness and in the works of darkness? Wherefore, that which the sons of Heli were in the church of Israel, the same shall be and are the corrupt sons of the prophets in the church of Christ. They therefore shall likewise perish with the people which are committed unto them. And therefore now-a-days there is great offence committed through too much lenity in the schools; a mischief which will never be washed away. For a man shall come into many schools, where he shall think he seeth so many soldiers and ruffians, no[1] scholars and students, whom they commonly call clerks. Neither their fare, neither their apparel, neither their manners, neither their words, neither their deeds, declare them to be of any good disposition, honest, or studious. I know, that much is to be ascribed unto our unhappy and most dissolute age, in which the stubborn and rebellious will not hearken to the counsel of the elders; and again I know, that there are great offences committed through the negligence and fond gentleness of them that are in authority. But forasmuch as the welfare of the church consisteth of schools well ordered, we ought all of us to use great diligence, that in this behalf there may no offence be committed through our carelessness and negligence. This much have I said concerning ecclesiastical schools, in as few words as might[2] conveniently: of which I have entreated more at large in my book of the institution of bishops[3].

Of ecclesiastical goods.

Furthermore, to the end that schools with the whole ministry may be maintained, together with all holy buildings and ecclesiastical charges, there needeth to be some good wealth and ability correspondent. This place therefore admonisheth us to say somewhat concerning ecclesiastical goods[4]. God, in that commonwealth which he would have to excel all

[1] So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, not.]
[2] So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, as I might.]
[3] De Episcop. Instit. &c. capp. IV., VIII., and XVIII.]
[4] See Zurich Letters. Second Series, Let. XCVIII. p. 242.]

other as best furnished with all things necessary, appointed standing fees to be paid unto the holy ministry of the common charge, to wit, the tithes, the first-fruits, and sundry other kinds of offerings[5]. These things are in the law expressed by Moses, the man of God, in many words: who nothing feared lest for handling of that matter he should be accused of greedy desire or covetousness; for those things which God commanded him to declare plainly to the people, he uttered unto them faithfully. Yea, the law of nature commandeth to reward him that taketh pain, and to maintain common charges by common contribution. And those revenues or tributes, that were publicly gathered, were not bestowed but to public uses; for they were partly given to the ministers for their ministry and service, partly they were disbursed upon public buildings and holy charges, and part was employed to the relief of the poor. And although by the new Testament the Levitical law with the whole priesthood be abrogated; notwithstanding it is certain, that the same universal law, which commandeth that public charges should be levied by public contributions, is not abolished. For we read that our Lord Jesus Christ, although he lived not of the tenths and revenues of the priests, yet lived he of the contributions of the godly, (for he executed a public function;) and, sending his disciples abroad to preach, expressly saith unto them: "I would not have you to be careful for food and apparel; for the labourer is worthy of his hire." Wherefore the primitive church, which the apostles have gathered to Christ, bestowed their houses, lands, and money, for the preservation of the ministry and other things necessary for the church. The priests and Levites at that time possessed the holy revenues, not giving one iota to the apostolic church, which rather they wished might starve for hunger; but the godly and faithful people knew very well, that earthly substance and riches were very necessary for the preservation of the church. For God hath appointed men, and not angels, to be ministers of the church; and hath recommended poor men unto the church to stand in his stead. But they, as men are wont to do, lack and are destitute of many things: wherefore good men, through the motion of the Holy Ghost, do contribute together and bestow money, houses, lands, and other goods, whereby both the

The church of the new Testament hath goods and revenues.

Luke viii.

Matt. x.

Acts iv.

[5 See Vol. II. page 143.]

poor, and also the holy ministry, may be maintained. And hereupon also it is evident, that the church of the people of the new Testament had, ever since the time of Christ and the apostles, goods and possessions publicly gathered and received; and also laid out and bestowed them again for public and common commodity.

How in old time the church-goods were bestowed.

Gregory, the first of that name, bishop of Rome, saith, that it was the custom in his time, and also before his time, that there ought to be four portions or parts of the church of God[1]; one for the bishop and his family, another for the clergy, the third for the poor, and the fourth for the repairing of churches[2]. But there are a great many that say, that a bishop ought not to receive wages of the church. Let us therefore examine what Christ and his apostles do teach us touching that matter. Christ our Lord, who never committed any unjust thing, received, as it is read, maintenance from such women as he taught, who "ministered unto him of their substance." He also sending his disciples abroad, and willing them not to be careful for meat and drink and raiment, saith further: "The labourer is worthy of his hire." The Lord judgeth it to be worthy, meet, and right, to minister necessaries unto preachers. Wherefore they do no unworthy deed, which receive wages, thereby to provide necessaries for themselves and their family; yea, he compareth preachers not to idle bellies, not to them that eat freely of other men's bread, neither to beggars, but to labourers. For as the Lord setteth down in the law, how that it is a great offence to deny labourers their hire; even so their offence is not small, that suffer such as are faithful feeders of the flock to perish and decay through need. For in another place the Lord speaketh to his disciples, saying, "Ye have freely received it, and therefore give it freely:" but he speaketh of the gift of working miracles, and of the benefit of health to be bestowed upon the sick, diseased, and oppressed; for thus it is written: "Heal the

Ministers of churches ought to be rewarded.

Matt. x.

[1 ex bonis ecclesiasticis, Lat.]

[2 Mos autem sedis apostolicæ est ordinatis episcopis præcepta tradere, ut in omni stipendio, quod accedit, quatuor debeant fieri portiones: una, videlicet, episcopo et familiæ propter hospitalitatem atque susceptionem, alia clero, tertia pauperibus, quarta ecclesiis reparandis.—Gregor. Epist. ap. Bed. Hist. Eccles. Vol. II. p. 108. ed. Giles. Lond. 1843.]

sick, cleanse the leprous, raise the dead, cast out devils." And to these words he added this saying: "Ye have received it freely, and therefore bestow it freely." Therefore though the apostles received reward of them to whom they preached, yet never any man read that ever they took anything for the gift of healing, which they received in the Lord's name. Like as Heliseus would not take anything at all, though it were freely offered him by Naaman the Syrian captain, for that by his counsel he was healed of the leprosy; yet the self-same Heliseus refused not the gift of the man that came unto him from Baal-salisa. [2 Kings iv. 42.] Out of the self-same gospel of Christ our Lord ministers have to learn, to what use they ought to put the wages they have of the church. For what time the Lord commanded Judas, who carried the purse, to depart, John xiii. the residue of the disciples thought, that he had been commanded to go and buy such necessaries as should serve for the holy day, or else to bestow something on the poor. Therefore it is plain, that the Lord used with the stipend which he received to provide necessaries for him and his, and also to give alms thereof. Mark well then, that the ministers of the church may provide things necessary for their living, function, and maintenance of their household, of the wages they receive of the church. Again, they may also of the same wages give alms unto the poor, even as it were of their own goods truly gotten. For the Lord saith plainly in the law, that the sacrifice of the Levites, made of tithes and other oblations or holy revenues, shall be as acceptable unto him, as their sacrifice that offer anything out of their own chest, store, or possessions. Truly, if a labourer do offer unto God anything of his hire or wages, that is to say, if he give unto the poor, doth it not seem a very acceptable sacrifice unto God? Very acceptable then is the alms that the minister of the church doth bestow, proceeding of the wages of the holy ministry. Put the case, a labourer in building a church receiveth his wages of the church-goods; should a man therefore say, that the labourer took an alms, and that one alms ought not to be given out of another? He received wages for his work; for he did labour; therefore he giveth alms of his wages, and of his own lawful and proper goods. Wherefore then should the minister of the church seem to live by alms, and that he ought not to give alms of alms, who notwithstanding doth

labour for his wages, and therefore receiveth the reward of his work as a labourer doth, unto whom the Lord himself compareth the minister? [1]If any man be so far past honesty to think so, he shall hear not what I say, but what Paul the apostle saith: "If we sow unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we mow your carnal things?" And again: "Such elders as govern well are worthy of double honour, and chiefly that travail in preaching and teaching. For the scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox treading out the corn. And, The labourer is worthy of his hire." Behold, therefore, the apostle doth not think that that inestimable goodness of the ministry can by any means be recompensed with a vile thing, I mean, with earthly wages. Again, "They that labour," saith he: they that labour, say I, not they, saith he, that loiter in teaching. These doth he compare unto an ox, that is a toiling beast, and a thrasher out of corn[2]; and also to a labouring man. That whereof I do so greatly warn you is, that because in this our wicked and unthankful world certain men, nay, rather monsters most unthankful, are to be found out, that are persuaded that ministers do nothing at all, yea, even such as most faithfully do their duty; for they cry out, saying, They eat their bread as beggars do, and it costeth them nought[3]. By which name and infamy they terrify many fine wits, and make them to forsake the study of good learning and divinity, so that they utterly abhor the ministry, as it were a thing most beggarly and unhonest; for in such sort the devil can devise to enlarge his kingdom, abusing, or rather fitly using to his purpose, our ingratitude and malice. But why do they not suffer themselves to be numbered with Christ and the holy apostles, who were fed and maintained by the church's stipend, than to be reckoned up among those unthankful and proud people, who have scraped and gathered all their goods together for the most part by usury and other wicked means? or at the least, if

1 Cor. ix. 1 Tim. v.

[1 An vero dicet aliquis, ministrum ecclesiæ, suo fungentem munere fideliter, nihil laborare? Lat. omitted: But will any man say, that the minister of the church, when he does his duty faithfully, labours not at all?]

[2 et trituranti quidem, Lat.: and that when he is treading out the corn.]

[3 Bulling. adv. Anabapt. Lib. III. cap. 9.]

they have not gotten their goods by sinister means, they have received them through the liberality and mere goodness of God, for the which they never sweat or took pains?

St Paul proveth by strong and many arguments the right to receive a stipend for the holy ministry. "Have we not," saith he, "power and authority to eat and drink, or may we not carry about with us a woman sister?" For he meaneth the lawfulness and authority to receive anything necessary for himself, his wife, and his whole household. And for that he asketh a question, he sheweth what he meaneth[4], that thereby he may declare a plain truth and equity amongst all men; and thereto addeth examples, not of every man severally, but of all generally, and specially of the chiefest apostles of Christ, and of them that were kin unto Christ by blood, saying: "Even as the other apostles, and brothers of our Lord, and Cephas?" And who is that Cephas but Peter? To this Cephas the Lord said in the first chapter of St John: "Thou shalt be called Cephas; which, if a man interpret it, signifieth a stone." But Peter also was so sirnamed of a rock, to the intent the interpretation of the name may always fall upon the same[5]. And who, I pray you, are the Lord's brethren, but John and James, and James the brother of Judas, and Judas and Simon, the brethren of James? All these, saith St Paul, lived of the stipend[6] they had, being gathered of the common assembly of the church. Unto these examples he addeth other also like unto them, commonly put in practice. "Who," saith he, "doth go to war at his own costs and charges? Or who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk thereof?" Surely he bringeth forth these similitudes very finely, and properly applied unto them and not unto any other[7]. For the ministers of the church are sometimes called soldiers or vineyard-keepers, sometimes husbandmen and shepherds. And who, I pray you, is so far from reason, that he would deny unto soldiers, husbandmen, and shepherds, meat and clothing, for the pains they take in warfare, husbandry, and about cat-

1 Cor. ix.

The apostles received wages.

Mark vi.

[4 Rather, And he speaketh what he meaneth by a question.]

[5 ut in idem semper recidat etymon nominis, Lat.]

[6 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, a stipend.]

[7 Rather, Surely he bringeth forth these similitudes very finely, and most properly (brings forth) these, and not others.]

tle? The true-hearted men therefore, and such as are of an indifferent judgment, do acknowledge, that the ministers of the church may live by the ecclesiastical ministry. But lest that any should object, that these human parables and similitudes, taken from the common use, do prove nothing in an ecclesiastical cause, he addeth presently: "Do I speak these things according to man? Doth not the law say also the same? For it is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn." As though he should say: I have in a readiness, for the confirmation of our right, not only human similitudes, but also testimonies of the holy scripture. And he allegeth a place out of the xxv. chapter of Deuteronomy, concerning the nourishing of labouring oxen. Again, lest any man should say that place is not to be understood of preachers, but simply of oxen, he addeth: "Doth God take care for oxen? Or doth not he speak it altogether for our sakes? Doubtless he hath written it for our sakes, that he which plougheth may plough in hope, and he that thresheth in hope may be partaker of his hope." The Lord, said he, in his law would provide for us. For he would have the equality gathered by a certain syllogism or kind of argument, after this or such like manner: If the Lord provided for beasts and cattle, and would have consideration to be had of them, how much more of men! It were truly a very unjust thing, that an husbandman should labour with his ox without hope, that is to say, in vain, and without commodity. Therefore were it also a most unjust thing for the minister to exercise ecclesiastical husbandry in the church without hope or due stipend. Moreover, where it is again objected here against, that unto the spiritual ministry belongeth no corporal but a spiritual reward, the apostle answereth: "If we sow unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your temporal things?" He therefore thinketh, that the Corinthians give nothing when they give their temporal things, namely if they be compared with eternal good things, which the ministers do bring by teaching. For look, how far the soul excelleth the body, by so much more are spiritual things better than temporal. The apostle also concealeth an evident argument in these words, where he admonisheth, that it is meet that he that soweth should also reap. In this point also is great inequality, in that the ministers sow the better, and reap the

worse. Because men set light by God and the divine ministry, therefore they think that the ministers do nothing. St Paul again confirmeth his own right by the example of others, saying: "If others be partakers of the power towards you, why rather are not we?" For seeing none had taken more pains among the Corinthians than St Paul, no man was more worthy of reward. Moreover, he confirmeth his right by the example, commandment, and ordinance of the Lord, saying: "Know ye not, that they which take pains in the holy things, do eat of the holy things; and they that minister at the altar, are partakers of the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they that do preach the gospel should live of the gospel." Where hath the Lord ordained this? Forsooth, when he said in the gospel, that "the labourer is worthy of his hire." But I judge this especially to be observed, which the apostle speaketh in plain words; that the Lord instituted his ordinance concerning the maintenance of the ministers of the church unto the imitation of the ancient laws of the Jewish people. Hereof we gather, that we miss not much the mark, if in this and such like cases we do not utterly reject the ancient institutions of the fathers.

St Paul received no wages.

But in that St Paul the apostle used not his authority as he might have done, it maketh nothing against these things: for one question is of the deed, and another of the right of the thing. In very deed he took nothing of the Corinthians for divers causes, yet notwithstanding he took of other churches. Neither received he any thing of the church of Thessalonica. Yet for all that this doing[1] is not prejudicial to the equity of the right; for he saith unto the Corinthians: "I have robbed other churches, having received wages of them, to the intent I might do you service. And when I was with you and wanted, I was not burdensome unto any man; for the things that were lacking unto me were given me by the brethren that came from Macedonia." And unto the Thessalonians he saith: "We behaved not ourselves inordinately amongst you, neither did we take our bread for nothing; but with labour and pain both night and day doing our work, to the intent we would not be a burden unto any of you. Not

2 Cor. xi.

2 Thess. iii.

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, this his doing: hoc factum suum, Lat.]

that it is not lawful for us to do it; but because we would set down ourselves as a pattern for you to follow after." And again the same St Paul saith unto the Thessalonians: "I beseech you, that you acknowledge them that labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; that you have them in singular love through love for their work sake. Be at peace with them[1]." Let so much therefore of the church-goods, as is sufficient, be given unto the ministers and teachers, so far forth as honest necessity requireth. And thus much have we spoken concerning the proportion[2] that is due unto pastors.

1 Thess. v.

Students to be maintained by wages of the church.

In times past the second part of ecclesiastical goods was allotted unto clerks. And clerks are the harvest of pastors, studious of divinity, and wholly disposed to the holy ministry. And forasmuch as these have dedicated themselves and all that they have wholly to the church and the ministry thereof, it is most fit that they should be nourished and maintained by the costs of the church. But it is convenient they be nourished meanly[3], who ought to be an example of mean and thrifty living to other; for to be brought up delicately doth nothing agree with the ministries of the church. And therefore Amos found fault that the Nazarites drank wine; for that he meant, that drunkards did not maintain the church, but utterly destroy it. Of which matter we spake in another place[4]. Moreover, it is fit that due portions be paid to priests, schoolmasters, scholars[5], and to all other ecclesiastical persons whatsoever. "

The poor to be relieved by the church-goods.

Finally, the third part of ecclesiastical goods are appointed for the poor. And there are divers sorts of poor folk; as widows, pupils, orphans, and infants cast out (whose parents are not known[6]), also they that are worn with old age and spent with diseases. There are infinite kinds of diseases, whereof the most grievous are these: leprosy, fury, and madness, the French pox, or the scab of India or Naples, the

[1 Rather, as Bullinger here divides the words, Be at peace with them for their work's sake.—Cf. Vol. I. page 284, note 1.]

[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, portion: portione, Lat.]

[3 frugaliter, Lat.] [4 See Vol. II. page 207.]

[5 professoribus, Lat.]

[6 The parenthesis is the Translator's.]

palsy, the gout, and a great many more. There are not only poor men born within the land, but also strangers that are banished their country and home for righteousness' sake and for the word of God. There are other who are not yet come to extreme poverty, but are even now ready to fall into it, so that, if they be not holpen a little with ready money, they by and bye come to be kept by the church-box. Again, there are some that are consumed by imprisonment, by wars, by great floods of waters, by fire, and divers other mishaps, as by hail, frosts, and other storms and distemperatures of the air. Of all whose health and safeguard the Lord willed us to be mindful whereas he saith, that whatsoever we bestow upon the poor, we bestow it upon him. Therefore if we despise and regard not the poor, without all doubt we despise and neglect even our Lord God himself in the poor. We ought of duty to succour the poor of our own good will by counsel, comfort, medicines, cures[7], money, meat, drink, clothes, lodgings, succouring, and by any means else that we may, and in all such matters and cases as they shall have need of our help. If so be the church-goods are not sufficient to perform all this at the full, then let the abundance of all other good faithful people supply their want. But if there be goods sufficient in store laid up, which have been in times past contributed by the liberality of the godly, which notwithstanding through negligence or wickedness of the governors are taken away, so that the necessity of the poor cannot thereby be succoured; for that cause truly most sharp tempests of infelicities are poured forth both upon commonwealths and kingdoms. For why? they are very sharply punished, which do not give unto the poor of their own private goods, if they be able: with how much more grievous calamities may we think they shall be plagued, which wickedly, sacrilegiously, and forcibly take away to their own private uses those riches, which were given by others to the common use of the poor! He that hath this world's substance, and seeth his brother want, and shutteth up his affection from him, is cruel; therefore he that taketh from the poor[8] that which is already given them, is more cruel, and committeth

The poor not to be defrauded of their portion.

1 John iii.

[7 cura, Lat.: care.]

[8 sibi, Lat. omitted: for himself.]

Ezek. xvi. Isai. xvi. sacrilege. It is read, that the Sodomites with their fellow-cities were burned[1], because they strengthened not the hand of the poor, but rather weakened it. The Moabites and Chaananites are destroyed for disdaining strangers, and for having no care of the poor. But why do we fetch examples so far off? Why do we not call to mind the last sentence of the high Judge, uttered from his heavenly judgment-seat which is Matt. xxv. stablished in the clouds, pronounced in this manner: "Come, ye blessed children of my Father, possess the kingdom which was prepared for you from the beginning of the world. I have been hungry, and you have given me meat: I have been a-thirsty[2], and you have given me drink: I was a stranger, and you harboured me: I was naked, and you clothed me: I was sick, and you visited me: I was in prison, and you came unto me." The evangelist also addeth that which agreeth very much to our purpose: "Then shall the just answer, and say, Lord, when saw we thee hungry, and gave thee meat? thirsty, and gave thee drink? When saw we thee harbourless, and lodged thee? or naked, and clothed thee? Or when saw we thee sick or in prison, and came unto thee? The King answering shall say unto them, Verily I say unto you, In that you did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, you did it unto me. Then shall he say also unto them that are on his left hand[3]: Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was hungry, and you gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and you gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and you harboured me not: I was naked, and you clothed me not: I was sick and in prison, and you visited me not. Then shall they answer, and say unto him, Lord, when saw we thee hungry, or thirsty, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and ministered not unto thee? Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as you did it not unto one of the least of these, neither did you it unto me." It followeth after[4]: "And they shall go

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, were drowned: subversi, Lat.]

[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, athirst.]

[3 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, at the left hand: a sinistris, Lat.]

[4 ergo, Lat. omitted: therefore.]

into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into everlasting life." The Lord also[5] in another place in the gospel, substituting the poor in his stead, saith: "Ye have the poor with you always, and when ye will, ye may do them good; but me ye shall not have always." And therefore we read, that the primitive church was careful in providing for the poor, even to the working of miracles[6]. Mark xiv.

St Paul in all places commendeth the poor to the church of God: he made collections for the poor almost in all churches; and the blessings[7], which he had gathered, he distributed with great judgment, faith, and diligence; as it will appear almost in all his epistles, specially in the xv. to the Romans, in the first to the Corinthians the sixteenth chapter, in the second to the Corinthians the eighth and ninth chapters; and to the Galatians: "While we have time," saith he, "let us do good towards all men, especially towards the household of faith." Gal. vi. In the first epistle to Timothy he warneth, that there be consideration had who should be holpen, and who not to be holpen. 1 Tim. v. In the same epistle he giveth charge to Timothy and to all the bishops, how to deal with the richer sort in the church, saying: "Command them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded, neither put their trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us all things abundantly to enjoy; that they may do good, that they may be rich in good works, that they may be ready to give, and bestow willingly, laying up unto themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may take hold of life everlasting." 1 Tim. vi. And unto the Hebrews: "To do good and to distribute forget not: for with such sacrifice God is pleased." Heb. xiii. Wherefore riches were gathered even in the time of the apostles to succour the necessity of the poor withal. Deacons were appointed by the church as providers and stewards: among whom those first deacons were most famous, of whom the Acts of the Apostles make mention, and also the notable martyr of Christ, Laurence[8]. Acts vi. And the writings of the ancient fathers do testify, that with those ecclesiastical goods prisoners

[5 qui ascensurus erat in cœlos, Lat. omitted: being about to ascend into heaven.]

[6 Rather, even to a miraculous extent: ad miraculum usque, Lat.]

[7 benedictionem, Lat.: 2 Cor. ix. 5. Marg. Auth. Ver.]

[8 See Vol. III. page 106.]

were redeemed out of captivity; poor maidens of lawful years married[1]; finally, hospitals, almories, spittals, harbours, hostels, and nurseries, were builded, namely to entertain poor travellers, for the maintenance of the poor that were born in that country, for the relief of the sick and diseased, for the necessity of old men, and for the honest bringing up of pupils and orphans[2]. Concerning these matters there are yet extant certain imperial laws.

Reformation of churches to be made.

Wherefore in reforming of churches very diligent heed must be taken, that there be no offence committed in this behalf through oversight or of purpose; that the poor be not defrauded; and that in taking away one abuse we bring not in many. If there be plenty of goods, let them be kept: if there be none, let them be gathered of the rich. Then let the state of the poor be searched, and what every man needeth most, or how provision may best be made for every one: which being known, let that which is meet and necessary for every one be done speedily, gently[3], and diligently. If then any of the common goods remain, let them be kept against such calamities as may ensue. Let nothing be consumed unprofitably or ungodlily. Again, let not the treasure of the poor unhappily be detained from them by fraud[4] and to the increasing of their poverty. For there may be like offence committed on both sides; for on each side the poor are defrauded of their goods. Touching liberality, we have entreated in another place in these our decades[5]: and of providing for the poor, in other of our works[6]. And Lewis Vives hath written very well of relieving the poor[7].

Holy buildings.

The fourth and last part of the goods of the church ap-

[1 dotatas, Lat.]

[2 Xenodochia, Ptochotrophia, Nosocomya, Gerontocomia, Brephotrophia, et Orphanotrophia.—Cf. Vol. I. page 286, note 3.; and Vol. II. page 281, note 8.]

[3 benigne, Lat.]

[4 Rather; let no evil treasure be heaped together by defrauding of the poor, &c.]

[5 See Vol. II. page 58, &c.]

[6 De Episcop. Instit. &c. cap. IX. fol. 113. Tig. 1538.]

[7 John Ludovicus Vives, born at Valentia in Spain, A.D. 1492, died A.D. 1537 (or 1541). He published a treatise, De Subventione Pauperum, in two books, A.D. 1526.—Opp. Tom. II. p. 889, &c. Basil. 1555. Mosheim. E. H. Vol. III. p. 52. ed. Soames.]

pertaineth unto holy buildings, as churches, schools, and houses belonging to churches and schools. Churches, which because of the companies gathered together in them are also called congregations[8], are the houses of the Lord our God. Not that God, whom the wide compass of the heavens cannot comprehend, doth dwell in such manner of houses; but because the congregation and people of God meet together in those houses to worship and perform due honour unto God, to hear the word of God, to receive the Lord's sacraments, and to pray for the assistance and presence of God. Churches therefore are very necessary for the church and people of God. Touching holy assemblies, I have said somewhat in the disputations of prayer[9]. Temples of Christians.

And although that at the commandment of God Moses builded a moveable church, and afterward the most wise king Solomon founded a standing church not without great cost; notwithstanding, we must not think therefore, that God liketh of such great charges after that he had sent Christ and fulfilled the figures. For as before the law was made it is not to be found, that the patriarchs did ever build any minsters and[10] great churches; even so after the disannulling of the law in the church of Christ, a mean and sparing cleanliness pleaseth God best. For God misliketh that foolish and mad kind of buildings, not much unlike to that unwise building of Babylon[11], enterprising to set up the top of the tower above the clouds. For God liketh not the riotousness of churches, who without all riot doth gather his church together from out all the parts of the world; which church also he hath taught both sparingness and the contempt of all riot. A church is large and big enough, if it be sufficient to receive all that belong unto it; for the place is provided for men, and not for God. But above all things, let that place be clean and holy. A church is hallowed or consecrated, not (as some do superstitiously think) with the rehearsing of certain words, or making signs and characters, or with oil, or purging fire; but with the will of God and his commandment, bidding us to assemble and come together, promising his presence amongst us; and also, it is hallowed by the holy use of it. For in the tem-

[8 ecclesiæ, Lat.] [9 See above, page 184.]
[10 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, or: basilicas, Bullinger's one word.]
[11 furori Babylonico, Lat.: Babylonish madness.]

ple the holy church of God is gathered together; the true and most blessed word of God is also declared in the temple; the holy sacraments of God are received in the temple; and also in the temple prayers are poured forth to God, which are most acceptable unto him. Verily, the place of itself is nothing holy; but because these holy things are done in that place, in respect that they are done there, the place itself is called holy. Therefore not without great cause ought all profanation and filthiness be far from the holy temple of the Lord. The senator's court or seat of judgment is accounted so holy a thing, that whosoever either in word or deed used himself unreverently towards it should be accused of treason. And yet in this court the senators only are gathered and assembled together, to hear the matters of suitors in things transitory, that shall pass away and perish. By how much the more then ought reverence to be given unto temples, into the which the children of God do come to worship him, to hear the true word of God, and to receive his holy sacraments! And therefore, as we hate and abandon all superstition in temples, so we love not the profanation of them; yea, rather I say, we cannot abide it. Neither have we leisure at this time about the consideration of temples, to rehearse and search out open and plain superstitions[1]; of which matter we have spoken in another place[2].

Toward what part of the world we must pray.

I find it a matter of controversy among the fathers of old time, to what part of the world we ought to turn when we pray. Socrates, the historiographer, in his fifth book, cap. 22, speaking of the most ancient apostolic church of the whole world at Antioch, saith: "At Antioch, which is in Syria, the church is set contrary to other; for the altar looketh not towards the east, but towards the west[3]." It may be they did imitate the fashion of the old people in building and setting their tabernacle, and in the fashion of their temple; for they worshipped God turning towards the west, without doubt be-

[1 Rather, to rehearse and discuss all the manifest superstitions about the consideration of temples.]

[2 De Episcop. Instit. cap. IX. fol. 115. Tig. 1538. De Origine Erroris, Lib. I. cap. 21. fol. 102. Tig. 1539.]

[3 Ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ δὲ τῆς Συρίας ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀντίστροφον ἔχει τὴν θέαν· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δύσιν ὁρᾷ.—Socrat. H. E. Lib. V. cap. 22. p. 297. Cantab.]

cause of the coming of Christ in the latter time and at the end of the world. Otherwise it is commonly used, that men worship with their faces towards the east. But in all these matters, so there be no superstition, dissension, licentiousness, and offence, a man may do what him lusteth.

Churches not to be builded to saints.

But there ought no temple to be built for the worshipping of saints. For unto God only, to whom all honour and worship is due, we ought to build churches; which thing we are taught by the examples of ancient fathers, and the determination of the whole scripture. The heathenish idolaters built temples unto creatures, sinning against the true and eternal God in committing a grievous offence. St Augustine, in his book *De Civitate Dei*, saith plainly: "We build not temples unto our martyrs[4]." And again in his first book against Maximinus, a bishop of the Arians: "If we should," saith he, "build a church of timber and stones unto some excellent holy angel, should we not be accursed by the truth of Christ and the church of God; because we should do that service unto a creature, that is due only to God? Therefore, if we should commit sacrilege in making a temple to every creature whatsoever; how may it be that God is not true, unto whom we make no temple, but we ourselves are a temple for him[5]?" Thus much saith he. Again[6], they are to be counted liars, who affirm, that temples were built by certain religious men in the worship of the apostles, while they were alive. Of which matter we have spoken in times past, as we have both against the riotousness of the church and the unprofitable expenses thereof, in the first book intituled *De Origine Erroris*, the 21 chap.

Holy instruments.

Instruments belonging to the church ought to be holy, clean, and void of all riot[7], and far from any kind of superstition. The instruments be these: an holy seat or pulpit, in the which the minister may teach and preach; convenient seats for the congregation; a font ready to baptize infants in[8], and the Lord's table, with such things as are necessary there-

[4 Nec tamen nos eisdem martyribus templa . . . . constituimus.—Aug. de Civit. Dei, Lib. VIII. cap. 27. Opp. Tom. v. fol. 107. col. 2. Par. 1531.]

[5 See the quotation, Vol. III. page 348, note 3.]

[6 Proinde, Lat.: Therefore.] [7 luxu, Lat.]

[8 Rather, to baptize the faithful in: baptizandis fidelibus, Lat.]

to, as water, bread, wine, books, candles, baskets, and cups. These at some times were all of gold; but good and godly bishops have oftentimes molten them, and therewithal delivered prisoners out of captivity, and fed such as were like to perish for hunger[1]. Many examples of this sort have I gathered in my book of the Institution of Bishops, the ix. chapter. As for candles, whereof we made mention even now, sure it is, that the ancient fathers used them in the churches to drive away the darkness of the night, as it appeareth in the twentieth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. But it is a foolish matter and nothing religious, to use lights in the worshipping of God. Lactantius crieth out: "Shall we judge him to be well in his wits, which offereth the light of a burning wax-candle, or a taper, for a present to the author and giver of light? He requireth other manner of light at our hands, and that not smoky, but clear and bright, to wit, the light of the mind[2]." But a man may commonly see, in these days, a great part of the worshipping of God to be reposed in the offering of candles; which thing is clean against the manifest truth.

Amongst other instruments of the church bells are reckoned up; which at these days are unto us, as in old time trumpets were unto the people of God: for they serve to call the congregation together, and they are numbered among tokens and warnings. About bells there is a wonderful superstition. They are christened by bishops; and it is thought, that they have power to put away any great tempest. In the old time men were stirred up to prayer by the ringing of them, what time any sore tempest did rise; but now the very ringing of bells, by reason of their consecration, seemeth to have a peculiar kind of virtue in it. Who can but marvel and be astonied at this extreme blindness? Moreover, they use bells to bewail the dead. All which things are superstitious, and utterly to be contemned[3].

Forsomuch as the true use of the church-goods con-

[1 See Vol. II. page 45.]

[2 Num igitur mentis suæ compos putandus est, qui auctori et datori luminis candelarum ac cerarum lumen offert pro munere? Aliud vero ille a nobis exigit lumen, et quidem non fumidum, sed (ut ait poeta) liquidum atque clarum, mentis scilicet.—Lactant. de Vero Cultu, Lib. VI. cap. 2. p. 545. Lugd. Bat. 1660.]

[3 Cf. Early Writings of Bp Hooper, ed. Park. Soc. p. 197.]

sisteth in those things which we reckoned up before; it followeth, that the abuse thereof must needs be in the contraries, whether we do offend in one kind or in many. Justice and equity is to be kept in these, as well as in all other things. We ought not to take from one man and give to another; but we must give unto every one that which is his own. Therefore we may not take anything from the poor, and give it to the ministers of the church: neither is their portion and necessaries to be taken from them, that the poor may live thereof. The holy scripture giveth one portion of the church-goods to the ministers of the church: and the same church[4] willeth us to give unto the poor their part. Therefore if bishops or ministers of the church do challenge unto themselves all the church-goods, and give not unto the poor their parts due unto them, they defile themselves with sacrilege. If the ministers do not challenge unto themselves all the goods of the church, and yet do take unjustly more than either it becometh them, or than need requireth, or otherwise than the decree of God and the apostles doth allow; or else if they spend unthriftily that portion due unto them; they grievously offend. But they sin greatly, yea, most horribly, if they waste the goods of the poor in hunting, dicing, drinking and rioting, whore-hunting, or else in warfare; and in the meantime have no regard of the church[5], neither care what is done there or how[6]. But if a just and good portion fall unto the poor, perhaps there will be a fault in this point, in the steward or almoner, through favour or hatred, that they that have most need shall have nothing, and the least worthy shall have most; then in this case there is also great offence committed through filthy abuse. But of all abuses that seemeth to be the shamefullest, which is now-a-days almost commonly used. We bestow great costs and charges upon stones and stocks, that is to say, upon idols void of all understanding; but there is no regard had unto the poor, who are the perfect images of God. Which kind of madness is heathenish and extreme folly. But forsomuch as other have already very largely spoken of the abuse of the church-goods, and we also have set down certain matters concerning the same elsewhere[7], I will for this time make an end of speaking thereof.

Abuse of the church-goods.

[4 Rather, the same scripture.]

[5 ædificia sacra, Lat.] [6 See Vol. II. page 44.]

[7 De Episcop. Instit. &c. cap. 19. fol. 163. Tig. 1538.]

Holy time.

I would also now entreat of the holy time; which treatise is altogether like that of the holy place, whereof we disputed elsewhere: but that we have also discoursed thereof in the expounding of the Ten Commandments[1]. This only I do add at this present time; that there ought to be no odious contention in the church concerning that matter, but that in this and other such like cases discipline with charity is constantly to be observed. For it behoveth us to be mindful of the most pernicious contention about the keeping of Easter, which with much danger and great detriment much and long time troubled the churches of the east and west[2]; and beware in any case that through contention there be not a gap left open unto Satan to enter in. It were profitable in mine opinion, both in this case and in such like, to remember the counsel which St Augustine giveth: that that which is enjoined us, and is neither against faith nor good manners, is to be accounted indifferent, and to be observed according to the society of them with whom we live. In the 118. epistle, to Januarius[3].

Discipline and correction of ministers.

Unto the holy ministry belongeth also discipline and correction of the ministers. How necessary this is, it may be gathered by these words of our Lord Christ: "You are the salt of the earth. If the salt have lost her saltness, what shall be salted therewith[4]? It is good for nothing else, but to be thrown out of the doors, and to be trod under foot of men." I know there be some that do boast themselves of certain privileges, whereby they are exempted from all discipline. But they are deceived; for the Lord hath made all the ministers of his church subject unto discipline. Whoso therefore will be exempted from discipline are not Christ's ministers. Or who, I pray you, will say, that he is free from discipline, whom the Lord would have altogether subject and bound unto it? Against the commandment of God there is no pope's law, no privilege of king or emperor, of force; for no man can abrogate the decree of the high God: and the

[1 Decade II. Serm. IV.]

[2 Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. cap. 24. See Vol. I. p. 433. n. 4.]

[3 Quod neque contra fidem, neque contra bonos mores injungitur, indifferenter est habendum, et pro eorum inter quos vivitur societate servandum est.—Aug. Ep. CXVIII. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 108. col. 2. Par. 1531.]

[4 quo salietur, Lat. But Tyndale, 1534, and Cranmer, 1539, render the words as the translator here.]

Lord commandeth, to warn and correct every brother that doth amiss. Therefore would he have us also sharply to admonish the ministers of the churches, that are negligent and go astray. Truly, he himself did often and very sharply reprove the whole order of the priests of the church of Hierusalem. Heli the Lord's priest is ill reported of in the holy scripture, for that he bridled not his sons, being priests, with sharper discipline. We read how the prophets of the Lord blamed very bitterly all the colleges of priests, and the high priests also. Examples are to be found in every place throughout the holy history, and in the writings of the prophets. Yea, St Paul reproved the most holy apostle St Peter at Antioch in Syria, in the sight of the whole congregation, for that he taught not directly[5] according to the prescript rule of the gospel. And to be short, Christ himself, in the revelation which was made to St John the apostle, doth very sharply admonish and reprove the angels, that is to say, the ministers of the churches. Again, St Paul the apostle saith: "Against an elder receive no accusation, but under two or three witnesses. But those that do offend reprove before the whole congregation, that the other may stand in fear." There are extant also in the scriptures many notable examples of most holy princes, who by their laws have restrained even the chiefest ministers of the churches, and have thrust down from their chairs and degrees such as did not well discharge their duties[6]. Yea, very necessity itself and the good estate of the people of God requireth, that the naughty ministers of churches be deposed. And better it were that a few evil ministers were troubled, than so many congregations brought into danger of body and soul. For the churches and congregations are utterly destroyed through the negligence and ungodliness of wicked pastors. Therefore let them be deposed with speed.

Gal. iii.

1 Tim. v.

But to the end that the ministers of churches might the better and the more easily be kept in their function and calling, the ancient fathers in the old time solemnly held convocations of the clergy once or twice in a year, applying the same as remedies to the diseases of the ministers. And that I may not bring anything here far fet, I will recite unto you, dearly beloved, what is read in the Imperial Constitutions of

Of synods.

[5 non recto pede incederet, Lat.] [6 Cf. Vol. I. page 331.]

the emperor Justinian, commanding after this manner: "The ancient fathers solemnly held convocations of the clergy twice a year in every province, that such things as are grown up may there be examined, and amended by competent correction. Which hitherto not being observed, it seemeth now to be needful to bring it to [the] right way. And forasmuch as we ourselves, by reason of this negligence, have found many to be entrapped with sundry errors and sins, we command them all, that in all provinces every year, either in the months of July or September, one synod be holden, and that the priests meet together, either at the patriarch's or the bishop's, and that there matters of faith be handled, and also of canonical questions, and of the administration of ecclesiastical things, or of reproveable life, or other matters which require correction. These things being thus observed, the laity also shall reap much profit concerning the true faith and honest life, and amendment of themselves to the better." Immediately after he addeth these words: "Moreover, we command the lieutenants of the provinces, if they see this to be negligently looked unto, that they urge the bishops to assemble synods. But if they perceive them to seek delays and to be negligent herein, let them certify us thereof, that we may proceed with due correction against such lingerers[1]." Thus much have I

[1 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ τοῖς κανόσιν εἰρημένον περὶ τῶν συνόδων τῶν ὁσιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων, τῶν ὀφειλομένων καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν γίνεσθαι, μέχρι τοῦ νῦν μὴ παραφυλαχθὲν, τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων ἐστὶν ἐπανορθῶσαι. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὥρισαν δεύτερον ἔτους ἑκάστου γίνεσθαι συνόδους τῶν ὁσιωτάτων ἱερέων ἤτοι ἐπισκόπων ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ, καὶ τὰ ἀναφυόμενα ἐξετάζεσθαι, καὶ τῆς προσηκούσης ἀξιοῦσθαι διορθώσεως· τουτέστι μίαν μὲν τῇ τετάρτῃ ἑβδομάδι τῆς ἁγίας Πεντηκοστῆς, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην κατὰ τὸν Ὀκτώβριον μῆνα. Ἡμεῖς δὲ εὑρόντες ὡς ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀμελείας πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις ἁμαρτήμασι περιεβλήθησαν, κελεύομεν πᾶσι τρόποις μίαν συνόδον γίνεσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ, ἢ τῷ Ἰουνίῳ ἢ τῷ Σεπτεμβρίῳ μηνί· καὶ συνιέναι παρὰ μὲν τοῖς μακαριωτάτοις πατριάρχαις ἐκείνους τοὺς παρὰ αὐτῶν μὲν χειροτονουμένους . . . . . ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς κινουμένας αἰτίας, ἢ τὰ παρά τινων προσαγγελλόμενα (ἢ προφάσει πίστεως, ἢ κανονικῶν ζητήσεων, ἢ διοικήσεως ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων . . . . . ἢ περὶ κατεγνωσμένου βίου, ἢ καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν δεομένων ἐπανορθώσεως) κινεῖσθαί τε καὶ προσηκόντως ἐξετάζεσθαι . . . . . Τούτων γὰρ οὕτω φυλαττομένων καὶ οἱ λαϊκοὶ πολλῆς ἐντεῦθεν περί τε τὴν ὀρθὴν πίστιν καὶ τὸν σεμνὸν βίον προκοπῆς τε καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως ἀξιωθήσονται . . . . Κελεύομεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἄρχοντας, εἴπερ ἀμελούμενόν τι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν νομοθετηθέντων ἴδοιεν, πρῶτον μὲν κατεπείγειν τοὺς μητροπολίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπισκόπους

reported out of the Cæsarial decree. Therefore let bishops take heed, that in this behalf there be no fault committed through their negligence; and if they forget their duty, let the magistrate beware that he wink not at their sluggishness, to the destruction of the whole church and all the ministers of Christ[2]. There creep in continually many vices, for that the disposition of the flesh is very corrupt. Unless therefore there be admonition in the church and correction continually put in use, those things which we think to be most firm shall fall to decay and perish sooner than we suppose.

Ecclesiastical admonition and correction.

Like as the Lord would have the transgressing ministers of the churches privately to be admonished and corrected, so doth he extend the commodity of the same admonition and correction to the whole church. And therefore the ancient church had an holy senate of elders, which diligently warned them that transgressed in the church, corrected them sharply, yea, and excluded them out of the ecclesiastical fellowship, namely if they perceived that there was no hope of amendment to be looked for in them. But in the latter times the popes and bishops tyrannically taking that kind of punishment into their hands, and exercising it sacrilegiously, contrary to the first institution, have turned an wholesome medicine into an hurtful poison, making it abominable both to the good and bad. St Paul, teaching that this kind of punishment was permitted by the Lord to restrain the licentiousness of many[3], saith: "I have decreed, that he which hath committed this offence, when you be gathered together, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and my spirit with you, together with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, be delivered to Satan to the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." Lo, this is the power

2 Cor. v.

τὰς εἰρημένας συνόδους ποιεῖσθαι.... εἰ δὲ ἀναβαλλομένους αὐτοὺς ἴδοιεν, τηνικαῦτα μηνύειν ἡμῖν, πρὸς τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν τὴν προσήκουσαν διόρθωσιν προϊέναι.—Justinian. Novell. Constit. 137. p. 365. H. Stephan. 1558.]

[2 Sicubi vero exolevit salubre celebrandi synodos institutum, revocetur, et justa cum gravitate reparetur ad ministerii conservationem incolumitatemque ecclesiarum, Lat. omitted: But if in any quarter the wholesome ordinance of holding synods has grown out of use, let it be brought back, and with due solemnity renewed, for the preservation of the ministry and welfare of the churches.]

[3 Rather, that this revengement was not granted by God to the licentiousness of a few.]

and revengement of the elders of the church[1]. The means is, the destruction of the flesh: the end is, the safety of the spirit, or the saving of a faithful man. For the same apostle
2 Thess. iii. to the Thessalonians hath these words: "If there be any man," saith he, "that obeyeth not our words, signify to me of him by an epistle, and see that ye have nothing to do with him, that he may be ashamed. Neither will I you to account him as an enemy, but warn him as a brother." The same apostle also, plainly shewing in another place who ought to be punished by the ecclesiastical sword, not such as be offenders through weakness of the flesh, or good men being adjudged for heretics of the bishops only or their company about them, or poor men for not paying their duty to their ordinary or their official[2], but wicked doers, and pernicious men: "If any man," saith he, "that is called a brother, be a whore-hunter, or a covetous person, or an idolater, or a slanderer, or a drunkard, or a thief, with such see that ye eat not." St Augustine doth admit moderation in giving punishment; and then especially, when through punishment not the edifying, but the destruction of the church is to be feared[3]. Which fear might perhaps seem either vain, or else too much, if the same apostle, who commanded the incestuous adulterer to be delivered to Satan, had not said in the latter epistle to the Corinthians:
2 Cor. xii. "I fear, that when I come, I shall not find you such ones as I would; and shall mourn for many that offended before, and have not repented themselves of their uncleanness, and of their whoring and wantonness they have used," &c. Truly, he threateneth them hardly, that he will not spare them: but because he perceived, that it did rather tend to the utter destruction and overthrow of the church, than to the gathering together and increase thereof, if (as he did the adulterer) he should deliver them unto Satan, he used moderation therein,
Matt. xiii. according to God's commandment: "Suffer both of them to grow, lest that while ye pluck up the cockle, ye also pull up the wheat by the roots." It is necessary therefore, that holy judgment be used, lest offence be committed either by too much favour, or by too much extremity. Moreover, let speedy

[1 ecclesiæ seniorumque in ecclesia, Lat.]

[2 officiali aut vicario in spiritualibus, Lat.]

[3 Aug. de Sermone Domini in Monte, Lib. I. Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 251. col. 1. Par. 1531.]

reconciliation be of force among such as be repentant. St Paul saith: "It is sufficient to such a man, that he be thus blamed or chidden." St Peter, who shamefully denied the Lord, doth hear of women, in the day of the resurrection, the gospel preached by angels. 1 Cor. ii.

Moreover, we have shewed that there is a magistrate in the church, and authority to execute the sword upon evil-doers; and a magistrate, which doth judge and exercise the sword, and notwithstanding is reckoned up among the true members of the church; yea, and that a magistrate is very necessary for the church in respect of his office: as it is set down in our 7. and 8. sermon of the second Decade.

Of christian matrimony.

The special institutions and ordinances, which God hath appointed in the church, are these that follow. And truly, amongst all the ordinances of the church, wedlock is not to be accounted least; which if it be well used, it bringeth forth a great company of good fruits in the church; but if it be not well ordered, it breedeth a number of offences and deadly mischiefs in the church. For they judge uprightly which say, that that church is most holy and best assembled, which is gathered together from out of many houses well ordered: again, out of many wicked houses a wicked church is assembled. God therefore in his holy word doth diligently appoint couples, and garnisheth wedlock very beautifully. But it is not our purpose at this present to set forth the praise of matrimony. For it sufficeth to know, that God himself is the author of wedlock, and that he instituted it first in Paradise: and he did it to this end, that man might live well and pleasantly with a fellow; to conclude, he first coupled them, man and woman together, and being coupled he blessed them: and that the most holy friends of God, the patriarchs, princes, prophets, kings, bishops, wise men, and priests, lived in this kind of life. Whereof perhaps St Paul said: "Wedlock is honourable amongst all men, and the bed undefiled." He in another place calleth the doctrine that forbiddeth wedlock, "The doctrine of devils." For it is evidently known, that Christ's disciples and the apostles were married men; neither did they put away their wives, when they took upon them the office of preaching, though some most shamefully feign that they did. Heb. xiii. 1 Tim. iv.

It is notable, that the apostle requireth at the hands of a

1 Tim. v. Tit. i. bishop or an elder, to be the husband of one wife; and that in another place he plainly saith, that it is lawful to carry
1 Cor. ix. about a christian wife, being in the calling of the apostleship: and he challengeth it both to himself and also to Barnabas. What shall I say moreover, that it was pronounced in the council of Nice, to wit, that to lie with a man's own wife is chastity[1]? For St Paul had said before: "Let every man
1 Cor. vii. have his own wife, to avoid fornication;" And, "The bed of
Heb. xiii. wedlock is undefiled." Again: "If a virgin marry, she offendeth not." Wherefore we judge that papistical doctrine, which forbiddeth marriage unto ministers, to be such as the blessed apostle St Paul termed to be the doctrine of devils. The very papists themselves, who have not as yet put all shamefacedness away, will confess[2] it with us. For if we judge the tree by the fruits, I pray you, what fruits of single life[3] may we recite? What filthiness, what bawdry, what adulteries, what fornications, what ravishings, what incests and heinous copulations may we rehearse? Who at this day liveth more unchaste or dishonest, than the rabble of priests and monks do? For as they have no care or regard to obey God's word and his laws, and to glorify God with their holy life in chaste wedlock; even so hath God, through the desire of their hearts, given them up unto all uncleanness, that their bodies may be stained with reproach.

Contracts of marriage to be soberly made. But first of all, the holy scripture diligently teacheth all men to have a special care, that they contract matrimony devoutly, holily, soberly, wisely, lawfully, and in the fear of God; and that no evil disposition of covetousness, desire of promotion, or fleshly lust, may lead and provoke them; and that wedlock be not entered into otherwise than either the laws of man or of God[4] will permit. And in this place we must consider of the degrees of consanguinity and affinity, of public honesty, of the reverence of blood, of offence towards other, and that no man take unto wife a heathen woman or one that is of a contrary religion; for we are expressly for-
2 Cor. vi. bidden to yoke ourselves with the unbelievers. Again, we are taught to enter into the knot of wedlock lawfully, godlily,

[1 See quotation, Vol. I. p. 401. n. 6.]
[2 coguntur fateri, Lat.]
[3 cœlibatus illius, Lat.: of that single life.]
[4 Rather, the laws, that is, either scripture, or the law of charity.]

and holily, with prayer and the receipt of godly blessings in the temple of the Lord, both in the sight and with the prayer of the whole congregation; and to beware, that in any case we be not stained in this point with all profanation of the filthy world. Neither be we ignorant in this case also, that men of this world are commonly wont to celebrate their weddings more fit for the devil than God[5], with rioting, pride, surfeiting, drunkenness, and all kind of wantonness. Moreover, we are taught to dwell with our wives according to knowledge, moderation, patience, faith, and love; and also to bring up our children virtuously and honestly, and them also to place and bestow, when time requireth, in holy wedlock. 1 Pet. iii.

Divorcements.

But if for adultery, or some other matter more heinous than that, necessity[6] forceth to break wedlock, yet in this case the church will do nothing unadvisedly. For she hath her judges, who will judge[7] in matters and causes of matrimony according to right and equity, or rather according to God's laws and the rule of honesty. The holy apostle would not have the faithful to contend and stand in law in the court of the unfaithful: wherefore he exhorted them, to take umpires to make agreements friendly betwixt them that were in contention. But in causes and matters of matrimony there are far greater matters, that forbid the parties that sue or be sued to come before unbelieving judges: therefore the church of God hath very well appointed a court to try matters of matrimony. But because we spake of wedlock in the tenth sermon of the second Decade, and also have set forth sometime a book specially concerning the same[8], I have knit up this matter in these few words touching christian wedlock. 1 Cor. vi.

Of widows.

The church of God hath widows in it, but such as the apostle of Christ doth describe in this sort, saying: "She that is a widow, and a lone woman indeed, trusteth in God, and continueth in prayer and supplication night and day. But she that liveth in pleasures and delights, is dead though she be alive." The same Paul doth will the younger sort to marry, to get children, and to govern the house, neither to give any

[5 Rather, to the devil, and not to God.]

[6 ipsa inevitabilis necessitas, Lat.]

[7 Rather, who must judge.]

[8 See Works of Becon, ed. Park. Soc. Vol. I. p. 29. n. 2, and Biograph. Mem. of Bullinger, p. xviii. n. 26.]

occasion at all for the enemy to speak evil of them. The place is evident in the first epistle of St Paul to Timothy, the fifth chapter.

Of virgins. The church also hath virgins. These be careful only for those things that long unto the Lord, and are true virgins, without all deceit or hypocrisy. Paul saith: "A virgin careth for that that belongeth to God, that she may be holy both in body and spirit." There are many that rule and govern their bodies, but not their minds: God requireth both, and especially of the mind. It is an easy matter to deceive men, but we cannot by any means deceive God. St Paul, in the first epistle to the Corinths, the seventh chapter, setteth forth the praise of virginity; and by comparing a virgin to a married wife, he sheweth how great the goodness of virginity is. Notwithstanding, it is lawful for virgins to marry, if they will; which thing the same apostle plainly sheweth in the self-same place of scripture. Unto this testimony of God the testimony of man also is agreeable. For Cyprian, with his fellow-bishops and elders, making answer to a question demanded by Pomponius, saith: "Dost thou desire, that we should write unto thee what we think of those virgins, who, after that they once determined to continue their state continently and stedfastly, are found to have lain and continued in the same bed with men? Concerning which thing, because thou dost desire to know our judgment, thou shalt understand, that we do not depart from the traditions and ordinances of the gospel and the apostles, whereby we should so much the less strongly and stoutly provide for our brethren and sisters, and that ecclesiastical discipline should be kept by all means for their profit and safety." And it followeth: "But if through faith they have vowed unto Christ, and continue chastely and shamefacedly without leasing, let them stedfastly and stoutly look for the reward of virginity: but if they will not or cannot continue, it is better that they marry, than to fall into the fire of their delights and pleasures[1]." And so forth. St Augustine, dis-

[1 Cyprianus ... cum presbyteris qui præsentes aderant, Pomponio fratri; salutem ... Literas misisti ... desiderans ut tibi rescriberemus quid nobis de iis virginibus videatur, quæ cum in statu suo esse et continentiam firmiter tenere decreverint, detectæ sint postea in eodem lecto pariter mansisse cum masculis? ... Circa quam rem quoniam consilium nostrum desiderasti, scias nos ab evangelicis et apo-

puting of the words of the apostle, "Having the greater damnation, because they brake their first promise and faith," ascribeth not this damnation to the marriage following, but to the inconstancy going before. "Such are damned," saith he, "not because they entered into the bond and promise of wedlock, but because they brake the first promise made of continency and chastity." And a little after that, he addeth these words: "They therefore that say such marriages are no marriages indeed, but rather adulteries, it seemeth to me that they speak foolishly and without consideration[2]." And this much he. I understand that by this word "condemnation," or "judgment[3]," is meant by the apostle "reprehension;" which we Switzers term, "Ein auzrichten oder nachred[4]:" for they be evil spoken of by many, for that they have broken their first faith, that is to say, they have broken the promise of continency. Wherefore the apostle thinketh it much better for young women to match themselves in marriage, than to set down to themselves such an order of life, from the which, although necessity forceth them thereunto, they cannot depart without reprehension of men. But in that place he speaketh not of virgins, but of widows. St Cyprian speaketh simply of virgins.

1 Tim.

De Bono Viduitatis, cap. 9.

Monks and nuns were altogether unknown in the primitive church of Christ and the apostles. The latter ages had monks, but not such as are now-a-days, which are their own rule and law, whose monasteries abound in all filthiness and uncleanness. Which, though we should hold our peace, yet to be true, truth itself and experience will sufficiently declare. And

Of monasteries and monks.

stolicis traditionibus non recedere, quo minus fratribus et sororibus nostris constanter et fortiter consulatur, et per omnes utilitatis et salutis vias ecclesiastica disciplina servetur.... Quod si ex fide se Christo dicaverunt, pudice et caste, sine ulla fabula, perseverent, ita fortes et stabiles præmium virginitatis expectent: si autem perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est ut nubant, quam in ignem delictis (Bullinger read, deliciis) suis cadant.—Cyprian. Epist. IV. Opp. p. 7. Oxon.]

[2 Damnantur tales, non quia conjugalem fidem posterius inierunt, sed quia continentiæ primam fidem irritam fecerunt... Proinde qui dicunt talium nuptias non esse nuptias, sed potius adulteria, non mihi videntur satis acuto ac diligenter considerare quid dicant.—Aug. de Bono Viduitat. cap. 9. Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 229. col. 4. Par. 1531.]

[3 κρῖμα; Bulling. Lat.] [4 calumny or slander.]

those that seem to be governed by more severe discipline are defiled with hypocrisy; I will say none other thing. Touching the first monks, they dwelt not in cities, neither intermeddled themselves with worldly affairs. We have declared in another place[1], how that a writer of the middle age, being made an abbot, required that he might leave off from being a clerk; for that no man could well be both a monk and a clerk, since the one is an impediment to the other. Then lived they not of the common revenues of the church, but of the travail of their own hand, as the lay people do. St Hierome, disputing of the original of monks, in the life of Paulus, hath thus written: "Among many it hath oftentimes been called into question, Who first began chiefly to dwell in the wilderness of the monks? Some, fetching the matter somewhat far off, begin to reckon from Helias the holy prophet, and St John: of whom Helias seemeth to us to have been more than a monk, and that St John began to prophesy before he was born. But others (in which opinion the most part of all people do commonly agree) affirm, that St Antony was the first beginner of that order; which in part is true. For he was not only the first, but also the motioner of all others thereunto. Amathas and Macarius, St Antony's scholars, whereof the first buried his master's body, do now affirm, that one Paulus Thebius was the first beginner of that way; which thing we also confirm, not only in name, but also in opinion." And anon he addeth, that Paulus, forsaking the city, being thereto enforced for fear of torments under the persecutors Decius and Valerianus, departed into the wilderness, where he found a cave, and lay hid therein until he was found out by St Antony[2]. The

[1 See above, page 113, note 5.]

[2 Inter multos sæpe dubitatum est, a quo potissimum monachorum eremus habitari cœpta sit. Quidam enim altius repetentes, a beato Elia et Johanne sumsere principium: quorum et Elias plus nobis videtur fuisse quam monachus; et Johannes ante prophetare cœpisse quam natus sit. Alii autem, in quam opinionem vulgus omne consentit, asserunt Antonium hujus propositi caput; quod ex parte verum est. Non enim tam ipse ante omnes fuit, quam ab eo omnium incitata sunt studia. Amathas vero et Macarius, discipuli Antonii, e quibus superior magistri corpus sepelivit, etiam nunc affirmant Paulum quendam Thebæum principem istius rei fuisse, non nominis: quam opinionem nos quoque probamus ....Sub Decio et Valeriano persecutoribus .... quum persecutionis procella detonaret, in villam re-

emperors Decius and Valerianus governed the empire about the year of the Lord 260; but it is said that St Antony died, when he was an hundred and five years old, in the year of our Lord 360. St Augustine, who in his 80. epistle to Hesychius witnesseth of his own time, how that he lived in the year of our Lord 420[3], (but Eutropius and Beda report, how that he died in the year of our Lord 430;[4]) in the thirty and one chapter of the manners of the catholic church, reciting the manners and institutions of the monks in his time, reporteth such things as are very far from the orders and institutions of our monks now-a-days[5]. In the time of Justinian the emperor, who made certain laws of monks and monasteries, there lived one Benet, whom many of the monks now-a-days do call father, whose life I will recite unto you out of Trittenheymius[6], who died about fifty years since, to the intent you may understand what power and dignity they obtained in process of time, who at the beginning were contemned and of none authority. "Benet, abbot of Cassina," saith he, "first founder, beginner, and governor, of the monks in the west, wrote in eloquent style and with grave judgment the rule for monks, in one book which beginneth, 'Give ear, O my son, to my precepts, &c.;' and it containeth threescore and thirteen chapters. He died in the year of our Lord 542. But Marianus Scotus supposeth, that he died in the year of our Lord 601, in the last year of the emperor Maurice[7]." He writeth also of twenty

motiorem et secretiorem secessit (Paulus).... ad montium deserta confugiens... tandem reperit saxeum montem; ad cujus radicem haud procul erat grandis spelunca, quæ lapide claudebatur.... Igitur adamato habitaculo, omnem ibidem in orationibus et solitudine duxit ætatem.—Hieron. Vita S. Pauli Eremitæ. Opp. Tom. IV. par. 2. coll. 69, 70. Par. 1706.]

[3 a nativitate autem Domini hodie computantur anni ferme quadringenti viginti.—August. Ep. LXXX. Hesych. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 69. col. 4. Par. 1531.]

[4 Eutropius de Gestis Roman. Lib. XIV. p. 183. Basil. 1532. Beda de Temp. Ratione. Opp. Vol. VI. p. 317. ed. Giles. Lond. 1843. Augustine died 28 August. A.D. 430, aged 76 years.—Mosheim, E. H. Vol. I. p. 338, note 2. ed. Soames.]

[5 Aug. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 161. col. 4.]

[6 John Trithemius, or de Trittenheim, a celebrated abbot of the Benedictine order, was born at Trittenheim in the diocese of Treves, A.D. 1462, and died 1516.—Mosheim, E. H. Vol. III. p. 50. ed. Soames.]

[7 Benedictus dux et princeps monachorum, ac regularis vitæ insti-

orders of monks that were under Benet's rule[1]. Of St Benet's order there have been eighteen popes in the see of Rome, cardinals above two hundred, archbishops in divers churches to the number of one thousand six hundred, bishops almost four thousand[2], famous abbots, who excelled in life, doctrine, and writings, fifteen thousand seven hundred, of such as are canonized fifteen thousand six hundred[3]. And, that I may not recite many other orders of monks, it is known, that the mendicant monks and friars, being the faithful, diligent, and valiant Roman champions of the pope and the spiritual monarchy[4], were confirmed by Honorius about the year of our Lord 1222.[5]

Hereby I would declare nothing else but only that all men should understand, that monkery was devised by man's invention, not delivered unto the church of Christ by the apostles; and that at the first it seemed to be tolerable, but afterward became altogether intolerable. How unprofitable it is to the commonwealth, experience itself teacheth. And whosoever knoweth not that it is quite repugnant to true religion, knoweth nothing. They

tutor magnificus, patria Nursensis . . . sacrum ordinem nostrum primus in monte Cassino incepit, anno videlicet Domini 520. . . . Hic scripsit regulam monachorum omni discretione præcipuam, sermone luculentam. . . . Moritur, ut volunt quidam, anno Domini quingentesimo quadragesimo secundo . . . . Sed Marianus Scotus . . . . aliter sentit, dicens eum obiisse anno Domini sexcentesimo primo.—Trithem. de Viris Illustr. ord. S. Benedicti. Lib. II. cap. 1. Opp. p. 29. Mogunt. 1605.]

[1 Militant sub ejus (Benedicti) regula multi ordines monachorum, &c.—Ibid. Lib. I. cap. 3. p. 19.]

[2 De hoc sacratissimo Benedicti ordine fuerunt sanctæ Romanæ et universalis ecclesiæ summi pontifices decem et octo . . . Cardinales quoque . . . centum octoginta quatuor; . . . Archiepiscopi . . . in diversis mundi partibus . . . . . mille quingenti sexaginta quatuor. Episcopi . . . tria millia quingenti duodecim.—Ibid. cap. 5. p. 20.]

[3 de ordine divi patris Benedicti plus quam 15000 sancti et catalogo divorum inserti, abbates, monachi et moniales, numerantur. —Ibid. Lib. III. cap. 337. p. 114. Sunt qui scribunt ex hac monastica religione nostra sanctorum catalogo insertos tam viros quam moniales, quindecim millia sexcentos.—Ibid. Serm. I. p. 531.]

[4 ut vocant, Lat. omitted: as it is called.]

[5 The Carmelites, a subdivision of the Mendicant Friars, were placed by Honorius III. A.D. 1226, among the approved orders in the western church.—Mosheim, E. H. Book III. cent. XIII. par. 2. chap. 2. § 22.]

feign, that it is meritorious before God, and the state of perfection. But who seeth not how repugnant it is to Christ's merit, and to the sincere doctrine of the gospel? What godliness or necessity is it that moveth us, after that we have wholly betaken ourselves to one God in baptism, to betake ourselves also and to make our vows to saints, and to bind ourselves by religion of an oath to the observing of their rules? True religion forbiddeth us to vow ourselves to saints, or by any means to depend in way of religion upon them. True religion forbiddeth us to choose us any other fathers or masters. True religion forbiddeth us to devise new manners of worshippings or new religions, or to receive them that are devised by others. The example of Jeroboam and his fellows maketh us afeard. True religion forbiddeth us to swear by the names of other gods. Religion referreth[6] us to one God by faith and obedience. Superstition breaketh this band, and admitteth creatures. St Paul to the Corinthians saith: "Every one of you saith, I am Paul's, I am Apollo's, I am Cephas', and I am Christ's. Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were you baptized in the name of Paul?" Behold, Christ is our Redeemer and our Master. The faith of Christ hath made us one body. By baptism we are baptized into one body, that we might be called Christians, not Petrines or Paulines. St Paul would not suffer that Christians should take their name of the apostles: how much less would he abide that at this day some should be called Benedictines, some Franciscans, some Dominicans[7]? We are the Lord's inheritance and possession; it is not lawful for us to bind ourselves to the service of men. But who so bind themselves, they tear in sunder the unity of Christ's body, they profane the cross and baptism of Christ. The apostle saith plainly: "Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were you baptized in the name of Paul?" And therefore although they be commonly called spiritual persons, yet are they nothing less than spiritual. For the apostle saith: "When one of you saith, I am Paul's, and I Apollo's, are ye not carnal?". To what end is it, after the receiving of the gospel of Christ Jesus and the doctrine of the apostles, which contain and deliver unto us all godliness, to invent new rules? For truly, when they had

1 Cor. iii.

[6 religet, Lat. See Vol. I. p. 233. n. 5: and Vol. III. p. 231.]

[7 Cf. Vol. III. p. 295.]

once found out certain peculiar laws and means of living, they separated themselves from the common sort of Christians in all outward manner of living, in their behaviour, and in all their apparel, to the intent that by that means they might make evident to all men, that they would live apart as it were from that common, lay, and imperfect church, to live more holily, perfectly, and spiritually. But how well the same hath framed or doth frame with them[1], the whole world speaketh it at this day.

Of monastical vows.

The vows which they vow are most foolish. They vow chastity, which they have not. Chastity is the gift of God, and it is not incident to all men. And St Paul saith: "Whoso cannot live continently, let him marry: for it is better to marry than to burn." Generally he said, "to burn," whether it were in a vow, or out of a vow. Neither is it lawful, that a human vow and which was foolishly taken in hand and vowed should prejudice the law of God. What manner of poverty it is which is in abbeys, experience itself teacheth. They put off poverty, when they put off their common garments: and with their cowl they put on great riches; for monks, a thing which in the old time would have seemed a strange and monstrous matter, are made princes. The common sort of them live idly, and eat their bread freely and for nought, against the apostle's rule in the 2 epistle to the Thessalonians, chap. iii., where such be also accursed. They forsake their parents and kinsfolk, whom by the law of God they are bound to serve and obey, and betake themselves unto strange men, by whom they are enforced to infinite superstitions. And they which are thus freely set at liberty to[2] their parents, either they are set at liberty through superstition, or to the intent they may have all the days of their life wherewithal to lie and riot in idleness. So that it is evident, that such put on the cowl for their belly's sake, not for any religion. What obedience is that, which is quite contrary to the obedience which is revealed by the word of God? When the magistrate commanded[3] them to sustain and bear public burdens with the residue of the faithful, they be evermore free and exempted.

[1 quomodo id eis cesserit et cedat, Lat.]

[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, by their parents: qui sponte a parentibus manumittuntur, Lat.]

[3 jubet, Lat.]

In old time ministers of strange religions had, under the kings of Judah, princely privileges and customs confirmed by prescription of long time; but forasmuch as their ministry was not allowed by the word of God[4], but was rather repugnant to the word of God, they were not ungodly neither unjustly nor sacrilegiously broken and dissolved by holy kings.

Who can well abide to hear their excuse, who, being admonished to do penance for the sins which they have committed, make this exception; that by virtue of their oath they are referred[5] to their monkish order, so that with safe conscience they cannot depart from the same? For it is evident, that the oath, which they pretend, is altogether a rash oath; which is not to be performed, as I have declared in the third sermon of the second Decade[6]. What, I pray you, can a bond, which is made by man without God, yea, rather against the word of God, bind one unto, specially being made unwisely or unadvisedly[7]? If the cross of Christ be of so great virtue, that it hath released us from the curse unto which we were all subject; how much more shall it deliver us from outward bonds, wherewith we were entrapped, not by God, but otherwise through the folly or wickedness of men or craft of the devil! The apostle St Paul crieth out: "Ye were bought for a price; become not the servants of men." But if happily, through the malice of men or our own folly[8] we become servants, the godly must endeavour that through true faith and obedience they may be restored to the liberty of the children of God. Verily, the gospel is preached unto us, to the intent we should be delivered from all unjust captivity, and serve God in spirit and truth. 1 Cor. vii.

Moreover, where some object, that it were good and convenient that all monasteries throughout the whole world were reformed and brought back to the first simplicity; we answer, how that in this our unhappy age it were in vain, yea, plain folly, to hope for it. They cannot be reduced to the ancient simplicity, neither will the princes and monks suffer such reformation to be made: for then they know, that they must

[4 divina comprobatione, Lat.]

[5 religari, Lat.: are bound.] [6 Vol. I. page 250.]

[7 Rather, either unadvisedly, or knowingly made: vel imprudenter vel scienter, Lat.]

[8 inertia, Lat.]

depart not only with much of their profits, honours, and pleasures, but with all together[1]. Howbeit, they had rather that the whole world were together by the ears, than they would deliver up to God his kingdom, which they have hitherto enjoyed. But admit this thing were easy enough to accomplish; who shall persuade us, that if abbeys were reformed according to the ancient institution, that in this our age they should be as well or better governed than they were in the old time? We see what beginning they had, how they have gone forward, and how increased. We see what hypocrisy, ambition and covetousness, pleasure and idleness, could do, and to what point all things are come. Do we think that men's desires at this day will be more moderate? Do we think that discipline shall now be less corrupted by us and our posterity, than it was by our forefathers? Yea, we are constrained not to hope for the better but to fear the worse, who every day do experiment that which is worse than other; for we live in the dregs of the world and in the very latter end of all ages, wherein the dragon of the bottomless pit, through the malice and ungodliness of men, hath gotten to himself great power and force, to disturb and corrupt all things that are in the whole world. Howbeit, in so great perils this comforteth us not a little, which is written in the word of truth, that for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened; and that he shall be loosed for a short time, and then anon be cast into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone. Moreover, if we will make a just reformation, we must needs go to the fountains themselves. But in the primitive church we read of nothing set down in the doctrine of Christ and his apostles concerning[2] monkery; and thereby we understand, that it is not necessary for the church; yea, we have learned by experience that it is noisome and hurtful to the church. Wherefore true reformation persuadeth us altogether to abrogate monkery: not rejecting or neglecting in the mean season such as do repent, whom the wickedness of the time hath made unprofitable both for themselves and others; but gently to receive them into the care and alms of the church.

[1 Rather, that together with their profits, &c., many, nay, all things depart.]

[2 Rather, in the primitive church, in the doctrine, &c. we read of nothing set down concerning, &c.]

Thus much hitherto have we said by occasion, and as it were by the way, concerning monkery, which we have declared to have had no place in the primitive church of Christ and his apostles. Let us therefore return to other necessary institutions of the church.

How the church dealeth with the sick.

Likewise the faithful church of Christ useth discipline about the sick and such as are departing out of this life. There come about them neighbours and brethren, and every one for his part sheweth the duties of love and charity: they relieve the needy with their goods, and, if the sick be not needy, then do they shew other duties of good-will. There cometh also the minister of the church, who, in comforting the sick person, prepareth him to die, by making first his confession of sins to God; which he pronounceth out of the word of God to be forgiven, if he do stedfastly believe. He requireth of him also that he forgive, and be in love and charity with all men, and that he keep no old grudge or malice in his heart. After this, some public prayer is made to God by the sick person, and by those that are about the party that is at the point of death. He is also admonished of sundry things; he is confirmed in the faith; he is called to patience; he is instructed according as his goods and everything else requireth; and he is taught that, at his departing out of this world, he commend his soul into the hands of God the Father, according to the doctrine and example of our Redeemer, who at the very point of death cried aloud, saying, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

James v.

This discipline have we learned of the apostles of our Lord Christ. For the apostle St James saith: "If any be sick among you, let him send for the elders of the church; and let him[3] pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer which is made in faith shall deliver the sick; and the Lord shall raise him up again. And if he be in sin[4], they shall be forgiven him. Confess your sins one of you to another, and pray one for another, that you may be safe; for the hearty prayer of the just is of great force," &c. This is the apostolic discipline. But if you say unto me, Where is the oil? I answer; That in St James the apostle's time, and certain ages after, there remained yet

Anointing with oil.

[3 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *them*: orent, Lat.]

[4 peccatis, Lat.]

in the church the miraculous gift of healing the sick. Of this we read in St Mark's gospel: "And the disciples, going forth, preached the gospel, that they might repent; and they cast out many devils, and they anointed many with oil that were sick, and healed them." And again in the same place saith: "Moreover, these signs shall follow them that believe. In my name they shall cast out devils," &c. And anon he saith: "They shall lay their hands upon the sick, and they shall be healed." And because this benefit remained yet in the church, St James biddeth us use oil[1]; and to use it in the name of the Lord, as the Lord had commanded. But seeing that gift is now ceased in the church, and we find by experience that oil doth no good to the sick; according to the time, and as our duty bindeth us, we do the best we can to assuage and cure the diseases of the sick by medicines most convenient for the sickness, being applied in the name of Christ.

Last annoiling.

I know how by this testimony of the apostle the papists go about to set out and commend their extreme unction, or last annoiling: but they labour in vain. [2]But, to let pass that St James speaketh nothing of the hallowed oil; and that they do not admit this medicine but in very extremity, where St James commandeth to anoint every one that is sick; how, I pray you, can they defend out of St James' words that which the priest demandeth of the sick person: "Dost thou believe, that the Lord will hear our prayers for the merits' sake and prayers of the saints?" The sick man answering, "I do believe;" he then saith, "Let us therefore pray to God and his saints." Or where, I beseech you, hath St James, or any other apostle of Christ, taught that which they bring in their anointing: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, I anoint thee with holy oil, that by this anointing thou mayest receive full remission of thy sins[3]?" What scripture,

[1 apud ægros, Lat. omitted: in the case of the sick.]

[2 Enim, Lat.: For.]

[3 Deinde hortetur (parochus) infirmum... ut speret Christum Dominum nostrum pro sua immensa clementia sibi fore propitium, et merito ejus sanctissimæ passionis et per intercessionem beatæ Mariæ et omnium sanctorum se vitam æternam consecuturum.... Dum ipse unctionis sacramentum administrat... dicat: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, extinguatur in te omnis virtus diaboli per impo-

I pray you, teacheth us, that full remission of sins is obtained by that anointing? These things are done manifestly against the principal article of our religion, which teacheth, that we are purged from all our sins only by the blood of Christ, and that most fully. To him only is the glory due, not to the oil, nor to any creature in the whole world.

Moreover, the church of Christ doth not reject[4] the bodies of the dead, as if it were a dead dog: for it acknowledgeth, that their bodies have been the temples of the Holy Ghost, which hath dwelt in them; it acknowledgeth, that they are buried in hope of resurrection and glory of life everlasting. Wherefore the church doth in most reverent manner take the bodies, windeth them in a sheet, and covereth them very decently; and being put into the coffin carefully, carrieth them unto the place of burial, or church-yard, the near friends, neighbours, and brethren following after, and accompanying the corse. While the body is set down and laid in the earth, there are public prayers made by them that brought the corse. For they give thanks unto God, for that he hath called the party deceased out of this world in the true faith; and they pray also, that it may please the Lord to take them likewise unto him speedily, being lightened with the true faith. Moreover, the name of the dead brother or sister is recited in the public assembly of the church with honour; and all the people are put in mind of their own destiny, and speedily to prepare themselves to die. And after this manner we read in the scriptures, that the ancient fathers buried their dead, yea, the most holy of them. We read nothing of canonizating, of worshipping of relics, of months' and[5] years' minds[6] for the dead, which are offered to the end the souls of the departed should be delivered from the pains of purgatory. There be certain burials described unto us in the old Testament, as the burial of Abraham, Sara, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, Aaron, Marie, Josua, Samuel, and David, &c.; and in the new Testament of John Baptist, and Stephen: but they were all

Of funerals and burials.

sitionem manuum nostrarum.... Per istam sanctam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam indulgeat tibi Dominus quidquid per visum deliquisti, &c. &c.—Ritual. Rom.]

[4 abjicit, Lat.]

[5 months' and, not in Lat.]

[6 et oblationibus, Lat. omitted: and of offerings.]

sparing, and without all manner of superstition[1]. In that Joseph's bones were carried forth, they were carried in a mystery, that the Israelites might gather thereof that they should be brought into the land of promise. Whereunto also that belongeth, that the patriarchs chose a burial[2] in Hebron. Otherwise, the place availeth nothing, to purchase the better or worse speed[3] to the body that is buried in it. We must think that the place, by reason of the bodies of the saints and holy men which are there buried, is after a manner sanctified, or at the least wise called holy: not that the bodies do get any holiness or safety by the ground. Therefore, unless it seem good otherwise to the divine providence of God, the saints would gladly lie with their ancestors in the self-same place of burial. But if it please God otherwise, they acknowledge that they are notwithstanding received into the same earth without any exception; and that they are not separated from their ancestors by distance of place. Wherefore there is no superstition in the church of God about burials and graves; but how much there was in the time of popery, no man can declare in few words.

The church hath no need of the legal instruction.

These be the necessary institutions of the church of God, and are by the faithful religiously observed without superstition, to edification: as for other matters, which are only devised by the invention of man, the godly nothing weigh them. I know what things may here be objected; That, forsooth, the ancient people of the old Testament had sundry and manifold rites and ceremonies instituted of God by his prophets, because being rude they had need of such instruction[4]; but since the common sort of Christians are also more rude than is to be wished, so many sundry and diverse ceremonies were devised by the ancient fathers not without the motion of the Spirit, which they must also obey. I answer, That this is no true nor sound reason, whereby the weak in faith may receive commodity; for surely then would not the apostles of Christ have said nothing thereof. Moreover, experience teacheth that the state and condition of the weak and simple is such, that the more ceremonies are left unto them, the more their minds are diversely[5] disposed, and are less united to Christ, to whom alone all things are to be ascribed: for it pleased

[1 Cf. Vol. III. page 399.] [2 unam sepulturam, Lat.]
[3 sortem, Lat.] [4 pædagogia, Lat.] [5 in diversa, Lat.]

the Father that all fulness should dwell in him, and to heap together in him[6] all things appertaining to our life and salvation. Yea, the divine wisdom of God hath taken away that whole external discipline and instruction, setting a difference between us and them. We should therefore proceed to bring again Judaism, if we should not leave off to multiply and heap together rites and ceremonies, according to the manner of the old church. For in old time those ceremonies were had in use[7], although they were not infinite, but comprised within a certain number. At this present there is no use nor place for them in the church. Neither do we want most grave authority to prove the same. The apostles and elders in a great assembly meet together at Hierusalem at a council; where the apostle[8] plainly telleth them, that they tempt the Lord in going about to lay the yoke of the law upon the free necks of the Christians. There is also a synodal epistle written, wherein by one consent they testify, that it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and them, to lay none other burden upon the church of Christ than that which they recite in few words; to the intent thereby it may be evident[9], that the doctrine of the gospel is sufficient for the church without the ceremonies of the law. If he would not then have the rites, which in old time were by God instituted, to be joined to the gospel; how much less ought we at this present to couple therewith the inventions of men! Unto which, moreover, is wickedly ascribed either the preparation to the grace and worshipping of God; or part of our salvation; that we may say no less at this day than St Paul said long ago: "After that you have known God, how chanceth it that ye return again to weak and beggarly elements, which you would begin to serve anew? Ye observe days and months, times and years. I am afeard lest I have taken pains about you in vain." Unto all these things this is also to be added, that this instruction of ceremonies, whereof they speak, belongeth to the worshipping of God; but we are forbidden to devise unto ourselves any strange

Acts xv.

Gal. iv.

[6 ut compendio, Lat. omitted: as in a summary. See Vol. I. p. 156.]

[7 Rather, had their use: habuerunt suum usum, Lat.]

[8 Petrus, Lat. omitted: Peter.]

[9 ut vel inde inclarescat, Lat.: So that even from this it appears most clearly.]

worshipping: we are forbidden also to put to or take away anything from the institution or word of God. Wherefore the church of God neither ordaineth nor receiveth of any other such constitutions. Of which matter we have also spoken somewhat before, where as we entreated of the abrogating of the law and of christian liberty[1].

I trust that in these fifty sermons I have, as shortly and conveniently as might be, comprehended the whole matter of faith, godliness or true religion, and also the church. That which I do often repeat in all my sermons and my books, that do I also again repeat in this place; that the learned may with my good-will and thanks gather and embrace better things out of the scriptures[2]. Unto the Lord our God, the everlasting[3] Fountain of all goodness, be praise and glory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Amen.

[1 Decade III. Sermons 8, 9.]

[2 Rather, that being taught better things out of the scriptures, I will with good-will and thanksgivings embrace the better.]

[3 inexhausto, Lat.]

APPENDIX.

I. Dedication to the Marquis of Dorset.

II. Dedication to Masters Gualter, Simler, etc.

APPENDIX I.

[1] TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE AND LORD, HENRY GREY, MARQUIS OF DORSET, BARON FERRERS, OF GROBY, HARRINGTON, BONVILLE AND ASTLY; ONE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF HIS MOST SERENE MAJESTY, THE KING, AND OF THE FAMOUS KINGDOM OF ENGLAND; HENRY BULLINGER WISHETH GRACE AND PEACE FROM GOD THE FATHER THROUGH OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST[2].

Upon no other topic, I suppose, can I more fitly discourse with you, most illustrious prince, than of the safety of the English church, and so of the maintenance of the weal of the whole noble kingdom: seeing that, in the providence of Almighty God, you have been made of the most sacred council of the king's serene majesty and of the famous kingdom of England[3]; and on this account it is your most especial duty to understand and tend the public safety of the kingdom.

Without all controversy, then, he is thoroughly informed of the main point of this safety, who knows whence proceeds the destruction of kingdoms. And certainly there exists no more deadly plague to kingdoms than that which the corruption of true religion engenders; for nowhere do empires find a more splendid good than in pure religion, or in religion reformed after it has been corrupted. And this good the famous kingdom of England now in part enjoys, while, in reforming the church, it both calls back and restores the ancient purity of religion, and casts off and takes out of the midst of it those new abuses, errors, and superstitions, which we have seen rooted therein during the lapse of several ages. He therefore will doubtless be a disturber of so great felicity, and will inflict an unappreciable injury on the whole kingdom, whosoever places obstacles in the way of that your most happy and pious design. But there

[1] This dedication is omitted in the English translation of Bullinger's Decades. It formed the preface to the fifth and last Decade. Portions of it had been translated and published in 1566, in a small work entitled: "The judgement of the Reverend Father Master Henry Bullinger, pastor of the church of Zurich, in certeyne matters of religion, beinge in controversy in many countreys, even where as the gospel is taught." These portions have been adopted in this translation by the Editor; and a star marks the beginning and end of them.]

[2] On this dedication see Orig. Lett. ed. Park. Soc. pp. 3, 7, 77, 82, 90, 393, 399, 406, 409, 434.]

[3] See Orig. Lett. p. 675.]

has come forth lately a bull[4], fixing the assembling on the first of May of the so-called General Council at Trent; and as many as are serious in looking for a reformation of the church by its means, there may be found possibly among yourselves also, as indeed are to be met with in all places, those who think that we ought to wait for that reformation, and that meanwhile all attempts at reformation should be stayed. And so this summoning of a council and this expectation of a reformation may disturb your happy estate, and delay or impede the work which has been well begun. It will be your part, therefore, most illustrious prince, and that of all the other most sacred nobles of the kingdom, to look diligently, and to be watchful, that there arise no hurt from this quarter, as to Christ's holy church, so to your most famous kingdom: while for my part I will shew by valid reasons, and even, as it is said, to the eyes of men, that this hope of a reformation is the vainest of all vanities.

This council the pope has appointed for no other object than to prop up ancient error and superstition, and to overturn the reformations begun in Germany, England, Denmark, and other nations of Christendom; in a word, to suppress pure or sincere evangelical truth. And on this detection of its design all godly persons in the church of Christ will be satisfied that their duty is to go forward, both in the reforms that have been begun, and in all other duties of godliness; and not to wait for that reformation, which all the pious will find soon to be either none at all, or, if any, certainly no legitimate reformation. For it is indeed no general and free council, which these men summon; but the same which was once commenced at Trent[5], and is now to be continued there, and to be resumed at that point at which it stood before the death of Pope Paul, the third of that name[6]; all whose statutes or decrees also, put forth in matters of the council, are confirmed[7]. But it is more than once declared expressly in public documents issued under this Paul, that the council was appointed for the extirpation of heresies[8]. And the same Paul accused and condemned of heresy all us who profess the gospel, and demand a reformation agreeable with the word of God, and teach that Christ Jesus, and not the pope,—nay, Christ Jesus alone,—is the Head, Pastor, and Chief-priest of the Catholic church. Wherefore, inasmuch as the council is appointed for the extirpation of heresies, and they are accounted heretics who

[4 Pope Julius III. published this bull Nov. 14, 1550.]

[5 On Dec. 13, 1545.] [6 He died Nov. 10, 1549.]

[7 — quas (literas prædecessoris nostri) cum omnibus et singulis in eis contentis clausulis et decretis in suo robore permanere volumus atque decernimus, et, quatenus opus sit, innovamus.—Bull. Resump. Concil. Trid. sub Jul. III.]

[8 — ad exstirpationem hæresum.—Can. Concil. Trid. p. 15. Lips. 1837.]

demand and undertake a reformation agreeable with the word of God; who sees not, that the council is not summoned to reform the churches, but for the extinction of the reformations that have been begun?

Besides, there are called unto this council, not learned and pious, prudent and holy, men out of every nation under heaven; but they only who are by oath bound to the pope. For so run the words of indiction: "We call together all out of all places, as well our venerable brethren the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and our well-beloved sons the abbots, as singular others who have the powor conceded to them by right or privilege of sitting and giving judgment in general councils; commanding them by virtue of the oath they have taken to us and this holy see, and in consideration of holy obedience, that they be present in their own persons[1]." So clear is it who are called to the council, and are, as it were, the fathers, assessors, and judges therein. And what can be expected from persons so bound by oath to the pope and the church of Rome, but that they can do nothing else but what the former wills, and what pertains to the safety of the latter? For the bishops and heads of the church of Rome bind themselves to the pope by an oath of this form: "I will be helper to keep and defend the Roman papacy, and royalties of St Peter, against every man. I will be careful to preserve, defend, increase, and further the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the church of Rome, of our lord the pope, and of his successors: neither will I be of any counsel, act, or treaty, whereby ought adverse to our lord or the church of Rome, or to the prejudice of their persons, right, honour, state, and power, shall be devised. And if I shall know such things to be undertaken by any one, I will hinder them to the utmost of my ability. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, judgments, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and apostolical mandates, with all my power I will observe, and cause to be observed by others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels against our lord, I will persecute and fight against with all my might[2]." Thus, I say, these men have sworn. And therefore what, I pray, can we hope that they, who come to a council bound by such an oath, will pronounce in a point of religion which is in con-

[1 Omnes omnibus ex locis tam venerabiles fratres nostros patriarchas, archiepiscopos, episcopos, et dilectos filios abbates, quam alios quoscunque, quibus jure aut privilegio in conciliis generalibus residendi et sententias in eis dicendi permissa potestas est; requirentes, hortantes, admonentes ac nihilominus eis vi jusjurandi quod nobis et huic sanctæ sedi præstiterunt, ac sanctæ virtute obedientia, ut ipsimet.....adesse—debeant.—Bull. Indict. Conc. Trident. p. 11. Lips. 1837.]

[2 See Decade v. Serm. iv. p. 141.]

troversy? Verily, fools, nay impious, should we be, to surrender to the determination of these men the churches which Christ has redeemed with his blood! For we know already, and, as it were, hold in our hands, what they would pronounce:—namely, whatever makes for the propagation, vindicating, and upholding of the papacy, and for the subversion of our religion which rests on the word of Christ, the Son of God.

Furthermore, if all the decrees of pope Paul, and whatever he has defined already in matters of the council, ought to be ratified; then also those seven sessions[3], or the decrees of the sessions that have been now published, must be confirmed. But these furnish us with manifold proofs, that that council was not appointed to search into and illustrate the truth by the scriptures, or to make a lawful reformation of the church; but to establish the error, abuses, and superstition of the church of Rome; nay, to hinder right and holy reformations. For to mention a few only out of many things. In Session IV. Decree I. they pronounce thus: "The most sacred, holy, œcumenical and general council of Trent, lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit, following the examples of the orthodox fathers, doth receive and reverence with equal affection of piety and veneration all the books as well of the old as of the new Testament, and also the unwritten traditions pertaining both to faith and manners, as though they had been dictated either from Christ by word of mouth, or from the Holy Spirit, and preserved in the catholic church by continual succession[4]." And then they add upon these words a catalogue of the canonical books; among which, notwithstanding, they introduce ecclesiastical writings which are not canonical[5]. Afterwards they strike with an anathema all who contemn traditions, and who do not receive all those books as canonical; and declare that the council will chiefly use those witnesses and sanctions in establishing doctrines and reforming manners in the church[6]. In the same session they reject all other translations, and obtrude upon

[3 In the sessions 8—12 no decrees were passed, nor canons ratified: only the council was prorogued.]

[4 Sacrosancta œcumenica et generalis Tridentina synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata...orthodoxorum Patrum exempla secuta, omnes libros tam veteris quam novi Testamenti...nec non traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel ore tenus a Christo, vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas, et continua successione in ecclesia catholica conservatas, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur.—Can. Concil. Trid. p. 19.]

[5 Sacrorum vero librorum indicem huic decreto adscribendum censuit (Trident. synodus)...Sunt vero infra scripti: Testamenti veteris...Tobias, Judith,... Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus...duo Macchabæorum, primus et secundus.—Ibid.]

[6 Si quis libros ipsos...pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, et traditiones prædictas sciens et prudens contempserit, anathema sit. Omnes itaque intelli-

the church, as an authentic book, the received Latin version of the Bible. *And as touching the meaning of holy scripture, they do openly condemn every exposition that agreeth not with the sense which the holy mother church hath holden and doth hold, and with the universal consent of the fathers; for they say that it belongeth unto the church to judge of the true sense and interpretation of [the] scriptures[1]. But in these matters I give you warning to mark and diligently to examine four things. The first is, that they receive not only the canonical scriptures, whereby they may determine of the truth and falsehood of religion; but, beside the scripture, they join also unwritten things, or traditions not written, but kept in the church by continual succession. The second is, that they mix with canonical books other that are not canonical; and yet, for all that, they do curse them that receive them not as canonical books. The third is, that they thrust upon the church for that authentical book the common translation of the Bible in Latin. The fourth is, that they allow no other sense of the scripture but it that the mother-church alloweth. It appeareth evidently of these things what they do seek in the foresaid[2] council.

If that these fathers would have the matters of religion that are in controversy lawfully to be decided with scripture alone, what need men to join traditions that are not written? As who [should] say, the scripture of God were not sufficient to make a perfit reformation without traditions that are unwritten. But they do know well enough, that the chief points of popery can be proved with no expressed scripture, or with reasons deducted out of the scripture: therefore they feign unwritten matters, or traditions that were never written, whereby they may clout up and supply fitly that which they see they want in the scripture, and cannot be proved thereby. For, these traditions being kept safe, even their most foolish absurdities may be kept safe also. For as oft as they shall be disappointed for lack of the authority of scripture, they will run back unto the feigned device of their traditions. They will make it a tradition to pray for the dead. Another tradition shall be the wifeless state of ministers [of the church]. They will make also a tradition of the

gant...quibus potissimum testimoniis ac præsidiis in confirmandis dogmatibus et instaurandis in ecclesia moribus sit usura (synodus Trid.)—Ibid. p. 20.]

[1 Insuper eadem sacrosancta synodus...statuit et declarat, ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio (sacrorum librorum)...pro authentica habeatur...Præterea...decernit, ut nemo...contra eum sensum, quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione scripturarum sanctarum, aut etiam contra unanimem consensum patrum ipsam scripturam sacram interpretari audeat. —Ibid.]

[2 indicto, Lat.]

mass. The use of images in temples or churches[3] must also be a tradition. To be short, whatsoever the old[4] church of Rome hath hitherto agreeably[5] kept shall be a tradition, although it be neither found, nor painted, nor written anywhere in any book canonical; yea, although it be quite contrary to the scripture. And so that shall be a tradition what they list.

The Jews also did brag in times past of their traditions, which they call [called] the traditions of the fathers. But Christ said unto them[6]: "Why do ye break the commandment of God for your traditions[7]?" And afterward he doth shew, that they are contrary unto his[8] by an example brought forth of their traditions, and compared by setting one against another by[9] the word of God. And then he said afterwards: "Ye have made void the commandment of God for your traditions. Esay [the prophet[10]] prophesied well of you, saying, Hypocrites[11], This people draw near unto me and honour me with their mouth and lips, but their heart is far from me. But they worship me in vain, teaching doctrines of men." Therefore, whilst we can prove that their traditions which they call *living* be contrary to the written word [of God], I pray you then, who will deny but that they be refused and condemned of Christ with the traditions of the Jews? Let them set forth, therefore, those their traditions, which they receive even as reverently as the scripture; for then it shall easily appear, by the likeness or by the contrariety, what came from the apostles, and what is privily conveyed in under their names. For this is without all doubt, that the apostles of God delivered nothing by their lively word of mouth that was contrary to their writings, which they delivered afterwards to their posterity that came after them. Wherefore that cannot be apostolic at all, which is contrary to the writings of the apostles.*

The maintainers of unwritten traditions object, The apostles themselves have made mention in their writings of traditions not written. But we say, that the apostles spake not of such traditions as they intend. St Luke witnesses, that he brought together in his written history of the gospel those things which they, who were eye-witnesses, had "delivered[12]:"—lo! he says, "delivered." So that what had once been a lively tradition of the apostles is now by St Luke transferred into letters and writing. Nay, St Paul, comprehending the sum and substance of Christian doctrine, says: "I

[3] or churches, not in Lat.] [4] mis-translation, for *whole*: tota, Lat.]
[5] concorditer, Lat.]
[6] they heard from our Saviour: so Lat.] [7] Matt. xv. 3.]
[8] unto this: illas cum hoc (præcepto) pugnare, Lat.]
[9] with: cum, Lat.] [10] Not in Lat.]
[11] Rather, of you hypocrites, saying.] [12] Luke i. 2.]

delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures[1]." Lo! the apostle combines lively tradition with writing, so that now the writing contains what was before his tradition. The same [apostle] again, in the epistle to the Corinthians making mention of tradition in the matter of the Lord's supper, immediately collects in writing and explains what that tradition was. And although he adds just after, "And the rest will I set in order when I come[2];" yet he then spake of discipline, and of appointing and keeping up that which was decent in church-assemblies. For indeed it was not possible that he could deliver anything else about the supper of the Lord but what he had delivered already, unless he would contradict himself. The same apostle to the Thessalonians says: "Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught." But he adds immediately, by way of explanation, "Whether by word or our epistle[3]." Consequently the tradition of the apostles is contained in the word and epistles of Paul. The word of Paul is the lively preaching of the gospel, which he repeated and renewed in his epistles. Furthermore, Paul's word of the gospel is read also very fully described by the other apostles: for Paul preached none other gospel than did the rest of Christ's apostles.

Nay, and what more is: Paul himself avouches, that he preached the gospel of Christ; and in that preaching delivered nothing beyond that which the law and the prophets had taught. But *who can deny but [that] the writings of Moses and the prophets are fully perfit? Therefore the canonical scriptures [which are the new Testament and the old[4]] are enough for us; which as they contain the lively traditions necessary for godliness, so they are sufficiently furnished to teach, to reprove, or to reform; and finally, to teach whereby the worshipper of God may be perfit, and made ready unto every good work:* as Paul himself declares in those very words which I have just recited[5]. Wherefore because the fathers of the council of Trent are not content to be referred to the canonical scriptures alone, and to prove or reprove all things by their means; but mingle with them beside traditions, and with consummate iniquity, or rather impiety, place them on an equality with the scriptures, equalling, that is, human with divine things, they clearly betray what it is they seek by the council which has been called; namely, not to draw forth and affirm the truth in sincerity out of the canonical scriptures, but to defend and confirm long-established errors:—

[1 1 Cor. xv. 3.] [2 1 Cor. xi. 23, 34.] [3 2 Thess. ii. 15.]
[4 This parenthesis is the Translator's addition.]
[5 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.]

an object which those feigned traditions marvellously serve to accomplish.

*These [things] that I have written now of traditions are enough for them that know the truth. But, that provision may be made for them that set too much by traditions, and say that it is most unrighteous to despise generally all the traditions of the fathers; we make a plain difference amongst the old traditions of the fathers. For to begin withal: I do see Irenæus and Tertullian, disputing against heretics, call the abridgment or rule of the apostolic doctrine, yea, and also the symbol of the apostles (called now the creed[6]), though it were not set out[7] in the same words yet in the same sentences, *A tradition of the apostles*[8]. But who is there but he knoweth, that that tradition was fet out even of the very midst of the scriptures, and that it may be proved with infinite witnesses of scriptures? Therefore there is none of us that refuseth any such tradition, because there is none of us that despise the authority of the scriptures, teaching us openly and plenteously to believe as that universal tradition against all heresies and heretics hath holden and taught. Furthermore, the old fathers have in some places traditions historical; as is that tradition that is in some place written of John the apostle, which fled out of the bath when as Cerinthus entered into it[9]. But when as these and such like of the same kind are neither contrary unto godliness, neither do sow any superstition, godly men do not abhor from them; yet for all that they give not like authority unto them as they do unto the story of the gospel. Furthermore, there are other traditions, not of that universal rule of the faith or of the other chapters[10] pertaining thereunto, which are set out, and are not altogether historical, but propounded and set forth of opinions, doctrines, and certain rites: of which order they are which they rehearse amongst other, that men should pray for them that are departed, and virgins should have veils, or should be consecrated to perpetual virginity, and be shut up in monasteries, &c. But how little these do agree with apostolic scripture, I have sufficiently declared in another place[11]. They bring forth[12] also certain other traditions, that by the discussing of them it may appear[13], how

[6 Rather, the symbol which we at this day call the apostles'.]

[7 Rather, though they give it not, &c.: redditum, Lat.]

[8 Tertull. de Præscrip. adv. Hær. cap. 20. Irenæus adv. Hær. Lib. iii. cap. 4. See above, Vol. i. p. 28.]

[9 Euseb. H. E. Lib. iv. cap. xiv.] [10 capitibus, Lat.]

[11 Alibi abunde est demonstratum, Lat.: Bullinger does not necessarily refer to his own writings; yet see Bulling. De Script. sanct. auth. &c. Lib. i. cap. 13.]

[12 A mistake for, I will bring forth: proferam, Lat.]

[13 to all men, omitted: omnibus, Lat.]

perilous a thing it is to receive and allow even those traditions which the most ancient writers do greatly regard, and commend highly unto the church.

Irenæus against the Valentinians, the second book and the XL. chapter, speaketh thus of our Lord. "Therefore he was not far," saith he, "from L. years; and therefore they said unto him, Thou art not L. year old as yet, and hast thou seen Abraham[1]?" And he stablisheth this his opinion by apostolic traditions in the chapter that goeth before, and saith: "He declineth [now] from the XL. or L. year[2], which our Lord having did teach, as the gospel and all the old fathers bear witness, which met together with John, the disciple of our Lord[3], and say that John did deliver them that tradition; for he abode with them until the time of Trajan, and some of them did not only see John, but also other apostles, and heard the same things of them, and they bear witness of such a report[4]." These things, word for word, did that old writer leave, which is numbered to be amongst the eldest: but if we receive and allow that tradition, there shall follow a marvellous confusion of times, though I talk of no other matters. For if our Lord was near hand[5] the fiftieth year of his age (let us grant XLVIII.), it shall follow, that Christ preached XVIII. years; whereas it is sufficiently known, that he began his preaching about the XV. year of Tiberius Cæsar, which was the XXX. year of the Lord: neither do they follow any other account, so many as do reckon the times of Christ. Therefore after the lively tradition of the apostles, which Irenæus followeth very earnestly, Christ should have died, risen again, and ascended into heaven, and have sent the Holy Ghost unto his disciples the VII. or VIII. of [the empire of] Claudius Cæsar. But the order of the story of the gospel is contrary unto this reckoning, and also the Acts of the Apostles; which make mention of Claudius, where as [where] Paul the apostle's matters are entreated, at which time a great dearth and hunger did grievously vex the whole world[6]. Wherefore it is out of all

[1 Quinquaginta annos nondum habes, et Abraham vidisti? Hoc autem consequenter dicitur ei, qui jam XL. annos excessit, quinquagesimum autem annum nondum attigit, non tamen multum a quinquagesimo anno absistit.—Irenæus adv. Hær. Lib. II. cap. 40. p. 162. ed. Grabe. Oxon. 1702.]

[2 toward an older age, Lat. omitted.] [3 in Asia, Lat. omitted.]

[4 — a quadragesimo autem et quinquagesimo anno (Jesus) declinat jam in ætatem seniorem: quam habens Dominus noster docebat, sicut evangelium et omnes seniores testantur, qui in Asia apud Joannem discipulum Domini convenerunt, id ipsum tradidisse eis Joannem. Permansit autem cum eis usque ad Trajani tempora. Quidam autem eorum non solum Joannem, sed et alios apostolos viderunt, et hæc eadem ab ipsis audierunt, et testantur de hujusmodi relatione. —Irenæi adv. Hæres. Lib. II. cap. 39. p. 161. ed. Grabe.]

[5 fere attigit, Lat.] [6 Acts xi. 28.]

doubt, that the tradition [of the blessed Irenæus], which he fathered upon the apostles of Christ the Lord, doth shamefully beguile men. [But] who can, after such a foul error is spied, believe afterwards those living traditions, though they have the witness even of the most ancient writers? It is likely that he did seek this tradition of Papias of Hieropolis, a disciple of the apostles: for even as Papias greatly regarded living traditions, wherewith men say that he was greatly delighted, [so he] had Irenæus, Apollinarius, and certain other[7], for the reverence of antiquity, the followers of his error of the Millenarians, whose first foundation he laid. And in the mean time the height [high] learned man, Eusebius, bishop of the church of Cæsarea, doth not greatly regard his judgment; for in the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, and the xxxix. chapter, he doth write in express words, that Papias wrote some fables[8]. Why should we therefore be blamed, if we either unwillingly, or not at all, receive those living traditions?

Beside these that I have rehearsed before, this is also to be added: that the notable great strife that rose between the churches of the east and west, concerning the keeping of Easter, sprung up of those lively traditions; wherefore I have [we have] good cause to suspect them. For when as the priests of the west judged that the tradition of Peter and Paul the apostles, concerning keeping of Easter, ought not to be despised, and the Asians did hold that they followed the tradition of St John, there rose up a very hot and sharp contention between the east and the west; insomuch that Victor, a minister of the church of Rome, was not afraid to curse and excommunicate them of Asia; for the which doing he was [in turn] sharply reproved of the [blessed] martyr Irenæus. Moreover, there was found a notable historiographer, called Socrates, who did interpret[9] to speak openly against both the traditions concerning celebrating of Easter, both it of the east and also the west. For after that he had brought forth certain places of scripture, he concluded at the length, that the apostles delivered no tradition to the church concerning the celebration of Easter. If any man require his words they are these: "Neither the apostle, neither the gospels, lay any yoke of bondage upon them which come to the preaching;* but men severally in their own places celebrated the festival of Easter and other feast-days after a certain practice, for the remission of labours

[7 Lactantium, Lat. Lactantius: and certain others, not in Lat.]

[8 Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς [ὁ Παπίας] ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἥκοντα παρατέθειται, ξένας τέ τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ, καί τινα ἄλλα μυθικώτερα... Σφόδρα γάρ τοι σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν, &c.—Euseb. H. E. Lib. III. cap. 39. ed. Burton.]

[9 who dared: ausus est, Lat.]

and remembrance of the passion which bringeth salvation, just as pleased them. Neither has our Saviour or his apostles ordained this feast by any commandment to be observed by us; neither do the gospel or the apostles threaten us with any penalty or punishment, as the law of Moses did the Jews." And a little after: "It seems to me, that as many other things in various places passed into custom, so did likewise the festival of Easter, because, as I have said, no apostle appointed anything concerning it[1]," &c. These words are found in his histories, lib. v. cap. 22. This writer therefore contradicted traditions openly, and was charged neither with sacrilege nor heresy for it.* What then should hinder us, but that we [at this day] may speak against such traditions that [as] are contrary unto the scripture? These [things] being so, [and so] plain that they cannot be denied even of our enemies, we will not suffer us [ourselves] to be drawn away [by any means] from the undoubted and sure scripture unto those uncertain [I know not what] traditions. Surely, if those fathers of the council of Trent were sincere, and had a hot zeal to set out the truth clearly and to help the church, doubtless they would suffer themselves and all their doings to be judged of that best and greatest God, and of his most true word. But because they refuse to do that, and set out certain fabulous traditions, they have openly declared unto all the world what help and strength they trust to have for the maintenance of their cause of [out of] the holy scripture.*

Now, that they mix up uncanonical books with the canonical; as the books of the Maccabees, of Tobias, and others, which by other men are called ecclesiastical, or at the least, not canonical; this they do to the same end, that they make traditions equal to the scriptures of God. For they hope to supply out of them that which they see the true canonical books have wanting. For, to say nothing of other particulars; out of the second book of the Maccabees they hope to shew, that it is a wholesome thing to pray and offer for the dead, to be absolved from sins[2]: they hope to prove

[1 Οὐδαμοῦ τοίνυν ὁ ἀπόστολος, οὐδὲ τὰ εὐαγγέλια, ζυγὸν δουλείας τοῖς τῷ κηρύγματι προσελθοῦσιν ἐπέθηκαν·...ὅθεν ἐπειδὴ φιλοῦσι τὰς ἑορτὰς οἱ ἄνθρωποι, διὰ τὸ ἀνίεσθαι τῶν πόνων ἐν αὐταῖς, ἕκαστοι κατὰ χώρας, ὡς ἐβουλήθησαν, τὴν μνήμην τοῦ Σωτηριώδους πάθους ἐξ ἔθους τινὸς ἐπετέλεσαν. Οὐ γὰρ νόμῳ τοῦτο παραφυλάττειν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἢ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῖν παρήγγειλαν· οὐδὲ καταδίκην ἢ τιμωρίαν ἢ κατάραν, ὡς ὁ Μοϋσέως νόμος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ εὐαγγέλια ἢ οἱ ἀπόστολοι διηπείλησαν...Ἐμοὶ δὲ φαίνεται, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἄλλα πολλὰ κατὰ χώρας συνήθειαν ἔλαβεν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πάσχα ἑορτὴ παρ' ἑκάστοις ἐκ συνηθείας τινὸς ἰδίαζουσαν ἔσχε τὴν παρατήρησιν, διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὡς ἔφην, μηδενὶ νενομοθετηκέναι περὶ αὐτῆς.—Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. cap. 22, p. 292. Cantab. 1720.]

[2 2 Maccab. xii. 43—45. See Vol. III. p. 396.]

that the prayers of saints in heaven are presented unto God in behalf of them that are alive in the earth. Whereas, meanwhile, in the ancient church, among the most faithful and holy ministers of the churches, the second book of the Maccabees and other books of the like kind were never accounted among those that are canonical. I am not ignorant indeed that in this instance these men betake themselves to the patronage of St Augustine, who in his treatise *De Doct. Christ.*, book II. chap. 8, numbers among the canonical books, not only those ecclesiastical books, but also the second book of the Maccabees[3]. But if we consult histories and the records of the ancients, it will be found that only in the age of Augustine, in the third council of Carthage, which is said to have been held in the consulship of Cæsarius and Atticus, when Honorius and Arcadius were emperors, about the year of our Lord 400 or 399,[4] was it received into the number of canonical, or rather of ecclesiastical books[5]. Nor does St Augustine conceal this fact: for in his book *De Civit. Dei*, book XVIII. chap. 36,[6] and in his treatise against the epistle of Gaudentius, book II. chap. 23,[7] he states, that the books of the Maccabees were not included in the canon by the ancients; although he adds, that "it is not without profit that they have been received, provided only they be read soberly." Lo, he says, "Provided they be read soberly." And elsewhere he says, that he "holds them canonical because of the great and wonderful sufferings of certain martyrs." Now all this establishes my opinion given above; and chiefly the further saying of the same writer, that not everything set forth in that book is to be allowed, unless it be fully tried and compared with the other scriptures. For in another place also he teaches, that the books

[3 Totus autem canon scripturarum...his libris continetur. Quinque Moyseos ...Sunt aliæ tanquam ex diverso ordine...sicut est Job, et Tobias, et Hester, et Judith, et Machabeorum libri duo, &c.—Aug. de Doct. Christ. Lib. II. cap. 8. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 6. col. 2. Par. 1531.]

[4 Anno Christi 397.—Labb. et Coss. Tom. II. col. 1165. Lut. Par. 1671.]

[5 Sunt canonicæ scripturæ Genesis, &c....Tobias, Judith,...Machabæorum libri duo.—Ibid. can. 47. p. 1177. But see Cosin's Scholastical Hist. of Can. § 62.]

[6 —quorum (principium) supputatio temporum, non in scripturis sanctis quæ canonicæ appellantur, sed in aliis invenitur: in quibus sunt et Machabæorum libri, quos non Judæi, sed ecclesia pro canonicis habet propter quorundam martyrum passiones vehementes atque mirabiles.—Aug. de Civit. Dei, Lib. XVIII. cap. 36. Opp. Tom. V. fol. 244. col. 3.]

[7 Hanc quidem scripturam, quæ appellatur Macchabæorum, non habent Judæi sicut legem et prophetas et psalmos.....sed recepta est ab ecclesia non inutiliter, si sobrie legatur vel audiatur, maxime propter illos Macchabæos, qui pro Dei lege, sicut veri martyres, a persecutoribus tam indigna atque horrenda perpessi sunt.—Id. contra Gaudent. Ep. Lib. II. cap. 23. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 73. col. 4.]

which are received by all are to be preferred to those which are not received by some churches[1]. But we are able to prove, that the books of the Maccabees were never received as canonical by the most ancient and distinguished churches of the east. Melito, bishop of Sardis, who flourished not many years after the death of the apostles, about the year of our Lord 173, under the emperor Antony Verus[2], unto whom also he presented a defence of our faith, recites no other books of the old Testament as canonical but those which Jerome in his prologue, Galeatus[3], gives a list of, leaving out all that are called ecclesiastical. He says also, that he had travelled as far as the East, where the beginning of our preaching had its rise, and where all things occurred which we read in scripture, that there he might search out with diligence all that related to the truth and certainty of the canonical books; and that he there found that precise number[4]. After Melito, Origen also recounts no more books of the old Testament than twenty-two[5]. So likewise St Jerome, not so much in his prologue, Galeatus, as in his epistle to Paulinus concerning all the books of scripture, acknowledges those twenty-two books as canonical; and says that the rest are to be excluded from the canon[6]. The same author, in his prologue to the Proverbs of Solomon, having spoken of the book called the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus, adds: "As therefore the church reads indeed the books of Judith and Tobias and the Maccabees, but does not receive them among the canonical scriptures; so likewise she reads these two books for the edification of the people, but not to establish the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines[7]."

[1 — Tenebit igitur (solertissimus indagator) hunc modum in scripturis canonicis, ut eas, quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur ecclesiis catholicis, præponat eis quas quædam non accipiunt.—Id. de Doct. Christ. Lib. II. cap. 8.]

[2 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Verus was emperor of Rome from A. D. 161 to 180.]

[3 Hieron. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 317. Par. 1693.]

[4 *Ἀνελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν, καὶ ἕως τοῦ τόπου γενόμενος ἔνθα ἐκηρύχθη καὶ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἀκριβῶς μαθὼν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία, ὑποτάξας ἔπεμψά σοι· ὧν ἐστὶ τὰ ὀνόματα· Μωϋσέως πέντε· Γένεσις, Ἔξοδος, Ἀριθμοί, Λευιτικὸν, Δευτερονόμιον, Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ, Κριταὶ, Ῥοὺθ, Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα, Παραλειπομένων δύο, Ψαλμῶν Δαβὶδ, Σολόμωνος Παροιμίαι, ἥ καὶ Σοφία, Ἐκκλησιαστὴς, Ἆσμα ἀσμάτων, Ἰὼβ, Προφητῶν, Ἡσαΐου, Ἱερεμίου· τῶν Δώδεκα ἐν μονοβίβλιῳ· Δανιὴλ, Ἰεζεκιὴλ, Ἔσδρας.*—B. Melitonis Frag. apud Reliq. Sacr. Tom. I. pp. 119, 110. Oxon. 1846.]

[5 *Οὐκ ἀγνοητέον δ' εἶναι τὰς ἐνδιαθήκους βίβλους, ὡς Ἑβραῖοι παραδιδόασιν, δύο καὶ εἴκοσι.*—Origen. ap. Euseb. H. E. Lib. VI. cap. 25.]

[6 Hieron. Epist. L. Opp. Tom. IV. Par. 1706.]

[7 Sicut ergo Judith et Tobiæ et Machabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed inter canonicas scripturas non recipit; sic et hæc duo volumina (Ecclesiasticus et Sapientia Salomonis) legat ad ædificationem plebis non ad auctoritatem ecclesias-

In the same way we think St Augustine reckoned the second book of the Maccabees among those which are canonical; meaning that it was an ecclesiastical book, but had not like authority with those that are truly and from of old in the canon. Nor could St Jerome be ignorant of the decree of the council of Carthage, seeing that he is said by many writers to have died about the year of our Lord 422.[8] Of the same tendency is the reckoning of Ruffinus of Aquileia, in his Exposition of the Apostles' Creed: for he recounts neither more, nor any other, books of the old Testament than those we have mentioned above. And among other words he says: "These are the books of the old Testament, which, according to the tradition of our elders, are believed to have been inspired by the Holy Spirit himself, and have been handed down to the churches of Christ." And a little after the same author says: "But it is to be known, that there are other books beside, which have been called by our ancestors not canonical, but ecclesiastical; such as the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, and the books of Tobias, and Judith, and the Maccabees: all which they were content should be read in the churches, but not brought forward to confirm out of them the authority of the faith[9]." Thus he. So then it appears, that we have upon our side the primitive church and all antiquity, which the fathers of the council of Trent strike with their curse because they anathematize us also. For as we do not reject the ecclesiastical books; so agreeably with the old church we contend, that either the truth or falsity of our religion is to be proved or disproved out of the canonical books alone, and appeal to none but the canonical scriptures. Unto which since our adversaries refuse to submit all their doctrines, turning their eyes away to other shadowy defences, it is manifest of what sort their cause is, and what it is they seek by a council called together on such conditions as we have described.

But again: No person, who is well in his senses, condemns and rejects the vulgate Latin version of the Bible altogether: but we all

ticorum dogmatum confirmandam.—Hieron. Proleg. in libros Salomonis. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 939. Par. 1693.]

[8 Jerome is said to have died on the 30th of September, A. D. 420, aged ninety years.—Mosheim, E. H. Vol. I. p. 337, note, ed. Soames.]

[9 Et ideo quæ sunt novi ac veteris instrumenti volumina, quæ secundum majorum traditionem per ipsum Spiritum Sanctum inspirata creduntur, et ecclesiis Christi tradita, competens videtur...sicut ex patrum monumentis accepimus, designare.....Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt qui non canonici, sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt; ut est Sapientia Salomonis.....Ecclesiasticus.....libellus Tobiæ, et Judith, et Maccabæorum libri:.....quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam.—Ruffin. Expos. Symb. Apostol. p. 26. Cypriani Opp. Oxon. 1682.]

cry out, that in places that are doubtful, or controverted, or obscurely translated, or corrupted, recourse must be had to the Hebrew and Greek originals; because the authentic book is that which is written in either Hebrew or Greek: for neither the prophets nor the apostles wrote in Latin, but the latter in Greek and the former in Hebrew. And in this instance we demand nothing unjustifiable, and more than what the papists themselves have previously allowed. For in the *Decrees*, *Distinct.* 9, this Canon is read: "The correctness of the old books is to be tried by the Hebrew volumes, as the correctness of the new must be ruled by the Greek language[1]:" words borrowed out of an epistle of St Augustine's, which he wrote to St Jerome. The same Augustine, in his treatise against Faustus the Manichee, book XI. chap. 2, says: "If a question turn on the fidelity of copies, as in some are diversities of sentences, few however and well known to students in the scriptures, either our doubt must be resolved by codices in other countries, from which the doctrine itself emanated; or if the codices themselves vary, the more in number must be preferred to the fewer, or the older to the more modern; and if doubtful variations yet remain, the earlier language, and that from which the translation was made, must be consulted[2]," &c. Again, the same writer in his treatise *De Doct. Christ.*, book II. chap. 11, says: "The Latins want two other languages also, that they may attain the knowledge of the scriptures of God; namely, the Hebrew and the Greek: that reference may be made to the first texts, whenever the endless variations of the Latin cause a doubt." Again: "They who translated the scriptures out of Hebrew into Greek may be counted up; but not so they who rendered them into Latin. For in the first times of the faith every man, as he obtained a copy of the Greek text, and seemed to himself to possess some measure of skill in both languages, presumed to make a translation[3]." And in the

[1 Ut veterum librorum fides de Hebræis voluminibus examinanda est, ita novorum Græci sermonis normam desiderat.—Decret. Gratian. distinct. IX. can. 6. Par. 1583.]

[2 Ita si de fide exemplarium quæstio verteretur, sicut in nonnullis, quæ et paucæ sunt et sacrarum literarum studiosis notissimæ sententiarum varietates, vel ex aliarum regionum codicibus, unde ipsa doctrina commeavit, nostra dubitatio dijudicaretur: vel si ibi quoque codices variarent, plures paucioribus, aut vetustiores recentioribus præferrentur. Et si adhuc esset incerta varietas, præcedens lingua, unde illud interpretatum est, consuleretur.—Aug. contra Faust. Manich. Lib. XI. cap. 2. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 51. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

[3 Latinæ linguæ homines et duabus aliis (linguis) ad scripturarum divinarum cognitionem habent opus, Hebræa scilicet et Græca, ut ad exemplaria præcedentia recurratur, si quam dubitationem attulerit Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas...Qui enim scripturas ex Hebræa lingua in Græcam verterunt linguam numerari possunt; Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibimet

twelfth chapter of the same book he adds, speaking of the variety of translations: "Which thing indeed has rather assisted than hindered understanding, provided only readers be not negligent: for the examination of a larger number of copies has often served to clear up some doubtful passages[4]." Now when the fathers of the council of Trent with one decree lay aside all this, and against all antiquity and sound reason obtrude upon us the Latin version as an authentic book, we see manifestly again what is to be looked for from them, unless we are smitten with blindness. And indeed the fourth canon, which they have put forth concerning the exposition of scripture, even should we have learned nothing from those going before, will alone of itself be able to testify fully, that these men, ere they met together, had resolved with consummate wickedness to seize to themselves beforehand most assured victory and the greatest security, that so they might never seem to change or in ever so slight a degree to miss their aim. For they condemn all expositions which agree not with the opinion that holy mother church has held and holds, and which contradict the unanimous interpretation of the fathers. For so long as this decree stands, nothing however plain shall be brought forward out of the scriptures that is against popish doctrines and superstitious ceremonies, but they will be able to evade it by one word, saying, "The church understands not so." Again, however foully themselves shall distort and corrupt any passage of scripture, they will forthwith be able to apply their salve, saying: "The church understands it so, and some of the fathers have so explained it." Thus, they will bring forth in support of the pope's supremacy, "Thou art Peter;" and, "Upon this rock I will build my church;" "Thou shalt be called Cephas;" "Feed my lambs." And should any one desire to sift these passages lawfully, by means of a sober comparison of scripture with scripture, and to search for the genuine sense of them, he will be told immediately, that the church and the fathers expound them of the pope; and therefore that he must understand them of the pope, and of his principality, (as they call it.) More instances of this kind I would produce, if I thought they were wanted.

But from these extracts, that I have made out of the decrees of the council of Trent, I feel sure it appears more clear than the light, to what end chiefly the pope has called that council: namely, not

utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari.—Aug. de Doct. Christ. Lib. II. cap. 11. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 6. col. 3. Par. 1531.]

[4 Quæ quidem res plus adjuvit intelligentiam quam impedivit, si modo legentes non sint negligentes. Nam nonnullas obscuriores sententias plurium codicum sæpe manifestavit inspectio.—Aug. ibid.]

that the truth might be drawn forth and illustrated from the scriptures, but that scripture itself might be degraded, and serve those men's dignity, honours, and wealth, and the maintenance and establishment of superstition; not that churches might be reformed, but that those churches, which have begun to emerge, might be reduced to their former condition of deformity.

And therefore, whereas, through God's singular grace, the light of Christ has shone upon the famous realm of England, do not you turn back your eyes from that light, which whosoever follows walks "not in darkness, but has the light of life[1]." Go forward, go forward, under the guidance of Christ, in reforming what needs to be reformed! It will be no sin, although you never again reconcile yourselves to that late upstart church of Rome. I give place here to no wrong spirit: for I have proved by invincible arguments, in the beginning of this my fifth decade, that we must needs come out of her altogether, and consecrate ourselves to Christ only and to the true church of Christ.

This decade I inscribe and dedicate to your piety, most illustrious Prince, as to a vigorous maintainer of real godliness; nothing doubting but you will take upon yourself the faithful patronage of these my studies; especially after you shall have read them with diligence, and discover that I have advanced nothing without the authority of scripture and contrary to true piety, but everything from the scriptures of God and in defence of the true religion. For I desire that not the smallest weight should be granted to myself and my writings, unless I justify all my statements with express scriptures and solid reasons fetched out of the scripture. And although your piety needs none of my teaching, seeing that it is well enough instructed in true religion, and is surrounded with most learned and godly men on all sides, of whom master Robert Skinner and master Andrew Wullock[2], very excellent individuals, are none of the least; yet do I entertain the hope, that these labours of mine will be pleasing to you, and that you will take in good part my dedication which has proceeded from a good mind: for truly I seek in it nothing else than the public weal; that is, that the kingdom of God's Son, which has begun to flourish anew in these our times, when the terrible judgment of the Son of God is close at hand and already knocking at our doors, may spread abroad far and wide, as well among you in the famous realm of England, as everywhere else in the earth.

Other men indeed in their epistles of dedication celebrate his praises, to whom they inscribe their books: but knowing full well that you care for no such applause, and require no such commenda-

[1 John viii. 12.] [2 See Orig. Lett. pp. 401, 407, 409, 422.]

tions, because your virtue is otherwise sufficiently distinguished, and yourself also labour day by day to increase it with modesty and humility; I have made it my aim rather in my epistle to exhort your piety, as diligently as I am able, to outdo yourself in the most excellent pursuit and increase of virtues. Whatever things are in men worthy to be praised, all are the gifts of our Lord God. The Lord gave you the mind to discern, that while it is justly esteemed a great favour to be sprung from the royal line[3], it is a far greater and nobler distinction to be called, and to be truly, a son of God, and a joint-heir with Christ Jesus, God's Son. As then you enjoy, by the grace of God, this highest nobility, look to it that you keep it even unto the end by a diligent following after godliness; look to it that you cleave constantly to Christ the Redeemer, and further his glory; look to it that, out of the faith which you keep unto the King of everlasting glory, you continue to be faithful also to the King's most serene majesty and to the whole of the famous realm of England, your most dear father-land. Hitherto have you been to strangers (whom the Lord has especially commended to our regards) a defence and refuge; and, in one word, the tower and pattern of studious and learned men. Go on to be the same! So shall you obtain, not a perishing but an everlasting glory in this world and in the world to come.

Be pleased, I beseech you, to deliver my commendations to that high-minded champion, lord John Dudley, earl of Warwick[4], a nobleman every way most eminent; on whom I pray every blessing may descend, and to whom I present all my duty.

The Lord Jesus, the supreme and only Sovereign of the universe, the King of kings and Lord of lords, preserve in safety your most serene king and all the whole famous realm of England; also the counsellors of the realm, most faithful and wise, and yourself also, most gentle prince!

Zurich in Switzerland. The month of March. 1551.[5]

[3 Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, married Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, by Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII.—See Orig. Lett. p. 399, note 2.]

[4 See Orig. Lett. pp. 407, 409, 422.]

[5 For the reception of this letter and decade, see Orig. Lett. pp. 3, 7, 277, 279, 428, 429, 436, 498, 574.]

APPENDIX II.

[1] TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS MEN, MASTERS RODOLPH GUALTER, PETER SIMLER, JOHN STUMPHIUS, JOHN BLUMEN[2], JOHN SEILER, HADRIAN HOSPINIAN[3], NICHOLAS SCHNEIDER[4], AND JOHN HUGO, DEANS OR ARCHPRESBYTERS[5]; AND TO ALL THE MINISTERS OF CHRIST AND OF THE CHURCHES OF THE CLASSES[6] OF THE ZÜRICH-SEE, FREYAMT, STEIN, WINTERTHUR, ELGG, WERIKON, AND REGENSPERG, IN THE TERRITORY OF ZURICH; HIS REVEREND AND VERY BELOVED FELLOW-MINISTERS AND BRETHREN; GREETING.

If any other age has furnished a fruitful subject for discourse, this time present of ours furnishes the most fruitful; for what happens and what threatens Christendom at this day, is too evident to require many words to declare it. The just Lord is angry at our sins, and punishes them also; nay, he is preparing far heavier calamities to pour out on the heads of the impenitent. Our duty is then to watch for the Lord's flock, and on the approach of the sword to give timely warning to all the sheep committed to our trust, that the blood of those who perish be not required at our hands. Methinks, therefore, I shall do a profitable work, if I talk with you, reverend fellow-ministers and most dear brethren, of the right discharge of our duty in this dangerous age, and of the sure method whereby we may piously appease the anger of God provoked by our sins. I know with whom I speak; even with men, who are perfectly skilled in the things of God. I shall therefore study to be brief.

The sins of men must be set forth and accused.

That the most righteous Lord is angry at the sins of men, is beyond a doubt: and it follows therefore, that to wash away sins is the only way of appeasing the divine wrath. But sins are not washed away without being acknowledged first, and afterward put away by faith and repentance. Wherefore, if we desire according to our office that anger and severe punishments be taken off from the Lord's flock, we must of necessity shew and accuse the sins of men, and also teach faith and enforce repentance. For the Lord by Ezekiel says: "Wilt thou judge, son of man, wilt thou judge the bloody city? Shew her all her abominations, and say, O city, that sheddest blood in the midst of her, that her time may come; and

[1] This dedication also is omitted in the English translation. It was prefixed to the original edition of Decades I. and II.]

[2] Florus, Lat.] [3] Wirt. Germ.]

[4] Sarctorius, Lat.] [5] See above, page 117.]

[6] Classium, Lat. Haller translates the word, *Capiteln.*]

maketh idols against herself, to defile herself! Thou art become guilty in thy blood that thou hast shed, and hast defiled thyself in thine idols which thou hast made; and thou hast caused thy days to draw near: therefore I will deliver thee unto the heathen. Behold thy princes, every one was to their power to shed blood. In thee have they set light by father and mother. They have dealt by reproach with the stranger that is in the midst of thee. In thee have they vexed the fatherless and the widow. Thou hast despised mine holy things, and hast profaned my sabbaths. In thee were men of deceit to shed blood: and in thee they eat upon the mountains; and in thee they go about the wickedness they have thought on. In thee have they discovered their father's nakedness; in thee have they humbled her that was set apart for pollution; and every one hath committed abomination with his neighbour's wife, and every one hath lewdly defiled his daughter-in-law; every one in thee hath humbled his sister, his father's daughter. In thee have they taken gifts to shed blood; thou hast taken usury and increase; and thou hast greedily gained of thy neighbour by extortion, and hast forgotten me, saith the Lord God. And behold, I have clapped my hands at thy covetousness which thou hast practised, and at thy blood which hath been in the midst of thee. And canst thou prevail in the day that I shall arise against thee? I will scatter thee among the heathen, and disperse thee in the countries, and will make an end of thy filthiness which is in thee[7]." Thus far have I quoted word for word, brethren, out of Ezekiel; and the more freely, because these verses present us with a certain general form not of reproving sins only, but of judging also what sins God most especially hates and would have rebuked very sharply. For again and again must we take heed, lest as blind guides we strain out a gnat and swallow a camel; I mean, lest we tarry on small errors and faults, blaming and chasing away them, and pass by, without once touching them, enormous crimes and wickednesses.

Wherefore this passage of Ezekiel shews, and other places of holy scripture declare also, what crimes are most of all to be abhorred; namely, those which directly tend to subvert the glory of God, to oppress justice and holiness, and to cast aside charity. I am aware that these awful crimes do not reign, God be thanked! nor are found in every several church. Different churches have different disorders. Nor is it beneficial to set before a people these horrible crimes, if they be not found among them. But the part of a wise pastor is, to consider diligently what is adapted for each church, what is proper for it, useful, and necessary; and to insist upon that.

[7 Ezek. xxii. 1-15.]

But things that are not condemned by the judgment of God in the scriptures, and that do not militate against the points above mentioned, those we ought not to attack; for they sin grievously who condemn as sins what God has not condemned. "Woe unto them," says Isaiah, the beloved of God, "that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter." In this matter then nothing may be done by us after our own mind, but we must judge and do rather after the commandment of God. Yet must we take heed that we do not, like some persons, palliate sins; but, as the proverb has it, call a spade a spade, and a fig a fig, and speak with plainness, though withal soberly and modestly. Far from us be also the gall of bitterness and the depraved affection of the flesh; far from us be an unruly tongue; far be banter, unclean words, and abusiveness; lest we be thought to transgress the bounds of decency, and to be possessed with the lust of evil-speaking, rather than to burn with zeal for God, and truth, and righteousness. Let it appear to impartial hearers, that we reprove with the feeling of a father, and assail sinners of mankind from a desire to save and not to destroy them; that we attack the crime and not the person of the criminal. For in the case of the ministers of God's word freedom of speech in the church is honesty of heart, and not the ungoverned passion of one possessed and disordered with envy. Neither are all things lawful for ministers, neither are all things expedient. And therefore no good man can approve the wanton boldness and the abusive evil temper of some, who think they have not fulfilled their duty, unless they have poured forth and emptied out upon their unfortunate hearers whole cart-loads of abuse without all measure and discrimination. The examples of the prophets give no support to such ravings as these; and they are wrongly applied, because circumstances are overlooked. Let the rebuke or fault-finding of the ministers of the truth be prudent rather than daring; sober and well-weighed, and not light and loose: let it glow not with passion, but with fervency of spirit; let it be chaste, modest, and holily tempered with a just severity, and come down upon the guilty individual and hold him fast rather by matter-of-fact plainness, transparency, and majesty, than pierce by profusion of ill words: I mean, wound the guilty conscience by a lively setting forth of sin, and by exposing the foulness or enormity of bad deeds, rather than exasperate it by scoffings and impure quips. And certain is it, men are deeply moved, whenever they are brought to understand clearly, that the things they go about are directed against God, and tend to the destruction of their body and the eternal ruin of their soul.

Isai. v.

The way of accusing sins.

Still in vain and fruitlessly shall we have attacked sin, if we do not at the same time urge faith and repentance. When he has been provoked, God is not appeased by a few ceremonies and common-place acts, which are trifling and brought to us by human tradition. "In vain do they worship me," saith the Lord, "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men[1]." Nay, the Lord is highly indignant, when we persist in seeking reconciliation with him by some absurd worshipping of God. For he cries by Jeremiah: "Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. But behold, ye trust in lying words that cannot profit. Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and walk after other gods, and come and stand before me in this house, which is called by my name, and say, We are delivered to do all these abominations? Is this house which is called by my name become a den of robbers in your eyes[2]?" Wherefore let us lay aside false doctrine, and learn from God's word what kind of conversion pleases him, and what is true repentance and faith.

Sins must be acknowledged and confessed.

When sins have been rebuked sharply by the ministers of God's word; then the word of truth requires of godly hearers, that they acknowledge with the heart the sins that have been laid to their charge, and which they have practised against God's law; and confess them to the omniscient and omnipotent God, unto whom all hearts be open, and ascribe all glory unto God who is true and righteous, but unto themselves lying, wickedness, and confusion of face. For the apostle and evangelist St John says: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves; we make God a liar, and the truth is not in us[3]." In Jeremiah we read also: "Wherefore makest thou thy way good, when it is evil? Thou sayest, I am innocent: but I will judge thee. Is not the blood of the poor found in thy skirts[4]?" And in the gospel the Lord says: "If ye were blind, ye should have no sin. But now ye say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth[5]." Before all things then acknowledgment and confession of sins is indispensable. This goes before humiliation in the sight of God.

Dan. ix.

For whoso acknowledges his sins and confesses them to God from the heart, he must humble himself before God. He groans, mourns, yea, draws sighs even from his breast. He is ashamed, that so often and in such unworthy ways he has offended his most indulgent Father; and he casts himself on that account in the dust at the Lord's feet. In this manner the woman in the city, which was a sinner, came to our Lord as he sat at meat; and Peter, when

Need of humiliation and sorrow.

[1 Matt. xv. 9.] [2 Jer. vii. 3, 8-11.] [3 John i. 8-10.]
[4 Jer. ii. 33-35.] [5 John ix. 41.]

he had denied his Lord, went out from the palace of the high-priest; and prostrated themselves before the Lord, and shed tears in great abundance. David cries: "Thine arrows stick fast in me, and thy hand presseth me sore. There is no soundness in my flesh, because of thine anger; neither is there any rest in my bones, because of my sin. For mine iniquities have gone over mine head: as an heavy burden they are too heavy for me. I declare mine iniquity, and am sorry for my sin. My soul also is sore vexed. I am weary with my groaning: all the night make I my bed to swim, I water it with my tears[1]." In these terms he expresses the intense grief which was wrought in him, and which proceeded from the acknowledgment of his sins: and he has left unto us in them a true pattern of true repentance.

We must believe that our sins are forgiven for Christ's sake.

However, to acknowledge and confess our sins, and to humble ourselves in the sight of the Lord, and to be sorry, will not suffice, unless we believe also that all our sins are forgiven us for Christ's sake. For Judas greatly grieved, because he had betrayed Christ; he heartily confessed his sin, saying, "I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood:" nay, he brought again into the temple the price of blood[2], which he had received from those robbers. But because he had no true faith in the Lord Jesus, his sorrow and confession availed nothing. We must before all things therefore teach and enforce faith: that faith, I mean, by which penitents believe that their sins are forgiven them freely for Christ's sake. But this is a truth, which we must establish and prove by manifest promises of God and undoubted examples: for the apostle witnesseth, "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God[3]." Nay, by so much the more is it needful to do this, and to prove this point with all diligence, by how much the more violently the minds of believers are assaulted on this head.

I will not allege testimonies out of the law and the prophets, (although they exist there in large abundance,) but only from the writings of the evangelists and apostles, which teach with one accord that unto them that believe sins are forgiven freely for Christ's sake. The Baptist, our Lord's forerunner, points the finger to the Lord Jesus Christ himself, and cries: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." For the apostle John has said: "The blood of the Son of God cleanseth us from all sin. For he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." Nay, the Lord Jesus himself testifies of these things, and says: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in

John i.

1 John i. ii.

John iii.

[1 Psal. xxxviii. 2-4, 18; vi. 3, 6.]
[2 Matt. xxvii. 3-5.] [3 Rom. x. 17.]

the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." The apostle Paul bears witness also, and says: "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." For Peter said also: "To Christ give all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins." Examples also of the free forgiveness of sins and acceptance into favour to those who believe in Christ, or are penitent, the scripture, and more especially the gospels, present us with without number. Of this sort are the cases of Matthew, Zaccheus, the woman which was a sinner, Peter, Paul, the dying thief on the cross, and many more. These things, therefore, let the faithful minister of Christ enforce in the church without ceasing, that no one may be swallowed up with sorrow, and stricken with conscience of sins, and pine away, and despair, and be lost. Let every one believe, that the heavenly Father is appeased toward him for the sake of the death, and righteousness, and redemption that is by Christ. For thus by faith only[4] is peace and tranquillity vouchsafed to troubled consciences.

1 Tim. i.

Acts x.

And yet the faith, which believeth that our heavenly Father is appeased toward us for the sake of Christ, and will not any more punish us for the sins we have committed—the faith which calms our spirits and tranquillises our consciences—removes not all anxiety out of our bosoms, nor introduces a torpid slothfulness, but rather stirs us up to prayers and all godly duties. Abraham believed God; but he did not on that account cease to pray: nay, the more surely he believed that he should receive the divine promises, the more fervently did he pray. David doubted not in the least that he should have of the Lord the thing he had promised him: yet notwithstanding he prayed without ceasing. Wherefore the people must carefully be instructed by us, not to give over pouring out supplications and prayers before the Lord, that he would have mercy upon us for Christ's sake, and turn away his anger from us, and give and increase in us true faith, and ever rule us with his Spirit, and in a word deliver us from all evils both of our soul and body, and grant us peace and safety; and that to our princes and magistrates he would vouchsafe wisdom, prudence, courage, justice, and happiness. But in all these prayers the people must be careful, that they call on none other than God the Father alone through his well-beloved and only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; that so they may not pray without faith and charity. For he that wavereth in his faith may not think that he shall receive anything. And he

Faith stirreth up to prayers.

[4 sola fide, Lat.]

that bringeth his gift to the altar must first be reconciled to his brother, and then let him offer his gift. And let all be kept in the practice of prayer by that word of our Lord's in the gospel: "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him[1]!"

Furthermore, we must live holily, righteously, and unblameably.

Holy Jeremiah, however, although he prayed at times for the Lord's people fervently and continually, yet heard from the Lord this word: "Pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer for them, neither make intercession to me: for I will not hear thee. Seest thou not what they do in the city and in the field? The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto other gods, that they may provoke me to anger[2]." Wherefore no one will think, that the wrath of the Lord can be appeased with prayers only, however long or many, if yet we go on to provoke it daily by iniquities. Let us urge the people committed to our charge therefore, while they pray earnestly and without ceasing, to amend their evil manners also; that is, to lay aside covetousness, usury, pride, incest, adulteries, fornication, luxury, drunkenness, surfeiting, blasphemies, slandering, idolatry, superstition, ungodliness, anger, envy, wrong and venal judgment, blood-shedding, unjust and mercenary warfare[3], and oppression and contempt of the poor; and to serve God in Christ with doing good, liberality, humility, modesty, chastity, continence, sobriety, fastings, blessing, thanksgiving, religion, godliness, tenderness, benevolence, judgment and justice, vindicating and care of the poor, faith, hope, charity, love of our country, obedience and heart[4], patience, and all other virtues. For most truly has Solomon, the wisest of men, said: "He that turneth away his ear from hearing the law, even his prayer shall be abomination[5]." Yet should we do all which is commanded us, still let us say, as the Lord has taught us in the gospel: "We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do[6]:" believing however, that for the sake of Christ and for the

[1 Matt. vii. 7-11.] [2 Jer. vii. 16-18.]
[3 See Vol. I. page 277, note 5.] [4 spiritu, Lat.]
[5 Prov. xxviii. 9.] [6 Luke xvii. 10.]

merits of Christ, and not for our own sake or our merits, we are pleasant and acceptable unto God the Father.

Finally, in addition to all this we need long-suffering, patience, and a hope stedfast and unmoved by all dangers which come about us, that our faith may not fail, and that we may never waver in our hope, or place our confidence in things that perish. Let that excellent saying of the Lord by Isaiah be before the eyes of all therefore: "In sitting still and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength: and ye would not. But ye said, No; for we will flee upon horses: therefore shall ye flee," and your trust shall perish "as a breach ready to fall." Here is the place then, to tear away from men and to break up all the defences whereon this world is commonly prone to lean, that they may be stript and made destitute of every thing, and hang upon heaven alone. Still, let them not despise the means and instruments that are allowed, or even commanded, or not forbidden of God; but only not attribute more to them than piety allows, nor trust in them altogether by themselves. For "except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain[7]." Except the Lord supply strength and counsel to the senate, however otherwise most wise; or to the army, though it be most strong and well appointed; it perishes in the twinkling of an eye, it is thrown into confusion, and scattered like dust before the wind. Wonderfully applicable to this subject is the prophecy of Obadiah: for with remarkable comprehensiveness he shews, of how little avail those things would be in which the Edomites trusted;— places fortified by nature and art, wisdom, riches, treaties, and most experienced soldiers. And by Jeremiah also the Lord says: "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches: but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord, which exercise loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness, in the earth; for in these things I delight, saith the Lord."

There is need of patience and unmoved hope.

Isai. xxx.

Jer. ix.

And now, briefly to sum up what I have discoursed of with you, reverend and most dear fellow-ministers and brethren:— We have learnt by all that has been said, that God, when he is provoked by our sins, cannot otherwise be appeased than by our acknowledging every one of us and confessing our sins, which the word of God has brought home to us, and which we have committed against God our Father; by our humbling ourselves, and sorrowing before our God with all our heart; by our not yielding to despair on account of our sins, but believing without doubt that they are

The sum of all.

[7 Psal. cxxvii. 1.]

done away entirely and forgiven us, not for our sake or merits, but for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord, the Saviour of the whole
Isai. liii. world, upon whom the heavenly Father laid all the sins of the world, for which the same Son of God made satisfaction upon the cross; finally, by continuing in supplication and prayer without ceasing, and serving the God, who hath redeemed us, and whose we are altogether, with true repentance and worthy fruits of repentance, with a stedfast hope, with love unfeigned, with kindness, benevolence, righteousness, holiness, patience, and innocence.

This method is most sure. That this is the only way of escaping the evils that hang over our heads; this the only method of appeasing the wrath of God; the scripture of both testaments bears witness in every part. God had decreed to overthrow the people of Nineveh, and provided that that overthrow should be proclaimed to the Ninevites by the most illustrious prophet Jonah. He appointed also a space of forty days, after which the city should fall. But when the people of Nineveh believed God, and repented, and cried unto the Lord with continual prayer, God spared the penitents and saved them. Nay, did not the Jews require, with impious and sacrilegious clamours, that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour of the world, should be crucified?
Acts v. And yet Peter cries and teaches, that such great wickedness as that may be done away with true faith and faithful repentance. Let us then not doubt, brethren, concerning a truth which is established by so many and such manifest testimonies.

Of God's decree against sinners. I know what some persons object against this statement:—that it is vain to enforce repentance, for it can profit nothing, because of the sentence which God has pronounced, and because of God's immutable decree, by which he has determined to cut us off for our sins. But if we examine the scripture more closely, that speaks not of God's decree so harshly. For in Jeremiah we read these words:
Jer. xviii. "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them." And a most apposite example I brought even now out of the prophet Jonah, in the instance of the Ninevites, against whom sentence of destruction was uttered, but was recalled immediately on the repentance of the people of Nineveh. For the sentence of overthrow was delivered with this condition, if they abode in impenitence. A like passage is found in Deut. ix. For Moses says: "I fell down before the Lord forty days and forty nights, because the Lord had said he would destroy you. I prayed therefore to the Lord, and his anger was appeased." Wherefore let not the decree of God, which he has

pronounced against sinners, deter any one from repentance, or from importunate prayer; for just as that decree is immutable against the ungodly, so it stands not at all in the way of penitents.

The sins of fathers hurt not penitents.

But again: should any one find an objection in the sins of our fathers, Ezekiel has replied already in his eighteenth chapter. For he sternly rebukes the parable, which some also in his time cast in the way of repentance, saying: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." And after a long disputation he concludes at last: "The soul that sinneth it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father; neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him; and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him."

The repentance of believers is not vain.

I know all do not repent of the sins they have committed. But shall the repentance of believers be on that account unprofitable? Rather, we read in not a few cases, that many sinners have been spared for the sake of a very few good and righteous persons. Besides, the Lord by Isaiah says expressly: "Say ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him; for they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Woe unto the wicked! it shall be ill with him; for the reward of his hands shall be given him[1]." Righteous Lot is led by angels out of the city of Sodom, and the wicked city with all its inhabitants is consumed by fire from heaven. Hezekiah, the faithful king, is delivered from the danger that threatened him, and out of the hand of the Assyrians, who were about to assault the city; and Shebna, the scribe, perishes shamefully[2]. King Zedekiah is taken, and led away into captivity; and Jeremiah is saved from death, and receives his liberty. Most truly therefore said St Peter: "The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished[3]." Therefore, let us stedfastly cultivate virtues, for our labour shall not be in vain. If the Lord visits the earth with some common calamity on account of sins and flagrant iniquities, he will nevertheless not forget them that fear him and call upon his name, although they may be involved in like evils with the ungodly, and seem to share the same end as the wicked.

The impenitent perish.

But certain it is that a kingdom or commonweath, which repents not and is impious and refractory, cannot long endure. Nay, even the preaching of the gospel shall not profit such despisers of God and of the divine laws. For again the Lord says by Jeremiah: "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it; if it do evil in my sight, that it

[1 Isai. iii. 10, 11.] [2 Isai. xxii. 15-19.] [3 2 Pet. ii. 9.]

obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them." Still let no one forthwith despair, when he sees a people, that is inclined to wickedness, rush on from sin to sin: but if you see many breaking forth in their obstinate love of iniquity, harden your heart also, and all the more oppose yourself to them with zealous desire of that which is just and true. For in such a case we must remember the words of the apostle, where he says:

2 Tim. ii. "The servant of the Lord must be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth; and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will." And truly, great are the rewards set before us, brethren, if we be faithful and earnest; as on the other hand horrible punishment with everlasting shame is prepared for the unfaithful and slothful. Let us therefore

Matt. xxiv. "watch and pray." Let this doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ be always before our eyes: "Who then is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season? Blessed is that servant, whom his lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he shall make him ruler over all his goods. But and if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to smite his fellow-servants, and to eat and drink with the drunken; the lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." Let these things, I say, be ever before our eyes and minds: and let us pray that God will grant us his principal Spirit[1], and increase it in us day by day; so that by his inspiration and guidance we may discharge the office, which the Lord has assigned us, faithfully and very fruitfully.

These sermons truly I have written, that I might bestow my labours upon you, assist your own studies, or even stimulate each one of you to think and find out more; but not that every one should use them word for word in the church confided to his care. For selection and judgment is needed, that we may not speak to our own church what is foreign to it, or little profitable and necessary for it. Let the wise pastor consider well of what kind are the morals of the people of his charge, and what things are most requisite for them, and so set them before them, having regard always to edification, true faith, piety, charity, and innocence. For we must both

[1 See Vol. II. page 147, note 6.]

teach and admonish, that the church over which it hath pleased the Lord to set us may be godly and holy. Certain forms of sermons, therefore, I put forth, by which I desire also to gratify those who have for many years asked this of me. And in all these, and with regard to all points, I would have that most just rule of the apostle to prevail with all readers: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good[2]." Nor am I much affected by the slanders of those who cry out, that such sermons make the brethren idle; as was the case formerly when the sermons of Discipulus[3] and Pelbart[4] were read. For I have on my side the example of the greatest luminaries in the church: I mean, the most eminent bishops in the church, who themselves also wrote sermons and homilies to the great profit of the church. The idle are always idle, even though nothing at all be written.

Before these sermons I have set the oldest creeds, as well of the most ancient councils in the church, as of the most orthodox fathers or bishops; to no other end than to shew, that our doctrine and faith, which has among many at this day a very ill name and is most unjustly accused of heresy, is agreeable with the doctrine of the apostles, and of the primitive church, which from the beginning delivered nothing to be believed and taught but what we believe and teach in our churches at this day. Innocent, the third of that name, was the first to presume to add more articles than the ancient creeds of the christian faith set forth. His creed is found in the Decretals, cap. *Firmiter credimus*[5]. He occupied the see of Rome about the year of our Lord 1215; and published his creed at the Lateran council.

But ye, brethren, inasmuch as you know whom you have believed, and that the doctrine of our faith is christian, apostolical, catholic, orthodox, and true, the ancient and undoubted faith and doctrine, continue stedfast in holding it and teaching it! Truth ever conquers: it may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed. The truth of the Lord, says the prophet, abideth for ever. And the Lord in the gospel says: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it;" that is, against the church that is placed on the rock, which Peter confessed when he said, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living

[2] 1 Thess. v. 21.]

[3] John Herolt, of the order of Dominicans, was commonly called *Discipulus*, because, as himself says, he compiled his published sermons, "collecti ex diversis sanctorum dictis et ex pluribus libris, non per modum magistri, sed per modum *discipuli*." They are commended (ed. Nuremb. 1520) as "opus perutile simplicibus curam animarum gerentibus."]

[4] Pelbartus Osvaldus, an Hungarian Franciscan, who flourished A.D. 1501, and wrote many sermons.—Mosheim, E. H. Vol. III. p. 52. ed. Soames.]

[5] Decretal. Gregor. Pap. IX. Lib. I. tit. 1. p. 7. Par. 1585. See Vol. III. p. 82.]

God;" and concerning which Paul disputed and said, "That rock was Christ." "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus[1]." For the Holy Spirit also foretold by the prophets: "Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a corner stone, elect, precious: and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded[2]." Upon this foundation therefore, Christ Jesus, who elsewhere is called "the foundation of the prophets and apostles[3]," let us settle the people or churches committed to our charge: that so, according to the doctrine of St Peter, the teacher of our church, we also, "as lively stones, may be built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ our Lord[4]." This if we do faithfully, the Lord will never leave us: for whether we live or die, the Lord will be our rock, reward, life, and recompence.

Receive then these my labours with indulgence, and take them in good part. They come forth under the name of you all, whom from my heart I love, and whom I desire faithfully to serve. Farewell; and be ever mindful of these words of the apostle: "Take heed to the ministry which ye have received of the Lord, that ye fulfil it[5]."

Your brother and fellow-minister,
With all his heart,
HENRY BULLINGER.

Zurich, 1 March, 1549.

[1 Matt. xvi. 18. 1 Cor. x. 4; iii. 11.] [2 Isai. xxviii. 16.]
[3 Eph. ii. 20.] [4 1 Pet. ii. 5.]
[5 Col. iv. 17.]

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Xenophon, i. 268, 396.

Z.

Zonaras in Can. Apost. ii. 24.
Zuingle, de Baptismo, ii. 398.
De Peccat. Orig. ii. 398.
Ad Carol. Imper. ii. 399.
Libell. ad Princ. Germ. iv. 326, 332.
Christ. Fid. Expos. iv. 324, 325, 332, 338.
De Ver. et Fals. Relig. ii. 315, 398.
Annot. in Jerem. iv. 332.

ERRATA.

VOLUME I.

Page 17, line 13, for *prophets: in* read *prophets in.* See below, p. 158.
„ 22, „ 28, „ *in* read *is.*
„ 110, „ 6, „ 2 „ 11.
„ 148, note 2, „ *lib.* „ *Epist. LVII.*

VOLUME III.

Page 131, note 3, for *spiritalibus* read *spiratilibus.*
„ 352, line 7, „ *Job* read *Joh.*

VOLUME IV.

Page xvi. line 28, for *numeros* read *nummos.*
„ xxx. „ 18, „ *Nov.* 1 „ *Nov.* 10.
„ 273, note 3, „ 259 read 258.
„ 275, „ 8, „ 272 „ 262.
„ 282, „ 2, „ 274 „ 273.
„ 392, „ 6, „ 365 „ 366.

DELENDA.

VOLUME IV.

Page xxviii, line 14, dele *them.*

ADDENDA.

VOLUME I.

Page 10, note 2. Non videtur prætereundum, quod Eusebius hasce epistolas (i.e. Dionysii) *catholicas* vocet: forte, quia in ecclesiis piorum solitæ sint legi, sicut Clementis.—Centuriat. Magd. Cent. II. cap. 10.
„ 13, „ 4. See page 56.
„ 51, „ 7. Bullinger adopts Erasmus' suggestion of *Polyhistor*, instead of philoïstoros, in his edition of Jerome's Works, Tom. IV. Col. 4. Par. 1533.
„ 58, line 23. See Bulling. adv. Anabapt. Lib. II. fol. 74.
„ 67, „ 8. die: concidat, Lat.
„ 70, note 2. See also Bulling. adv. Anabapt. Lib. III. cap. 11, fol. 114.
„ 158, „ 5. Cap. 10.
„ 202, „ 1. Lib. IV. cap. 31.
„ 214, „ 3. Lib. III. cap. 4.
„ 252, line 1. Bullinger has quoted from Lombard. Sentent. Lib. III. dist. 39.
„ 418, „ 8. meddling: commixtio, Lat.

VOLUME II.

Page 106, note 2. See also Bulling. von der verfolgung, &c. Chap. 13, p. 47, and Homil. in Jesaiam, fol. 93 a.
„ 217, line 19. See Zurich Letters, B. p. 243.
„ 360, note 2. quæst. 2.
„ 380, „ 2. See also Contra Adv. Leg. et Proph. Lib. I. cap. 24.
„ 385, line 14. This is Calvin's definition in the 2nd edition of his Institutes. Argent. 1539.
„ 406, note 1, line 13. Lib. I. cap. 23.
„ 425, „ 8, „ 3. Cap. 4.

VOLUME III.

Page 135, line 17. Extracted from Galatinus, De Arcanis Cathol. Veritat. Lib. II. cap. 17.
„ 194, note 3. The philosopher was Anaxagoras. Lactant. Lib. III. cap. 9.
„ 242, See Zurich Letters, A. p. 30.
„ 245, line 37. The definition is Augustine's, Contra Maxim. Lib. II. cap. 5.
„ 329, note 4, line 1. cap. 3.
„ „ „ „ 2. Lib. I. cap. 6.
„ 337, „ 3, „ 7. cap. 11.
„ 375, „ 2, „ 4. cap. 14.

VOLUME IV.

Page viii. line 15. See Vol. III. p. 57.
„ xiii. note 18. See Zurich Letters, A. p. 127. n. 2.
„ xx. Numb. 38. Quære. Is not this the book, in an English translation, mentioned by the Martyr, Philpot? See Examinations, &c. of Archdeacon Philpot, ed. P. S. pp. xix. xx.; and see also p. 382, note 1, of this volume.
„ xxii. line 26. See Zurich Letters, A. p. 26.
„ xxviii. „ 30. Of these "Orders" at least six original or contemporary copies are known to exist: viz. 1. Mr. Fisher's copy in his epitome of the Acts of Convocation: (Wilkins' Concil. Vol. IV. pp. 321, 322. Cardwell's Synodal. Vol. II. pp. 562—564.) 2. The copy in the State-paper Office. 3. The copy in Abp. Whitgift's Register at Lambeth. 4. A copy made for Abp. Whitgift by his private secretary, Mr. Murgatroid, (Lambeth Library, MSS. 178. fol. 64.) 5. A copy in Bp. Cox's Register at Ely, (ff. 317. b. 318. a.) where also they are stated to have been "sent down by his Lord's Grace of Canterbury in August, 1587." And 6, a copy in the British Museum, (Cotton. MSS. Cleopatra, F. II. ff. 275, 276,) written on a folio sheet, which has been cross-folded in the usual form for registry deposit, and endorsed in the original hand,—"Orders for the better increase of learning in the inferior sorte of Ministers, Secundo Decemb. 1586. Not established by Synodall authoritye, but thought convenient to put in execution by Ordinary Authoritye, and till further order shall be provided by Authoritye of hir Ma'ty and the Synode.—Registratur. fol. 97."

Even previous, however, to the introduction of these "Orders" into the Upper House of Convocation, it appears by the Records of the Diocese of London preserved in St Paul's, that in the summer of 1586, an "Order was sent forth by my L. Grace of Cant. for th' exercise of the unlerneder sorte of the Ministery;" and that on the 5 day of August, Edward Stanhope, Chancellor of that diocese, directed the Archdeacon's Registrar to make a copy.

For all this additional information, the Editor is indebted to the obliging kindness of the Rev. G. C. Gorham.

„ 63, „ 23. See August. De Util. Cred. cap. 1.
„ 67, note 8, line 2. cap. 5.
„ 125, „ 7, „ 5. Lib. I.
„ „ „ 8, „ 5. Lib. II.
„ 126, „ 1, „ 10. Lib. I.
„ 247, „ 9, „ 2. Also De Baptismo contra Donat. Lib. I. cap. 1.
„ 397, line 13. See pp. 94. n. 6. and 345. n. 3.
„ 409, „ 21. See Cyprian. De Orat. Dom. and August. De Bono Persev. cap. 13.

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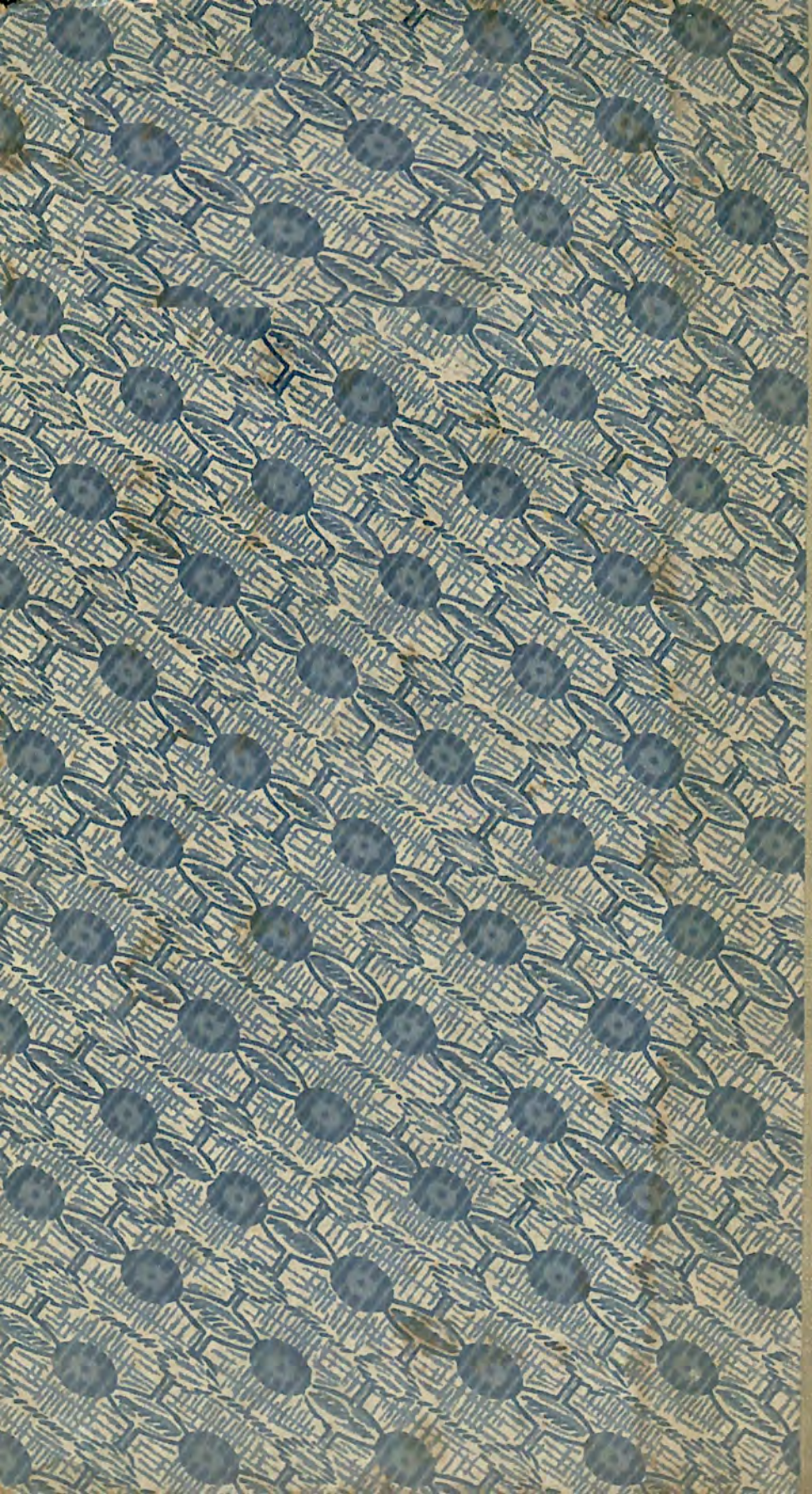
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